

National Report
Progress of Jordanian Women:
In Pursuit of Justice, Participation and Equality
2010 - 2011

The Jordanian National Commission for Women (JNCW)

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan
Deposit Number at the National Library
4138/1/2011

305.4

The Jordanian National Commission for Women

National Report: Progress of Jordanian Women 2010 - 2011 Justice, Participation and Equality /
the Jordanian National Commission for Women - Amman: The Commission 2011

©

- 4138 / 11 / 2011

Descriptors: Jordanian Women / Women Rights

The author bears the full legal liability for the content of this document. This document does not
express the opinion of the National Library or any other governmental entity.

Contents

Chapter I: Justice, Legal Protection, and Women's Right to Access Justice

Preface

Section One: Justice with Women Participation

- Introduction
- Women in the Legislative Authority
- Women in the Executive Authority
- Women in the Judicial Authority
- Women in other Legal Professions
- Women in the Academic Legal Specialization
- Women in Legal Media

Section Two: Justice of Legal Texts

- The Constitution
- International and Arab Agreements
- Laws in Effect
 - The Citizenship Law and its Amendments No. 6 for the Year 1954
 - The Passports Law and its Amendments No. 5 for the Year 2003
 - The Temporary Personal Status Law No. 36 for the Year 2010
 - Ownership and Inheritance Law
 - The Landlords and Tenants Law and its Amendments No. 11 for the Year 1994
 - The Labor Law and its Amendments No. 8 for the Year 1996
 - The Civil Service Law and its Amendments No. 30 for the Year 2007
 - The Temporary Social Security Law and its Amendments No. 7 for the Year 2010
 - The Penal Code and its Amendments No. 16 for the Year 1960
 - The Protection from Domestic Violence Law No. 6 for the Year 2008
 - The Anti-Human Trafficking Law No. 9 for the Year 2009
 - The Criminal Trials Principles Law and its Amendments No. 8 OR 9 for the Year 1961
 - The Crime Prevention Law No. 7 for the Year 1954

Section Three: Mechanisms and Guarantees of the Right to Access Justice

- Right to Litigation
- Right to Access Information
- Right to Knowledge of Legal Texts and Provisions
- Right to Access Legal Counseling and Advisory Services
- Right to Access Legal Assistance
- Free Litigation or at Reasonable Fees and Expenses
- Right to Suitable Time Frames for Attaining a Fair Ruling

Section Four: Recommendations

- Development of Legislation
- Promotion of Legal Knowledge and Culture

- Availability of Data and Information
- Provision of Free Services
- Equitable Distribution of Services
- Enhancement of Human Rights Principles
- Building People's Confidence in Justice and its Institutions
- Development of Legal Counseling and Assistance Centers
- Legal Knowledge and Culture

Chapter II: Participation and the Economic Empowerment of Jordanian Women

Introduction

Section One: Achievements

- Policies, Strategies and National Plans
- Relevant Laws and Legislation
- Women Financing and Micro-Lending

Section Two: Challenges and Gaps

- Women's Difficult Access to Job Opportunities in the Private Sector
- Loss of Local Capacity and Brain-drain
- Demand for Local Labor Versus Increase of Expatriate Labor Employment
- Vertical and Horizontal Gender Occupational Segregation
- Enhancing Entrepreneurship and Establishing Small and Medium Enterprises
- Financing Difficulties
- Poor Technical and Administrative Capabilities and Skills
- Poor Self-Esteem and Self-Confidence

Section Three: Recommendations and Required Trends

Chapter III: Equality, Citizenship and Decision-Making in Public Life

Introduction

- Brief History of Jordanian Women's Participation in Public and Political Life
- Women's Shifting Trends towards Quotas and Positive Discrimination
- Women in Parliament
 - Two Decades of Women Participation in the Jordanian Parliamentary Elections
 - Two Decades of Women Participation in the Jordanian Senate
- Women in Political Parties
- Women in Municipal Councils
- Women in Professional Associations and Societies
- Women in Trade Unions
- Women in Business Organizations
- Women in Executive Authority
- Women in Diplomatic Service
- Women in the Judicial System

Conclusion
List of Figures
List of Tables

Acknowledgements

The Jordanian National Commission for Women (JNCW) extends its gratitude and appreciation to Her Excellency Mrs. Nisreen Barakat. As former advisor to JNCW and a specialist on economic issues, Her Excellency contributed to the chapter related to economic participation. JNCW would also like to express its appreciation for UN Women/Arab States Regional Office for its support and assistance in this effort and its positive response to the Commission's requests, as well as for selecting our beloved capital city of Amman as the venue for launching the Arabic version of the report *Progress of the World's Women 2011-2012: In Pursuit of Justice*, simultaneously with the launch of this national report *Progress of Jordanian Women : In Pursuit of Justice, Participation and Equality*. Our thanks and appreciation also go to the staff of the General Secretariat of JNCW , for their efforts in the preparation, collection of material and review of the chapters of this report, which was completed in a record time. JNCW also extends its gratitude to all the men and women who contributed to bringing this report into existence as the first national report that monitors the progress of Jordanian women.

About the Jordanian National Commission for Women

The Jordanian National Commission for Women (JNCW) was established on March 12, 1992 by a decision from the Cabinet of Ministers and with initiative from HRH Princess Basma Bint Talal. JNCW was designed to be the first national mechanism at the Arab level and a specialized semi-governmental agency that strives to improve the status of women, enhance their economic, social and political participation, safeguard their gains, and defend their rights in order to achieve a higher level of social justice and gender equity and to seek to overcome the obstacles facing women's progress.

Based on a decision issued by the Cabinet of Ministers on September 21, 1996, JNCW became the point of reference on women activities and status for all official agencies. All parties were required to consult with it before taking any decision or measure in this respect. JNCW submits its recommendations and reports to the Prime Minister to take the appropriate measures regarding them.

JNCW comprises 22 members representing ministries, national institutions, civil society organizations, women agencies, and the private and academic sectors. JNCW operates in cooperation and partnership with various government and non-government agencies through its General Secretariat, which undertakes the management of daily operations and the implementation of JNCW's plans and programs, and all necessary activities to achieve its objectives. A women's complaints office, and a number of committees, networks and specialized work teams were set up for this purpose, and JNCW has opened branch offices in six governorates, in order to sustain field communication with partners in the various regions of the Kingdom.

JNCW's establishment came as a show of appreciation for Jordanian women, to protect their achievements, and to express Jordan's response to the needs and aspirations of the society in general and women in particular. It also came to emphasize the serious commitment to the implementation of declared policies, as well as the national, Arab, and international pledges related to women.

JNCW undertakes a number of tasks and responsibilities. Some of the most significant of these tasks and responsibilities include the formulation of public policies related to women in all areas and the identification of the priorities, plans and programs in governmental and non-governmental sectors. Additionally, JNCW's tasks include preparing, developing, and monitoring the implementation of national strategies related to women and studying and reviewing legislation in effect and any other women-related draft laws and regulations, in cooperation with relevant parties, in order to ensure that they take women's needs into consideration. It also follows up on the implementation of laws and regulations in order to ensure their fair application and monitors the implementation of relevant national policies and programs, in addition to working on strengthening communication and the exchange of expertise at the national, Arab, and international levels. Additionally, JNCW prepares studies and reports, represents the Kingdom in specialized national, Arab, and international conventions and conferences related to women issues, and serves as a member in committees and official and consultative agencies formed by the government to speak on behalf and represent women issues.

Moreover, JNCW endeavors to enhance and protect the right of every woman to dignity, human rights, qualitative justice, equality and equal opportunities. This is in order to ensure women's effective and fair participation in developmental efforts, and their contribution to democracy and the achievement of reforms, as well as increasing women's participation in the economy and in the various representative parliamentary and municipal councils.

**Introduction by Her Royal Highness Princess Basma Bint Talal
Chairperson of the Jordanian National Commission for Women**

It is indeed a source of pride and honor to present the first national report on the status of the Jordanian women and the challenges facing them. This report is one of the fruitful achievements of the Jordanian National Commission for Women (JNCW) on the path towards serving the advancement of Jordanian women and the fulfillment of their aspirations of assuming their own role in the service of the society and the country. Jordanian women can fulfill these aspirations by learning the facts and realities on the ground and building on what has been achieved, as well as identifying the challenges that still require additional concerted efforts and diligent work in order to overcome them.

While it is important to point out that this is the first time that such a report is published, its subject-matter, "*Progress of Jordanian Women : In Pursuit of Justice, Participation and Equality*" renders it more significant, particularly given that it coincides with the reform process in political, economic and legislative fields that His Majesty King Abdullah II is calling for, which include amending the Constitution, the parliamentary, and municipal elections laws, and all aspects of activating the role of the parliament and the independence of the legislative, judicial, and executive authorities, for the purpose of achieving justice, participation and equality, which represent the prominent theme of this stage.

In this respect, the report is not designed to only highlight how far Jordanian women have come in their historic and contemporary march towards justice, equality, and political and economic participation, but is also aimed at identifying the tasks and roles they must assume in this extensive vital movement that is taking place for the benefit of women and the country.

I would like to express my deep gratitude to everyone who participated in the preparation of this report, and to the JNCW's General Secretariat, represented in the Secretary General, as well as all governmental and non-governmental agencies and institutions which provided input and information to report. More significantly, I would like to salute the Jordanian women, on this auspicious occasion, in all their positions and sectors where they operate throughout our country. I also applaud the Jordanian women's movement, with all its agencies and organizations. I am proud to be part of this movement and dedicated to it. I ask God Almighty for success in their efforts towards progress in our country, and for empowering the Jordanian women and enhancing their status to achieve participation, justice, and equality.

Introduction

The publishing of this first national report, "*Progress of Jordanian Women: In Pursuit of Justice, Participation and Equality 2010-2011*," coincides with the general prevalent climate across the Arab region that emphasizes human dignity and the right to justice and participation on the basis of citizenship and equality, under the rule of law and principles of integrity and the commitment to the people's will and the country's interests in all that pertains to public affairs' administration. Moreover, it comes at a time when a reformatory political movement is prevalent in Jordan, highlighting the importance of enhancing democracy, achieving political and economic reforms, and mobilizing efforts and abilities to shoulder the responsibilities of this important and critical stage in the region's history.

There is no doubt that implementing political and economic reforms, establishing the basis for a democratic life, and achieving social justice, development, and growth, as well as guaranteeing popular participation in public life and strengthening respect for human rights, are objectives that cannot be achieved unless they encompass men and women alike on the basis of citizenship, equality, justice, and rule of law.

The march of the Jordanian women's advancement throughout the years has been, as this report will highlight, replete with accumulated achievements that resulted from a number of factors, most important of which is the presence of a political will and the Jordanian women's understanding of their role in their country's life, in addition to the society's belief in women's rights, particularly that to education. The state provided all requirements and opened its doors wide equally for both females and males in this sector. Consequently, women embraced education, and have since excelled and achieved the highest rates of female education in the region, which is considered the key to entering all fields of productivity, innovation, and achievement.

Ever since the establishment of the state of Jordan, Jordanian women were never far from the areas of work and production in agricultural fields or the Badia. They were constantly present in various sectors and at different stages. Early on, women took initiative and became involved in charity and voluntary work. They joined the public sector as teachers and nurses from the very early days. They established women organizations and associations, and joined political parties. They demanded civil and political rights since the 1940's, and achieved important milestones in the elimination of discrimination, marginalization, and social exclusion despite the prevalence of the male-dominated culture in the various human societies that were based on discrimination against women, leaving negative impressions on women's lives. As a result of this male-dominated culture, stereotypical images of the roles of men and women was established in society, in a manner that alienated women from all decision-making positions and fields of participation and dispensed with their rights to justice and equality, and, consequently, widened the gap between men and women in various fields. When these societies realized their need to re-establish the balance and ensure gender equal opportunities, as well as the importance of achieving justice, participation and equality, they found that bridging the gap that developed throughout the ages would not be possible except through concerted efforts. These efforts would need to address women's issues as a national and societal cause, striving to improve the status of women by adopting policies, enacting legislation, providing resources, setting plans and

strategies, implementing programs, and approving necessary procedures and arrangements. All this was the result of the understanding that the progress of women is progress for everyone, and the exclusion and marginalization of women carries with it a larger economic and social price tag.

Realizing the injustice and oppression that had befallen them, Jordanian women began their organized movement to achieve justice, participation, and equality. In doing so, they have personified their belief that women's issues represent a cause for the entire society, and that the country's issues in all areas are women issues as well. Hence, women have won the Hashemite leadership's political support, and that of many of their fellow citizens for their fair and legitimate demands.

Within this framework, the Jordanian National Commission for Women (JNCW) was established in 1992, initiated and headed by HRH Princess Basma Bint Talal, to undertake the responsibility of leading and coordinating official and civil national efforts to improve the status of Jordanian women, raise the level of their participation in various fields, and guarantee their rights. The commission also enables women to contribute to their country's prosperity, improve the standard of living of their families, and achieve self-fulfillment as human beings and as citizens enjoying full rights and shouldering full responsibilities.

This first national report is the first in a series of periodic reports that JNCW intends to publish biennially. The report is designed to trace the progress of women in various fields, monitoring achievements, and highlighting gaps and failures, as well as analyzing indicators, recommending measures, and measuring levels of achievements in the implementation of plans and strategies. A main theme will be selected for each report according to national priorities dictated by each stage.

Using its follow-up mechanism, the commission, in partnership with official and non-governmental organizations, will follow on the reports' recommendations to ensure tangible progress in the areas mentioned.

We hope that this report will become a reference that contributes to enabling decision-makers to be aware of and understand the status of Jordanian women, and provides them with the necessary information to appreciate the needs of women when taking their decisions. This will hopefully avail justice to all women in our country, from all classes and in all governorates of the Kingdom, and will render economic and political participation a reality that positively affects the lives of women and the country. It will also make equality-based citizenship a principle embodied by all our legislation, procedures, and decisions, to be interpreted in practice as a guarantee of equal opportunities and equality in various fields, including participation in the decision-making process.

Asma Khader
Secretary General
Jordanian National Commission for Women

**Chapter I:
Legal Protection for Women's Right to Access Justice**

Preface

Justice is a value and a principle that identifies the ability of the individual, the family, and the society to work and live. Its application leads to the provision of equal opportunities for creativity, achievement, production, giving, and progress, and respect for it leads to an adequate environment for releasing human energies and talents that help achieve stability, progress, and well-being, as well as enabling individuals and groups to reach their goals and achieve their aspirations. As such, justice is considered the basis of the rights that should be protected by the law, for laws do not hold an actual value for human beings except when they are accompanied by guarantees that assure the right to enjoy, protect, and respect them through ensuring the right of access to justice.

Needless to say, the right to justice, and the right to access justice are among the basic rights that are guaranteed for every human being without discrimination. Although human rights are considered an integrated, inter-dependent unit, this right in specific is considered one that is inseparable from all other rights, for without it, rights lose their binding nature, their effectiveness and their tangible impact on humans. Without this right, all human rights become vulnerable to violations and transgressions without any deterrence.

The concept of justice is embedded in our Arab and Islamic culture and civilization. It is a comprehensive concept that must be applied on the basis of equality on all human beings without discrimination. Justice, after all, is a language. It is a noun that indicates intention. It is the antithesis of iniquity, and justice in judgment is truth and equality.

The right to access justice entails all that would enable an individual to actually enjoy his rights and to safeguard these rights when they are violated or denied. Since women have traditionally suffered from injustice and discrimination throughout history in all parts of the world, legal protection, and the positive intervention on the part of public authorities and opinion leaders in societies to provide such protection, were significant factors in the process to eliminate injustice and discrimination, to achieve justice for women, and to enable them to overcome the effects of the long-standing deprivation of these rights. This requires concerted efforts designed to instill a culture that is founded on respect for and emphasis of the values of dignity, freedom, justice, and equality for both men and women alike, for the young and the old, and for the rich and the poor, for all human beings without differentiation.

The law plays a pivotal role in this area. Legislation and laws that are fair and that guarantee freedoms and rights without discrimination among people represent a cornerstone for the establishment of justice. Yet, such a structure needs other basic requirements. An honest and independent judiciary is also a cornerstone in the building of a society of justice and equality, and so is the justice system in its entirety, including the society's culture. The structure of justice would not be complete without the availability of all the requirements of establishing justice.

Denial or the obstruction of the right to access justice is considered a transgression against human rights and the rule of law principle. Indeed, it renders the law devoid of content and paralyzes its role in ensuring protection and deterrence. It is also an expression of the helplessness of authorities responsible for its application to shoulder their responsibility towards

establishing justice, which, in turn, would obstruct the establishment of social and human security and absents the comfort and reassurance guaranteed by the constitution, not to mention the violation of the principle of equal opportunities. These are all factors that impede development in its comprehensive and sustainable meaning; economic and social development, the basis of which is social justice and the rule of law based on the principle of equality.

The concept of legal empowerment, which is common today, is considered another aspect of the right to access justice. This concept is related to contemporary trends of effective legal guarantees for human rights, which are safeguarded and prepared for by a network of policies, legislation, and services, as well as information sources that are available to everyone, particularly those who are least able to benefit from the protection of law, such as women and the poor. The concept of legal empowerment stems from the rule of law principle and equality before the law. The state must undertake all the necessary measures to guarantee the right to litigation and to provide it free of charge at least for those who are financially incapable, as well as to create the necessary policies that aim to fulfill the requirements of justice, in terms of infrastructure, material, human and technical resources, in addition to adopting policies that endeavor to achieve an environment that enables everyone to enjoy justice, equality, and the protection of the law. This also requires the enactment of legislation that protect human rights and place sufficient, updated, and simplified information at everyone's disposal, whereby such information would not be beyond the comprehension of laymen, in addition to providing high quality services to everyone, men and women alike, in the various governorates.

Legal empowerment is, in reality, the responsibility of both the state's authorities and the civil society. It is one form of the necessary social insurances that are considered a right to every man and woman, particularly in cases of poverty or need. Services that are provided free of charge or for nominal fees need to find the necessary budgetary allocation, in order to make them available, to improve their quality, and to ensure that they are accessed by deserved beneficiaries, as well as to ensure their continuity and sustainability.

Additionally, legal empowerment that is based on justice, participation, and equality is indeed the most important guarantee for building trust and promoting security and safety, which are recognized for all human beings in the face of injustice, abuse, and discrimination, and to achieve social security and stability. For women, legal empowerment is the main gateway towards full citizenship that is based on justice, participation, and equality. After all, the law is a woman's fortress, refuge, and source of assurance and confidence.

The importance of the law lies in the fact that it embodies the people's will and identifies the regulatory rules for relations within the society. For women, the law becomes especially important, because women are the most in need of protection and they will benefit the most from what the law offers; safety and security to lead their lives.. A good law may not change the status quo, but it renders change a possibility and contributes to the development of the status quo by affecting positive social change that allows women's actual enjoyment of what the law affords them in terms of equal opportunities.

Having said that, the legal text alone, unless it is combined with opportunities to implement it, respect it, and benefit from it, becomes an inert, soulless, useless text that would not have any

impact on changing or developing the prevalent culture or the stereotypical image towards women. Therefore, good legal texts must be combined with a set of guarantees that allow women's access to justice through the application of the rule of law principle in its various aspects, as well as providing a suitable environment that would ensure the promotion of legal culture through legal education and awareness. This is in addition to adopting legislative policies that result in the formulation of fair legal texts and rules, as well as clear, facilitated, and simplified procedures that are available to everyone. All these aspects are basic guarantees for ensuring the presence of the law's protection and access to justice.

On a different note, the partial and graded legal reforms, which the Kingdom has witnessed, particularly in the past ten years, are, without a doubt, indicators and signs of the society's progress and vitality. They are also indicative of the society's concern for achieving more legal protection and more balanced relations within the society. The experience of the concerned institutions confirms the dire need for exerting extensive, continuous, and systematic efforts to spread legal culture and knowledge among women in order to enable them to use the law and resort to the judiciary in demand of justice. Women will then be capable of using the laws in effect and the judicial system to demand justice without obstacles or constraints.

The low level of representation of women in the various decision-making positions in general and in the field of service provision in particular is considered one of the leading indications of the weak response of political systems to the requirements of developments and the needs of women, or at least it is indicative of the society's hesitance to acknowledge women's capabilities and citizenship. This requires an intervention that would overcome the cultural obstacles that stem from the traditional form of upbringing for both boys and girls, which continues to constitute barriers, albeit invisible, to the advancement of women, impeding their actual enjoyment of opportunities, rights, and freedoms that are guaranteed to them by law.

Stemming from its conviction in the importance of ensuring legislation respond to the needs of both men and women for achieving justice, equality, and equal opportunities, JNCW has, since its establishment in 1992, formed a legal team of experts responsible for reviewing the Jordanian legislation that are in effect. The team points out each text that could be amended or developed in a manner that would ensure more justice and equality, it also refines legal texts and eliminates any references to discrimination or faults that would preclude equality. It then offers suitable updated proposals and articulations to the relevant parties with the aim of ensuring that legislation and laws respond to the emerging needs of women.

In reality, JNCW has, since 2007, begun to work with women organizations and civil society organizations on the preparation of proposed amendments to women-related legislation, the last of which was the "Statement on Gender Compliant Legislation to Achieve Justice, Equality, and Equal Opportunities for Women for 2010." The statement was prepared on the occasion of the parliamentary elections and included detailed proposals for amending several laws, in addition to the call for issuing new laws, including the equal opportunities law and the children rights law.

JNCW, in cooperation with its partners, is keen on taking advantage of every available opportunity to present proposals for developing relevant legislation and enhancing legal protection for women's rights, as well as strengthening the guarantees for the right to access

justice, whether by participating in discussions revolving around the issuance of new legislation and laws or around legislative amendments or by engaging in women related national strategies or other relevant sectoral strategies. For example, the National Strategy for Women (2006-2010), which was prepared by JNCW and endorsed by the Cabinet of Ministers, included a special entry on legislation, where the constraints facing women's access to justice were addressed from the viewpoints of content and procedures. The comprehensive evaluation report of the strategy referred to significant accomplishments and to difficulties and constraints that still exist.

As the Jordanian women's participation in all areas increases, the need to enable them to enjoy equality before the law and to access prompt justice has come to demand the unequivocal acknowledgement of women's human rights, equally and without discrimination. This also requires continuous efforts to facilitate women's access to justice and the use of the legal and cognitive mechanisms and tools appropriate for doing so.

In this chapter, we will examine the subject of justice in four sections. Section One: Justice with Women Participation; Section Two: Justice of Legal Texts; Section Three: Mechanisms and Guarantees of Right to Access Justice; Section Four: Recommendations.

Section One: Justice with Women Participation

Introduction

Since the first comprehensive and integrated law known to man during the reign of King Hammurabi of Babylon¹, various societies around the world have witnessed continued developments and persistent growth on the path towards justice. Nevertheless, women remained absent from public authority, particularly from legislative authority. Until recently, the features of justice were identified and laws were enacted away from women and without their participation. Hence, the texts of numerous laws contained discriminatory provisions, and other laws did not include the necessary and required provisions to protect women's rights, in spite of the dictates of divine laws and the guarantees offered by the Islamic Shari'a with regard to women's rights to dignity, justice, participation, and equality.

Since justice is a concept that affects every human being and involves the details of daily life, whether related to family or society and to private and public life, societies had to continue their efforts to achieve justice in its most sublime image. In this respect, Abdul Rahman Ibn Khaldoun said: "Justice is the foundation of civilization ... and injustice is an indication of the destruction of construction," while Sheikh Hamed Al-Ghazaly had said: "Justice is the foundation of governance." Francis Bacon believed that "If we do not maintain Justice, Justice will not maintain us." In stressing the pivotal role of justice in a democratic society, Reinhold Niebuhr said: "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible; but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary."²

In order to enhance justice and participation, and in response to Jordanian women's achievements in the field of state-building since its establishment, especially in the fields of education, nursing, and voluntary work, the political will and the women's movement pioneers have played an important role in providing women with access to justice through their participation in various decision-making positions.

In spite of the fact that studying law was not available inside the Kingdom, until the Faculty of Law was established at the University of Jordan on April 6, 1976, starting teaching on September 16, 1977, a group of Jordanian women succeeded in overcoming the social barriers and studied law in foreign or Arab universities. Among them was the late Emily Bisharat, who participated actively in the Jordanian, Arab, and international women's movement, and was the first female member in the Jordanian Lawyers Association in 1961. She was also the first woman to occupy a position in the Jordanian Lawyers Association council for two terms in the early 1960's.

Until the beginning of the 1980's, the number of practicing female lawyers registered in the Jordanian Lawyers Association did not exceed ten women. Many of them, however, played an active role in public life and in the women's movement. Some of them were appointed as members in the Consultative National Council. Following that, political decisions, opportunities

¹ Dr. Jasem Al-Umran, Code of Hammurabi, Research

² Dr. Mu'taz Abdul Fattah, Faculty of Economic, Cairo University, Article about Educating justice

and success stories continued, providing opportunities for more women to enter the different areas related to the decision-making process.

The fair representation of women in various decision-making positions is considered one of the requirements of realizing the right to access justice, since justice-related systems, whether at the legislative, executive, or judicial levels become more expressive of the visions of women, more inclined to bring them justice, and more ready to take their needs and aspirations as citizens into consideration. The presence of women has increased manifold over the past five decades in various areas related to law and justice systems. This has reflected positively on the status of women in this field, as this report will show.

Today, Jordanian women march with confidence, albeit slowly, towards becoming partners in the efforts to establish justice and truth in the face of discrimination, injustice or violation of rights protected by law. It is no longer sufficient to increase the level of representation, in terms of numbers - as important and influential as this might be on improving the playing field and, in turn, the performance. Instead, society now expects distinguished qualitative performance from women. This indicates radical change that brings Jordanian women into a new, more developed stage, in which they enjoy more effectiveness and influence.

■ **Women in the Legislative Authority**

The Parliament, comprising the House of Representatives and the Senate, is considered the legislative authority that expresses the will of the people. Laws emanate from it, and it carries the power to approve legislation and monitor the performance of the executive authority. Women have been absent from the legislative authority for long periods of time, therefore their votes were absent when dozens of laws related to women's rights were enacted. Women were not allowed to vote and run for elections until 1974. When a Royal Decree approving this right was issued, women did not have an opportunity to practice it until 1988, in the complimentary elections to fill the seats of deceased members of parliament. At that time, women practiced their role only as voters. Starting in the 1989 elections, women continued the efforts to break various barriers standing in their way to parliament. In the latest parliamentary elections, in 2010, women secured 13 seats in the House of Representatives, a percentage of 10.82%, as well as nine seats in the Senate, a percentage of 15%, but the latter decreased to seven seats when the Senate was formed again in October 2011.

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE No. 1:

Figure No. 1: Comparison Between Women Representation Percentages in the House of Representatives and the Senate for the Years (1989, 1993, 1997, 2003, 2007, 2010)

Rate of Women Representation (%)

Women in the Senate

Women in the House of Representatives

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE No. 2:

Figure No. 2: Comparison Between Women and Men Representation Percentages in the House of Representatives for the Years (1989, 1993, 1997, 2003, 2007, 2010)

Rate of Representation in Parliament (%)

Men

Women

Although the percentage remains below the aspired level of 30%, the gradual increase in the number of women in both houses of parliament is considered a positive development. Jordanian women, however, need to continue their progress to reach this percentage, which is considered the minimum level that guarantees fair representation of women.

It is significant that women in both houses of parliament have started to play effective and important roles, and their noticeable political action has started to leave a positive effect despite all difficulties. They are receiving support and appreciation from their peers, and some of them have been elected as deputy speakers of the House of Representatives, while one woman was elected as rapporteur to the House's legal committee. Additionally, some women assumed important positions in various House committees, and one woman won the elections for the position of assistant to the speaker of the House of the Representatives. All this indicates that women's participation in the parliament is starting to take a serious and effective direction.

The increase in the representation of women in parliament provides impetus will and ability to be effective, thus enhancing the political and legislative role and position of women parliamentarians. Furthermore, closer ties of cooperation and coordination between them and the women's movement is considered one of the main necessities of contributing to the enhancement of justice systems, and to making the voices of women heard, their visions appreciated, and their participation in the articulation and endorsement of legislation reflective of their will. After all, they represent half of the country's population and the voters, if not more. The percentage of women has surpassed 50% of the total number of voters in the majority of the previous parliamentary terms.

■ Women in the Executive Authority

The executive authority is responsible for implementing the provisions of the law. Its role, however, is not restricted to implementing the law, but surpasses it to preparing draft laws and approving executive legislation, such as regulations and instructions. Being the authority entrusted with providing and supervising the most important services, such as education, healthcare, transportation, and others, it is the most capable of seeing and addressing the gaps, which impact and distort public performance. Through this process, it proposes legislative amendments, allocates budgets, and adopts policies based on priorities. It also provides and manages facilities related to the justice system, such as courts of law, detention, rehabilitation, and reformatory centers, as well as refuge homes. It thus plays a pivotal role in establishing and effecting justice. Although no woman has assumed the position of Minister of Justice or Director of the Legislation and Legal Opinion Bureau, there is today an increasing number of

women legal advisors and directors of legal departments, in addition to directors and managers of departments and sections specialized in women and gender issues that have been established in 18 ministries and government departments and institutions, where they play an important role in this field. Women are also represented in Cabinets of Ministers, in varying numbers, since 1979 when a woman was first appointed as a minister. Numbers of female ministers has, since then, ranged between one and four in different cabinets.

Women's participation in the executive authority is considered the main point of entry towards attaining the needs of men and women on the basis of equality in the various policies, programs, legislation, budgets, and governmental planning processes.

There is no doubt that the presence of female ministers in governments has yielded an increased level of interest in women issues and in the need to achieve justice for them. It has also facilitated the process of including gender in developmental plans and government policies and programs. This is an ongoing process that experiences ebbs and flows, but continues to forge ahead despite all the constraints. Furthermore, the performance and presence of female ministers has contributed to changing the stereotypical image of women and their roles in society, resulting in a positive change in the society's perspective of women, their rights, and their right to justice, participation, and equality, as well as in women's perception of themselves as citizens capable of shouldering a variety of responsibilities.

The public policy vis-à-vis women's participation in the executive authority, however, has not yet achieved a level of clarity and resolution in terms of achieving, within a specific period of time, the aspired rate of representation, namely 30% of the total number of ministers and high-level positions. It is a policy that does not always move forward, but sometimes moves backwards; one cabinet, for example, did not have any female ministers. This indicates that the policy towards the need to represent women fairly in the executive authority is not consistent.

Table No. 1: Rate of Women Representation in Ministerial Positions (1979-2011)

Year	Number of Ministers in the Cabinet	Number of Women Ministers in the Cabinet	Women Representation Rate
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	29	1	3.4%
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%

In a study carried out by the Jordanian National Commission for Women in 2010 on the Gender Status Audit in the public sector, comprising 81 ministries and government institutions representing 72.32% of the total number of public departments and institutions, it was evident that women represent 44.9% of the total number of employees. The ratio of women in leading positions did not exceed 17%, while their ratio in higher managerial positions was 10%, while the ratio of women in non-leadership positions was 46%.

■ Women in the Judicial Authority

Until recently, positions related to the judicial system in Jordan were traditionally monopolized by men. Jordanian Women's participation in the judiciary started in 1996 with the appointment of the first female judge, and the rate of women's participation in the judicial system continued to rise, reaching 107 female judges by September 2011. All litigants, lawyers, and presidents of courts agree on the outstanding performance of a large number of women judges, which has encouraged the constant increase of their numbers.

Some women in the judicial system became public prosecutors, presidents of courts of first instance, and members in criminal and appeals courts. It is worthwhile noting that the United Nations General Assembly elected a Jordanian woman judge from among 35 international judges to be a member in the International Criminal Court for war criminals in Rwanda, making her the first Arab judge to assume a position in international criminal courts. The door for a woman to assume the position of a Shari'a judge to address personal status cases for Christians and Muslims continues to be closed for women, despite the fact that they do fulfill the legal requirements.

It is expected that the number of female judges will continue to increase, and that women will assume further decision making positions in the judiciary.

The presence of women in courts takes special importance in that it reassures women who resort to the judiciary, and improves, indirectly, the traditional image of a woman as being one who is on the receiving end of rulings, but rather as one who makes rulings achieving justice and equality among litigants, male and female alike.

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE No. 3:

Figure No. 3: Number of Women Judges in the Years (1990-2011)

Rate of Representation Women Judges (%)

Men

Women

■ Women in other Legal Professions

Law is considered a humane profession and a noble message aimed at achieving justice. Hence, it is said that lawyers are the law on foot. They complement the role of judges at the pulpit, and assist them in achieving, revealing, and defending what is right. As independent professionals, they are among the most active members of society within the framework of civil society, bearing the banner of justice and contributing to public life with their knowledge and commitment to the rule of law.

Women entered law profession in the beginning of the 1960's, but their number remained below five until the end of the 1970's. After inaugurating the Faculty of Law at the University of Jordan, their numbers started to increase, reaching 22% of the total number of practicing lawyers registered at the Lawyers Association. According to the association's sources in 2011, there are 2339 practicing female lawyers and 877 female lawyers under training. Given the rising number of female students in law schools compared to male students, it is expected that this increase will continue to reach about 50%. Various governorates in the Kingdom are witnessing noticeable turnout by females to practice law. Despite difficulties, three female lawyers have succeeded in winning membership seats in the Lawyers Association. Furthermore, a number of female lawyers who are not registered with the Association are practicing law, but only before Shari'a courts.

It can be said that a large number of the women's movement leaders and those active in public life are lawyers or jurists who led campaigns of legal awareness, or what was known as legal literacy programs for women. They also participated in creating legal counseling and assistance for poor women. Today, they play an important role in establishing the role of lawyers towards instilling constitutional principles and using international principles of law and international agreements' and conventions' provisions as binding references for the judiciary. Some of them were pioneers and leaders in the campaign on legal protection for women, children, juveniles, laborers, and the poor. Many female lawyers assumed leadership positions in the state's legislative, judicial and recently executive authorities. Many female lawyers have assumed leadership positions in the various state legislative and executive authorities, and more recently in the judicial authority. They also assumed positions in municipal councils, and headed women agencies and civil society organizations, especially those concerned with human rights. They played an important role in political life and the defense of democratic principles, human rights, and freedoms, and accessed positions in the international criminal judiciary, fact-finding investigation committees, and monitoring political trials on the Arab and international levels. Today, they are a force to be reckoned with within the framework of the Lawyers Association, active through various committees, especially through the Women Committee in the Association, which was established upon the recommendation of the Federation of Arab Lawyers and the Federation's Women Status Committee, which was established in 1982, but was not active over many stages of the Associations' life. It is now regaining its activity, and through its female lawyers is making their contributions in an effective institutional manner to increase their role to empower women to enjoy justice, equality, and legal protection of their rights without discrimination.

Regarding the Law Enforcement Unit, the international report published by UN Women entitled "*Progress of the World's Women 2011-2012: In Pursuit of Justice*" indicates that there is a positive relationship between the presence of women in security centers and the police and the increase in reporting levels of cases of sexual assault in 39 countries around the world. The presence of policewomen, female public prosecutors, investigators, and detectives provides an environment conducive to women's request for help and protection and their ability to recount their suffering and experience without embarrassment, especially when it comes to sexual assaults or sensitive issues that might otherwise be embarrassing and emotionally taxing when recounted before men.

Furthermore, the Law Enforcement Unit, public prosecutors, and members of the public security forces are a source of support for the judicial system. The nature of their responses to women's complaints determines whether women use or refrain from using the various tools and mechanisms. Moreover, the nature of the way they treat women who complain or are complained against affects a woman's position towards the prevalent justice system. There is no doubt that the individuals in these entities are part of society, and are affected by its perception of women who are compelled to resort to using legal mechanisms. Women sometimes complain about the lack of seriousness or understanding by these officials, or even condemnation of their behavior, and attempts to dissuade them from taking the measures they plan to take. Some might rebuke them for wanting to take legal action, or assuming the role of a judge, would belittle their demands and complaints. They may also adopt positions that support the accused or take measures where women feel that the officials are biased against them. The situation may reach a stage where they refuse to record or investigate a complaint, and reject to undertake the usual legal measures, thereby hindering women from accessing justice. The situation becomes more complicated in the case of complaints against people who have a prestigious social status or who are well-known, leading to additional harm or injury to women as a result of the bias, premeditated positions, or interference that undermines the proper course of the complaint, which might discourage women from pursuing their attempts to access justice. This also raises the level of fear that women feel in the face of such injustice, which consequently envelopes their suffering with barriers of silence, and prevents them from asking for help. Social stigma is considered one of the social and psychological barriers that obstruct women's path to justice, such as the use of official and unofficial institutional frameworks, inclusive of the judicial system to demand justice, which ultimately prevents women in many situations from stepping forward to demand their rights. Women who submit public complaints are normally exposed to ill treatment as a result of the social stigma or cultural norms that prevent them from reporting cases of violence to which they are subjected, to avoid involving the family name in courts, in addition to their fear of alienation if they try to resort to courts. The case of Noha, who was tired of going from one court to the other to obtain visitation rights to see her four children, represents a typical case of women's fear of social stigma.

Noha says: "Was it not for support from my father and brothers, I would not have persevered for a year pursuing my case", pointing out to the fact that society's perception and parents' concern about their daughters prevent many women from resorting to the judiciary to demand their rights.

Hence, official parties became aware of the importance and sensitivity of the Law Enforcement Unit, especially the Public Security Directorate, to women's needs in their pursuit of justice.

These parties have taken several steps to avoid such potential risks related to society's perceptions, including the implementation of training programs for public security staff. As a result of continued complaints of these practices by women, it is necessary to expand and continue providing these training and awareness programs, as well as adding the gender dimension in the curriculum given to the staff of the various public security apparatuses. This is in addition to the necessity of expanding women's participation in public security forces, given that they proved their effectiveness and merit at the national and international levels. Women's participation in police service was increased to 7%, divided between military and administrative functions. On another level, 16 Jordanian policewomen have participated in international peace-keeping forces and have carried out 16 international missions, twelve of which were in Sudan and four in Kosovo, in addition to other female participations through the Civil Defense Directorate and the Jordanian Armed Forces.

Increasing women's participation and representation in various functions related to law enforcement will contribute to building confidence, especially on the part of women, in justice systems and in the performance of employees entrusted with law enforcement. This helps increase women's acceptance and willingness to use the available official systems to deal with whatever discrimination and violence they face.

■ **Women in the Academic Legal Specialization**

The Faculty of Law at the University of Jordan and law faculties at other public and private universities played an important role in providing opportunities for young women to study law. Ever since the first faculty of law was inaugurated in the Kingdom in 1977, faculties of law started to absorb an increasing number of students, with female students representing the larger majority. Female students excel in their studies and achieve high grades, and many of them sought higher educational degrees inside and outside Jordan. Nevertheless, the percentage of female law professors remains low, registering less than 10.5% at the University of Jordan for example. The keenness of female graduates to pursue higher studies and degrees, however, promises to achieve a noticeable increase in the ratio of females to males in the academic field.

Young women's desire to study law is on the rise. The number of law students at the University of Jordan has reached 1088 students in the academic year 2010-2011, of whom 465 were male students and 623 were female students.

Female students achieve good results in various competitive fields. This enhances women's participation in various legal professions, and consequently in the field of justice.

At the Judicial Institute of Jordan, which prepares post-graduate students to become judges, the rate of female graduates in the course of 2009-2010 (the 15th group) registered 47.3% of the total number of graduates. Meanwhile, no women had joined the Institute or graduated from it between the first group of graduates in 1990-1991 and the sixth group, when only one woman was accepted. The number of female students at the Institute had constantly ranged between one and two students, until the 11th group in 2003-2004, at which point the number of women students began to increase, reaching the highest percentage by the last group (the 15th group). The ratio was expected to increase beyond this.

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE No. 4:

Figure No. 4: Rate of Female Graduates among Graduates from the Jordan Judicial Institute in the Years (1990-2010)

These facts point to the potential and noticeable increase of the percentage of women in the judiciary in the future.

■ Women in Legal Media

With the development of media outlets, the need arose for media treatments regarding ignorance about the law, and the resulting loss of rights. In order to address this need, especially women's need for legal knowledge, and despite the lack of full-time professional media male and female professionals who are specialized in the science of law (with some few and seasonal exceptions), some female media professionals took the initiative to use media to promote legal culture. They knew the importance of legal knowledge and were keen on providing specialized law-related programs, including printed material, as well as radio and television programs that have provided an important stock of legal information and presented it in a format that is accessible to women in their own homes.

Moreover, several websites specialized in women and law surfaced, providing full texts of laws, together with summaries and explanations in a simplified language. They also provided electronic legal counseling and some other specialized guidance and counseling services. One of the most particular websites in this regard is that of the Jordanian National Commission for Women (www.women.jo).

Section Two: Justice of Legal Texts

Justice is achieved through a legislative political process that embodies the will of the people, men and women, with the participation of women and men together in various locations where laws are enacted and applied. Justice is essentially realized through the legal provisions and texts, which are legislated and enforced by concerned persons and which represent the absolute general principles that govern relations between people and organizations, achieve justice and balance among various legitimate interests, in a manner that guarantees the respect and protection of basic human rights and freedoms without discrimination. Legal texts are considered the mirror in which we see the true image of the state and society; a place where we see our values personified. They represent the ideal state that society aspires to achieve at a point in time, as well as the principles that need to be respected by all and that would be binding to all. Hence, justice of the text and the application together embody the spirit of justice.

The Jordanian National Commission for Women (JNCW) carried out a comprehensive evaluation process of the national strategy on women for the years 2006-2010, with the aim of examining the achievements and the level of application. The JNCW is at the threshold of completing the new five-year strategy (2011-2015), the process of which was done in a participatory and scientific methodology and using extensive consultations with the various governorates and sectors, aimed at achieving national coordination over the priorities of work during the forthcoming period.

Legislation was one of the most prominent among the five pillars of the finished strategy. Moreover, JNCW's consultations with a wide sector of citizens and government and non-government stakeholders resulted with a unanimous agreement that legislation continues to represent a crosscutting fundamental pillar that intersects with the various pillars and strategic priorities. Hence, legislation was awarded particular importance by JNCW and its partners, stemming from the fact that the Jordanian Constitution and the international agreements, which were ratified by the Kingdom and published in the Official Gazette, constitute the basic point of reference for national legislation and the real guarantee for establishing the right to equality and equal opportunities. It is agreed and understood that the process of legislation is considered the main tool to achieve development and reform and to translate the national consensus stated in the "National Charter", the "National Agenda", the "We are all Jordan" document, and the "National Dialogue" document, in a manner that keeps up with modern life's requirements and responds to the emerging needs of the country and the citizens. Hence, the JNCW focused on the role of legislation in the provision of legal protection and the achievement of positive social change by seeking to cancel the legal texts that constitute an obstacle to women's progress, or undermine their rights, or inflict injustice on them. The legal task force of the JNCW periodically performs a comprehensive review of legislation and draft laws, and presents its recommendations and proposed articulations to relevant parties for the purpose of refining legislation and removing any prejudicing or inappropriate text, or any that falls short of providing legal and social protection to women facing various forms of discrimination and violence, in order to achieve justice, equality and equal opportunities.

- **The Constitution**

The state's commitment to human rights and freedoms, the principles of justice, as well as its commitment to enacting fair laws is reflected in the just representation of people's will and the fair enforcement of the law. This enforcement renders the application of the law comprehensive and its supremacy absolute, whereby no person shall be above the law, no person shall be outside the law, and no person shall be excluded from the law's protection. The constitution in any state is considered the father of all laws and the supreme law. It embodies the state's principles, authorities, and foundations, as well as the rights of its citizens and supersedes any other legal text in case of conflict

Furthermore, the constitution regulates provisions related to women as it does to men, and these are applicable to women as they are to men, for women are citizens just as men are. Therefore, each text that guarantees human or citizen rights is considered one that guarantees women's rights. The Jordanian Constitution guarantees equality before the law, and this has been asserted and emphasized in many national documents, such as the "National Charter", the "National Agenda", and the "We are all Jordan" document. It was also emphasized by the National Dialogue Committee in its document and by the deliberations of the Royal Commission for Amending the Constitution for 2011, which unanimously agreed that the term "Jordanians", wherever mentioned, comprises men and women without discrimination, according to the discussions on Article six of the Constitution, which stipulates that "All Jordanians are equal before the law, without any discrimination in rights and duties, though they may differ in race, language or religion."

Hence, the principle of constitutional equality is recognized, and should therefore be respected and applied.

- **International and Arab Agreements**

Jordan asserted its commitment to human rights in general and to women's rights in particular through its ratification of a large number of relevant international agreements and conventions. The Jordanian state is among the states that exhibited its very early commitment to these rights and principles, and its keenness to achieve equality between the sexes. Jordan has wielded a steady political will that has constantly and consistently been expressed by the Hashemite leadership, and translated by governments and state authorities into policies, decisions, legislation and practical steps that opened the doors of justice, equality and participation for Jordanian women in various fields. Work continued to enhance women rights and equality with men, especially their rights to justice and equality, which led to achieving continued progress in this direction. The truth is that Jordan went a long way towards guaranteeing increased protection of human rights, leaving positive and clear prints on the status of women in Jordan, especially in areas like education and health care.

Jordan is committed to the International Bill of Human Rights, comprising the six conventions that represent the backbone of human rights. Five of these conventions were published in the Official Gazette in 2006, making them part of the Jordanian legal system. These are: the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhumane or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. This is in addition the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (Women Agreement), which was published in the Official Gazette in August 2007.

As a response by the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to its international commitments, it has submitted periodic reports to United Nation's committees. Jordan submitted its initial report, and later on, periodic reports every four years to committees concerned with the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women, outlining progress achieved in the field of equality and equal opportunities between the sexes. The last of these reports was the fifth report for the years 2006-2009.

Jordan has withdrawn its reservation against Article 15/4 of the Convention, in relation to the right to movement and travel, in August 2007, but it did not withdraw its reservation against Article 9/2, which is related to the right of women to give their nationality to their children, and items C, D, and G of Article 16, which are concerned with rights of marriage and family, keeping in mind that all human rights conventions that were ratified stipulate that gender-based discrimination is prohibited.

Jordan also committed to striving to achieve developmental objectives, and signed a partnership agreement with the European Union. It also approved a plan and a work program with the Euro-Med countries for gender equality, known as the Istanbul-Marrakesh Process. All these agreements comprise commitment to working towards the achievement of gender-based equality and the strengthening of women rights.

On a different note, Jordan had ratified the Arab Charter for Human Rights, which recognizes the importance of equality between the sexes, as Article 2/1 of the charter prohibits discrimination on the basis gender.

In addition, Article 3 states that Arab countries "shall take the requisite measures to guarantee effective equality in the enjoyment of all the rights and freedoms," and that the countries have a positive duty to work towards achieving these rights.

Among the important aspects of the Arab Charter for Human Rights is that it refers to the fact that men and women's rights in Islamic Shari'a permit "positive discrimination", implying that the provisions of the international law in this area are in agreement with Islamic Shari'a, which has preceded the international community by many centuries in approving these rights, and that positive discrimination programs aiming at improving women's bad situation in society do not contradict Islam.

However, women in Jordan, like other women in various countries of the world, continue to be exposed to different forms of discrimination, violence, and unfair traditional practices, such as murder on the pretext of defending honor, physical, sexual and psychological abuse, and other forms of violence. These violations become more complex if the victim suffers from poverty or from limited opportunities, capacities, and choices to get out of the situations she is suffering

from, especially in the event that there is need to resort to the legal system and hire lawyers in order to find justice and reclaim her usurped rights.

Some data and statistics point to women being exposed to other forms of violence, represented in deprivation of rights, such as inheritance, and giving preference to males over females within the family, in addition to the limited opportunities for their participation in various cultural, political, social, and media activities, and a number of other problems within the framework of marriage, work, and other relationships, and other violations of women's rights.

- **Laws in Effect**

- **The Citizenship Law and its Amendments No. 6 for the Year 1954**

In line with Jordan's commitment to provisions stipulated in international agreements regarding the issue of citizenship, the Jordanian Citizenship Law and its Amendments No. 6 for the year 1954 took into consideration the reduction of cases of non-citizenship, as well as cases of dual citizenship, giving an adult woman the right to change her citizenship and not to have her citizenship summarily withdrawn due to her marriage to a non-Jordanian. A Jordanian woman who marries a non-Jordanian can keep her Jordanian citizenship, and in the event that she gives it up due to her marriage, she can reclaim it by applying to the relevant authorities, if the marriage ended for any reason. Furthermore, she is not affected if the husband or father changed their citizenship. Jordan is committed to the principle of complete equality between men and women in everything related to the principle of citizenship, including granting, withdrawing, or abandoning it.

In order to reduce cases of non-citizenship, anyone born in Jordan from unknown parents is considered Jordanian. A foundling in the Kingdom is considered to have been born in the Kingdom unless otherwise proven. The law also regulated situations resulting from marriage. In the case of a Jordanian married to a foreigner, the law commits to a basic principle, namely that the Jordanian citizenship will not be imposed on the foreign woman. The law stipulates that the woman should express her desire to acquire the Jordanian citizenship in an application submitted for this purpose, after three years for women with Arab nationality and five years for women with foreign nationality.

There is a problem, however, facing Arab or foreign women married to Jordanians, namely that after the three or five year period elapses, a woman might encounter difficulty in obtaining the Jordanian citizenship if the husband refuses to provide his wife with the necessary supporting documents, such as the Family Book, the marriage certificate, and others, or if he did not approve of her intention. This forms an obstacle, especially if she has children and she wishes them to obtain the Jordanian citizenship so they can reside with her in Jordan.

Gina is a foreigner: Throughout the eight years of our marriage my divorced husband refused to grant me his approval to obtain Jordanian citizenship and stay with my three children. He did not allow me to keep or even obtain the Family Book to complete the citizenship procedures at the Ministry of Interior. He has divorced me, and I am now prohibited from seeing my children for the second year in a row. My husband is influential. He had reported that I am a foreign

woman with no residence permit. I was detained at the Al-Juwaideh Detention and Rehabilitation Center for Women for a week, in preparation for my deportation soon after. However, divine intervention provided me with a lawyer from a civil society organization, who helped me out of this dilemma. I love Jordan. It is the country of my children, and I wish to obtain its citizenship to be near them without problems. Is there anyone who can help me? What shall I do?

In addition, the law does not address the situation related to the widowed wife of a Jordanian citizen, where the specified time for obtaining Jordanian citizenship did not elapse before the husband's passing. This would compel her to return to her original country, and may have to leave her children behind or take them with her. These children will be raised in a different environment and be brought up with different values and traditions from ours, or may be deprived of their mother's care. She will also be deprived of her children if she was compelled to leave them behind and return to her country alone.

My suffering started forty years ago when I married a man who does not carry my citizenship. I did not think of myself at the time, and did not realize my rights, because I lived in my own country. I was happy and content at the start of my married life.

But when I had my children, my life went upside down and my psychological state deteriorated due to difficulties in providing them with healthcare and education, let alone job opportunities. I felt that I was a stranger in my own country. I indulged in self-blame and started wondering: Why did I marry a man who does not carry my citizenship? What did my children do to deserve this? Where are my rights and theirs? In order to rid myself of my problem and stop the deterioration in my children's future before my eyes, I took the initiative, along with others in my situation, to organize campaigns to support the case of children who were born and grew up in our homeland, drank its water and were nurtured by its resources, and never knew another homeland. We hope that this law will be amended and that we can contribute to the alleviation of this human suffering and achieve tranquility for my family.

A child born to a Jordanian mother and a foreign father was given the right to Jordanian citizenship if s/he was born in the Kingdom and the father's citizenship is unknown or he has none, or if the child's lineage to his father is unproven. In other than these cases, a woman does not have the right to give her children her citizenship, noting that a divorced or widowed Jordanian woman, or one married to a foreigner can have a separate family book based on a separate civil registration if she wishes so, but her children will not be recorded in it.

A "statement of demands for legislation that guarantee justice and equality in 2010" was submitted to the Prime Minister and the speakers of both houses of parliament. It included a number of laws that need to be amended, including amending the Citizenship Law by permitting Jordanian women to give their citizenship to their children in all cases, as is the case with a child born to a Jordanian father, or that they are awarded all civil, social, and economic rights, with the exception of political rights temporarily and until the political conditions used to justify depriving them of citizenship disappear.

The Jordanian Citizenship Law took into consideration, as described earlier, all the requirements stated in international conventions with regard to citizenship issues, especially the CEDAW, known as the "Women Agreement". However, when ratifying the CEDAW, Jordan expressed its reservations on Paragraph 2 of Article 9, which stipulates giving women equal right as men regarding their children's citizenship. Having reservations on this article does not have any constitutional or legislative basis. The Citizenship Law stipulates that the children of Jordanians are themselves Jordanian wherever they were born, and that the masculine term is used in the general sense indicating both male and female equally. This explanation is underscored in the text of Article 2 of the Jordanian Citizenship Law, regarding definitions, which stipulates: "The term 'Jordanian' means any person who obtained the Jordanian citizenship in accordance with the stipulations of this Law."

The harm inflicted on women and children as a result of this unconstitutional discrimination led to demanding the removal of this reservation and committing to the elimination of discrimination against women in this area.

■ The Temporary Passports Law and its Amendments No. 5 for the Year 2003

The Temporary Passports Law stipulates that "the passport shall include the following information: holder's national number, name, place and date of birth according to the computer record, as well as any information specified by the Director." Among the information specified by the Director is the marital status of the woman. This information is not placed on the man's passport.

Sarah: I skim through my brother's passport, but I do not find any information about his social status! Why would my mother's passport mention that she is a widow, and my passport that I am single, and my aunt's passport that she is divorced?! Why does the woman have to show her social status, while this is not mentioned on a man's passport? This is a question that comes to mind every time I apply for an official document.

Haifa is a mother of three children. Her husband lives and works in a Gulf country. Her husband had an accident and she had to travel to see him suddenly and without prior arrangements. At the airport, she was surprised that the authorities required written approval from her husband or guardian to allow her travel and the travel of the children included in her passport. Haifa wonders, are they not my children too? Was it not more appropriate to consider the approval presumptuous? Had the father or guardian not wanted that, he would have obtained a court decision preventing travel. The basis of matters is legalization. The law does not restrict the wife's travel, but some practices continue to place wives in this awkward situation.

The law does not restrict the travel of wives and their children, but some practices continue to put them in this awkward position.

■ The Temporary Personal Status Law No. 36 for the Year 2010

A number of amendments were made to the Personal Status Law that can improve women's rights within the family framework. Most important were the amendments passed in 2001,

which raised the minimum age for marriage to 18 years, and requiring informing the first wife as a condition to a second marriage, in addition to the wife's right to requesting separation without having to give reasons.

Enacting the Temporary Personal Status Law in 2010 is considered one of the most important achievements for women throughout their march towards their rights. The law included a number of provisions from the previous law, as well as new ones, most important of which is giving women the right to preset that which serves their interests in the marriage contract, provided this does not undermine the intentions of marriage or violate the Shari'a requirements, as well as having the right to end the marriage, and prevent her husband from having a second wife. It also establishes the wife's right to divorce herself whenever she wishes, while maintaining all her rights as stipulated in the marriage contract.

The law treats men and women equally in that it considers each a party in the contract, stipulating that marriage is a contract between a man and a woman, sanctioned by Shari'a law, so they can together form a family and create a lineage. Marriage is concluded with the positive response of one party or representative and the approval of the other party or representative at the contract session. Hence, the woman is one party in the marriage contract, on equal footing with the man, and shall have the full right in choosing the husband. The marriage cannot be concluded except with her approval and upon her free will, and she has the right to initiate it herself.

Women, by law, have the right for separation and ending the marital relationship for a number of reasons, including separation for redemption, or for refusing to spend, or for insolvency and inability to spend, separation for absence and desertion, swearing, backache, imprisonment, or dissension and conflict. Hence, women have enjoyed complete freedom and right in demanding separation and ending the marital connection in case of any harm, including separation for sexual deficiencies and repulsive physical defects, and for sterility of the husband, or inability to pay the dowry. Separation can also be requested by the wife for the loss of the husband, where the law includes detailed provisions in this respect.

The law also reduced the burden of proof in cases of discord, conflict and separation, settling for verbal testimony under oath, based on reputation in the couple's married life. It also increased the age of custody to 15 years for the Muslim mother, and restricted it to seven years for the non-Muslim mother, reducing the age of a female who may be included to 30 years, from 40 years in the previous law.

In addition, the law stipulated the establishment of an "Alimony Credit Fund", intended for lending the amount of the alimony decided, in order to ameliorate the suffering of the alimony receiver, whether old or young, man or woman, in case it was not possible to implement the alimony decision. The Fund will replace the beneficiary from the alimony in demanding payment from the party supposed to pay the alimony.

It is noteworthy that the law permitted the travel of the child in custody outside the Kingdom for purposes of visitation or temporary residence under conditions and controls that maintain the

child's interests. Actual implementation, however, exposed some problems that deserve addressing.

On the other hand, the law permits the husband to return his wife after separation due to inability to spend, if this happened during The '*Uddah*' period. He would be required to pay the accumulated alimony for three months, and to present a guarantor who would guarantee her future alimony payments. He would also have to prove solvency and pay the accumulated alimony for six months, and present a guarantor, if this happened during the court deliberations. It is well-known that some husbands use this as an excuse to cause harm to the wife through withholding the alimony, pending a decision of separation, thus avoiding to pay a six-month accumulated alimony, especially that he can take her back during '*Uddah*' period at less stringent conditions, represented in paying three-months accumulated alimony, rather than six, without having to prove solvency. He is required to present a guarantor in both cases. However, the Law does not require the wife's approval of returning to the marriage if it happened during the '*Uddah*' period. This way, and after the wife went through the costly and taxing procedure of raising a court case for separation for lack of spending, incurring all the cost involved, the husband can simply, and without having to prove solvency, return the wife he was separated from, let alone compelling him to pay an amount less than the accumulated alimony he owes her.

The right awarded to the husband in divorce is often resorted to abusively. The victim here is the wife who is awarded, according to the Law, an amount of a minimum of one year's alimony and a maximum of three years', noting that the amount is specified by the court based on the "husband's financial abilities". This, however, does not achieve justice, or the requirements of a woman who was abusively divorced, especially if she had been married for a long period of time. The Law needs to be amended in favor of implementing the right to strive, which permits both husband and wife to split what was acquired during married life if the marriage ended with divorce or death.

Twenty years after marriage, and accepting to live with her sterile husband, Lamia found herself divorced without a home or work. She has lost everything, and the fact that she sacrificed her motherhood to support him in his dilemma was no intercession. Lamia' says that she accepted her husband's situation and lived a fairly settled family life. Until her husband contracted a disease, and he and his family thought he would die. He decided to divorce her in order to deprive her of the inheritance, keeping in mind that he owned property, and money estimated in millions. Lamia' was his right hand in acquiring this wealth. Lamia adds that after all this time, she became a woman without a future or an income to live off. All she received was the amount of JD 2,500 as a settlement payment for an abusive divorce. She wonders; "What shall I do with this amount, and what good is it at this stage? I do not want it. It will not compensate me for the time lost. It does not rebuild the psychological effects left by my husband's ingratitude. It does not pay for my daily subsistence and treatment. Is there a law that would give me justice?"

For a marriage to be legally valid, the law requires that the husband- and wife-to-be are sane, and have completed 18 calendar years of age. However, the law permits the judge, with the approval of the Chief Judge, to permit, in special cases, the marriage of those who completed 15 calendar years of age, according to instructions he issues for this purpose, if there are special considerations involved. Anyone getting married through this method acquires full legal validity

in anything related to marriage, separation and their effects. The truth is that the practical application of this text, despite the clarity of the instructions items issued for this purpose, indicate an increase in cases of marriage for those below 18 years of age. On the other hand, instructions require that marriage shall not be a reason for dropping school education. Reality shows, however that those who get married at 15 years of age mostly drop out of school, although they are still at the basic stage of schooling.

Regarding personal status laws for Christian communities, women organizations are demanding that they be developed and amended in favor of the family and women, in order to guarantee justice and speed in addressing cases raised before courts, especially urgent ones, such as alimony, for example. These organizations are demanding the reduction of fees on these cases, and treating laws applied as national legislation, whether for guaranteeing total judicial supremacy at all litigation levels, or as far as publishing their laws in the Official Gazette and making them readily available to whoever requires them, in order to implement their articles in real life.

■ **Ownership and Inheritance**

Jordanian women enjoy, according to Islamic Shari'a and Jordanian legislation, the right of ownership and inheritance. Islamic Shari'a bestowed on women an independent financial account that permits them to practice their rights in controlling their property. No person has the right to interfere or impose methods or manners of the property's use. Jordanian legislation governing ownership and inheritance rights, from the Jordanian Constitution, through the Jordanian Civil Law, and all the way to the Personal Status Law, and other relevant legislation, is free of any discriminatory texts against women, regarding their rights to ownership or inheritance. None of them permit women's deprivation of these rights.

The truth of the matter is that Jordanian legislation recognized women rights in ownership, without restrictions, stipulating the independence of financial accounts between husband and wife. Each remains owner of his or her wealth independently from the other. Furthermore, these principles do not include any restrictions on the legal competence. Hence, a woman who has reached adulthood can own, without being deprived of her competence to do so, the right to practice all legal and administrative activities on her property, including buying, selling, mortgaging, leasing and others. Any constraints imposed on her competence are considered null and void. Nobody may give up their personal freedom or competence. Anyone who is not capable of practicing their civil rights is either under age, demented or totally insane.

It is worth mentioning that the Jordanian Trade Law No. 12 for the year 1966 left the provisions for trade competence to general principles. The wife does not require her husband's protection, or his guardianship of her money and behavior. The husband has no authority to grant his wife permission for trade. A woman practicing trade acquires the status of 'trader', and her practice is considered applicable according to the general principles of competence that govern a man's behavior. A woman may be authorized to represent her husband or others. However, the trade law has imposed constraints on the wife's wealth in case her husband declared bankruptcy. If this happened, the wife will retrieve all real estate and tangible assets she can prove she had owned before marriage, as well as assets she acquired without compensation during the

marriage. She also has the right to retrieve real estate she bought during her marriage with her own money, provided the wife proves the source of the money.

The Civil Law No. 43 for the year 1976 guarantees that activities and contracts concluded by coercion are not implemented, by stipulating that "man has power over his wife, and if he compels her, through beating, or prevented her from seeing her family, for example, so that she gives up her right, or to grant him money, and she did that, then her behavior is not considered valid." The same applies if a woman is compelled, by any person to give up or settle her share of an inheritance in favor of other heirs. The legislator also enacted a number of texts to prevent inheritors from manipulating their wealth with the intention of depriving some heirs of the inheritance, or reducing their share of it. These include the inadmissibility of selling property by a person on his deathbed to one of the heirs, and the inadmissibility of a will in favor of an heir, in addition to imposing measures to settle, that guarantee the heirs' right to receiving their rights of the inheritance.

Yet although legitimate and legal rights have been established, and the presence of many guarantees that prevent infringing on women's right to ownership and inheritance, social practices contribute, in many cases, to depriving Jordanian women from these rights as a result of discrimination in treatment by the inheritor, such as bequeathing to his male children, during his lifetime, all his property, for the purpose of depriving females, or as a result of women giving up those rights by coercion or out of embarrassment. The truth of the matter is that prevailing habits and traditions, including society's negative perspective of women who demand their inheritance, women's ignorance of their rights, laws and regulations related to distribution of the inheritance, worry about being hurt or boycotted by the family, and inability to pay the court charges and lawyer fees, compel women to give up their inheritance in favor of male family members, with the excuse of maintaining the inheritance within the family, against a nominal financial compensation, referred to as a "settlement."

In order to protect women from exploitation of the psychological and emotional state they are in after the death of the inheritor, the Chief Justice Department has issued a decision prohibiting the processing of any documents to settle inheritance rights until after three months of the death of the inheritor. As a result of the sharp increase in the value of intangible assets recently, and due to the increase in the woman's family burdens, women have had an increasing awareness in insisting on their rights to inheritance.

The traditional social constraints that prevent women from enjoying their rights in ownership and inheritance contribute to preventing women from accessing economic resources and controlling them, and prevent them from participating economically and achieving financial independence. In addition, these constraints, and their results of sustaining women economic dependence, affect their ability to satisfying their direct financial requirements. Hence divorced, old and widowed women mostly suffer from poverty and deprivation, and are compelled to rely on relatives and friends, or on support from social funds. These constraints also contribute to the persistence of various forms of violence against women.

■ The Landlords and Tenants Law and its Amendments No. 11 for the Year 1994

The Landlords and Tenants Law protects the rights of a divorced woman and her children in continuing to occupy the leased property for residential purposes if they had been original occupants, in case there is a decisive decision from a special court in an abusive divorce case or a church separation as soon as the husband leaves the property. Under different conditions, the Law is prejudiced against women if they remarry after being widowed, stipulating that "As for a property leased for reasons other than residence, the wife's right to the lease shall be discontinued upon marriage from another person." This text of the Law inflicts material damage and causes suffering for the widow who relies for sustenance on the income derived from a leased commercial store, whereby the right to lease is considered the same material value as part of the store elements. One would wonder, what is the wisdom behind this decision? In whose interest is it? Is marriage resented by Shari'a law to warrant a widow's loss of right to the lease when she remarries?

As a result of remarrying, Alia' was surprised to receive a warrant from court serving a legal notice from the landlord of the commercial store where she practices her profession, demanding eviction of the store in Jabal Al-Hussein, where she sells shoes; a business she inherited from her deceased former husband, and which she had been running since his death. Stunned, and totally terrified of losing her livelihood, she took the papers she had received, with her hands shaking, to a lawyer related to her. She was again stunned to learn of an item in the Owners and Renters Law stipulating that "lease rights of a property rented for other purposes than residential shall convey to the direct relatives of the first and second degree, as well as the wife. A wife's rights shall cease upon marrying another husband." Alia' wonders, what need is there for this text? Is marriage a prohibited act for which she is being punished? In whose interest was this text passed? Why does the legislator intentionally deprive a woman of her rights because she remarried after being widowed?

■ The Labor Law and its Amendments No. 8 for the Year 1996

The Labor Law provides protection to the working woman in the working environment on the basis of equality between men and women in all rights and duties, including the woman worker's right to leave without pay to have the time to raise her children, her right to leave without pay to accompany her husband, right to one hour for nursing her infant, providing a nursing area for at least ten of the female workers' children who are less than four years old, for establishments employing a minimum of twenty workers, and preventing to terminating a pregnant woman starting the sixth month of her pregnancy or who is on maternity leave, in addition to a fully-paid maternity leave before and after delivery, with a total of ten weeks, without making her work before the end of that period.

Legislation, however, discriminates in the maternity leaves granted to women between the private and public sectors. The maternity leave reaches 90 days for an employee of the public sector, while it ranges in the private or semi-official sectors around 70 days according to the Labor Law. The rules and regulations in some establishments, however, violate these laws, and some of them offer a maximum of 40 days as a maternity leave, (Article 37 of the Vocational Training Institution Regulation No. 69 for the year 1979 and its amendments). Some establishments grant 45 days or one month. This requires standardizing this leave for all working mothers in Jordan, to become 90 days, as is presently the case In the public sector,

especially after introducing the maternity insurance in the Social Security Law, whereby covering the worker's salary or wages throughout the maternity leave is not the responsibility of the work owner, but is rather paid from the maternity insurance fund, the application of which commenced at the beginning of September 2011.

Rawan: I work in a garments factory, and I was given a maternity leave for 70 days. So did my colleague Hiba, who was given ten weeks, plus one hour a day for nursing her child for a whole year. Our friend Ruba, however, who is an employee at the Ministry of Justice, was given a maternity leave of 90 days. The question is, is the maternity leave and one hour for nursing not the right of the children to enjoy the care of their mothers? Are we not all mothers who wish to take care of our babies for adequate periods of time? Why should the maternity leave be different between the public and private sectors?

The wisdom behind the maternity leave being ten weeks only was that payment for it was the responsibility of the work owner, who used to pay the full worker's salary during the maternity leave. The Social Security Law for the year 2010, however, transferred this burden to the maternity fund. Why is what is implemented in the public sector not implemented in the private sector?

In the area of protection from sexual abuse, the law gave working women the right to leave work without notice, while maintaining full legal rights at the end of service, including compensations and damages, in case the work owner or whoever represents him assaulted her during work or because of it, in any form of sexual abuse. The Minister of Labor also has the right to close down the establishment for the period he sees suitable in case this type of abuse took place again.

Where is equality in pay?

Leena: I share the same job description with my colleague Murad, and we share the same functions at work. We both carry the same qualification and experience, and work in the same conditions. His salary, however, is higher than mine, with the justification that the man supports the family, and that my income from work is not the basic income, but rather a secondary one! So why does my colleague receive a higher salary for the same work? Where is the equality? Where is the justice?

The Labor Law penalizes the work owner if he employs a female worker coercively, under duress or fraudulently. These include confiscating a travel document. In order to protect household helpers, cooks and gardeners, a special regulation was issued in 2009 to guarantee the rights of this group of workers.

■ The Civil Service Regulation and its Amendments No. 30 for the Year 2007

This Regulation granted women a number of benefits, including a maternity leave, an unpaid leave to accompany the husband, and other rights stipulated in the Regulation. Among the most important principles and values on which the provisions of the Civil Service Regulation is based are justice, fairness, equal opportunities, and employing the best qualifications, according to principles of merit and ability, implementing the principles of transparency and equal opportunity without discrimination based on sex.

The above Regulation granted the female employee, after the end of the maternity leave of three, fully-paid months, a leave without pay or benefits for a maximum period of two years to care for her infant child. It also stipulated that a pregnant employee shall not be assigned any physical work that is hazardous to her health or pregnancy, and included many principles, among which is the right to enjoy the same employment opportunities. It must be mentioned that the Regulation specified, as part of assignment conditions, that the applicant satisfies the requirements and conditions for filling the vacant position without discrimination on the basis of sex. The Regulation, however, deprived the female employee from her right to one hour for nursing, in addition to failing to stipulate the need for providing nurseries for the employees' daughters. The family allowance is also not paid to the female employee except with conditions that are not stipulated by the Law for the man, which leads to the unfairness in salaries for the public sector as well.

Huda: Our friend Ruba, an employee at the Ministry of Justice, received a maternity leave of 90 days, but was deprived of the nursing hour for a whole year for her daughter, because there is no nursery at the Ministry on one hand, and because she is deprived of the one-hour nursing break on the other, which compelled her to bring a maid to care for her child. . Letting go of the benefits of natural nursing to the mother and child's health, she also had to wean her daughter and turn to formula feeding. So what is the reason behind the difference in rights? Are the maternity leave and the one-hour nursing break the right of the infants as well as the mother? Are we not all, whether employees of the public or private sector, mothers, and wish to care for our infants and nurse them?

■ **The Temporary Social Security Law No. 7 for the Year 2010, and the Laws on Civil Retirement and its Amendments No. 34 for the Year 1959 and on Military Retirement and its Amendments No. 33 for the Year 1959**

The new Social Security Law for 2010 achieved progress in many fields, most important of which is including women working from home in the social insurance umbrella on voluntary basis. It also stated the right of the male widow to consolidate his share from the retirement or disability pension, which is conveyed to him from his wife, and his share from the retirement or disability pension, which is conveyed to him from his children. Furthermore, the implementation of the motherhood insurance fund also commenced as of September 2011, which is designed to reduce the work owners' refusal to employ females because of maternity leaves and the creation of the work stoppage insurance.

In the past, the law did not permit the female widow to consolidate her pay from work and her share in the retirement pay which is conveyed to her from her husband. The new law, however, granted the widow the right to consolidate her pension or disability pay that is conveyed to her from her husband. But in practical application, the law is not applied to a woman who was widowed before the law came into effect in 2001. This represents a prejudice, since the doctrine of the direct effect of the law and the principle of the uniform application of legislation on cases of the same nature, which is referred to as the direct and immediate effect of the law, as opposed to the principle of failing to implement the law retroactively, since they are only related to retirement payments that became due and were paid according to the previous law.

The law also inflicts injustice by pre-conditioning that a widow deserves his share from his wife's pension if he is suffering from total disability and he does not have a wage from another job, an income from a profession, or a pension payment.

The case is the same for a female employee under the civil or military pension scheme, who receives an inherited pension, if she was allocated a pension for her service. In this case, she is given the higher pension payment, and the other payment is stopped, based on the principle of non-consolidation of more than one pension scheme, although each of them were deserved as a result of efforts and hard work, and various deductions.

Hiyam describes her suffering from the Retirement Law: I retired 15 years ago after working as a teacher at the Ministry of Education. I receive a pension payment of JD 242. I was shocked when my husband, a pharmacist at the Ministry of Health died. When settling pension rights, I received another shock. My pension payments were stopped, based on the principle of the non-consolidation of two pensions schemes! I see no justification for such a procedure. Both my late husband and I paid into the retirement fund with pension deductions. My situation is not different in reality from Ilham's, my widowed neighbor's situation who never worked, yet is receiving her husband's pension payments, noting that the total amount from both pensions (mine, and the share I receive from my husband's pension) are hardly sufficient for daily subsistence. There is the house rent, daily household harsh expenses, university fees for children, health treatment expenses, and many others, which add up to more than the pension payment, regardless of how much it is.

On the other hand, the pension payment is discontinued for wives, daughters and mothers when they marry, and returned to them if they become widows or divorced. If they re-marry, the payments are cancelled permanently. All these cases require a serious review in light of our constitutional guarantees and commitments to observe justice, equality, and equal opportunities, and out of adherence to our genuine Arab values.

■ The Penal Code and its Amendments No. 16 for the Year 1960

The law criminalizes rape and other sexual assaults. Penalties on these crimes have been made more stringent, and the protection age for children has been raised to 18 years. The law prevents the use of mitigating circumstances in "honor crimes" if the female victim is under 18 years of age at the time the crime was committed. The list of demands included similar penalties in crimes of rape, sexual assaults, and others inflicted on women who have not completed 18 years of age. The consent of a 13-year-old is not to be taken into consideration, for example. The law permits reducing the penalty if there are specific conditions, except in murders and bodily harm crimes inflicted on girls less than 15 years old.

The law permits mitigating circumstances in the event that the victim's family drops their personal right in what is called "honor crimes". However, the law should state disregard of mitigating circumstances if the perpetrator and the victim are from the same family, and the perpetrator must not be pardoned if he marries the victim in assault and rape cases. The law inflicts stringent penalties in cases of incest among close relatives, whether legitimate or illegitimate, and among brothers, sisters, half-brothers and half-sisters from the father's or

mother's side, or same degree relatives, including in-laws and relatives with whom marriage is illegitimate. But the law does not deprive the perpetrator of the guardianship right, which provides the opportunity to repeat the crime after the penalty is over. The law also does not explicitly criminalize the rape of wives, and permits methods of discipline inflicted by fathers on children on the basis of the common norms. Needless to say, the term "common norms" can be explained in various ways, according to the place and time. While some people may consider it to be part of the "common norms", others may not.

■ **The Protection from Domestic Violence Law No. 6 for the Year 2008**

The Kingdom witnessed a number of developments in the field of protecting women from violence, foremost of which is enacting the Protection from Domestic Violence Law, which is considered to be the first of its kind in the Arab region. It involves treating all procedures and information related to cases of domestic violence with total confidentiality, and compelling providers of medical, social or educational services in both the public and private sectors to report to the relevant authorities immediately upon noticing or witnessing signs of violence, while preserving the safety and security of the victim among the family members. The measures undertaken to guarantee the safety of the victim of violence include protection orders that permit keeping the perpetrator away from the family residence for a maximum period of 48 hours, if there are no other means to protect the victims in the family, as well as detaining the perpetrator at the Family Protection Administration for a maximum period of 24 hours, while calling for the formation of family reconciliation committees that work at reconciliation and problem-solving.

Sana' is exposed to violence at the hands of her married brother who lives far from her house. Hala is divorced irrevocably. She and her daughter are exposed to all forms of violence at the hands of her former husband.

Lamia is separated from her husband, but he continues to treat her violently.

The law, however, does not consider any of these cases as domestic violence, because they do not live in the same family house.

The law compels the Law Enforcement Unit to move to the location where the alleged domestic violence incident took place when a report is received of an incident in progress or is about to take place, or when there is a report of a violation of a protection order that was issued in accordance with the stipulations of the law. In this case, a public prosecutor is selected and authorized to investigate domestic violence cases at the Family Protection Administration. A medical examiner is also required to be present, thus guaranteeing the provision of integrated services on location.

■ **The Anti-Human Trafficking Law No. 9 for the Year 2009**

A law aimed at preventing human trafficking crimes was enacted, criminalizing all forms of human trafficking, in line with the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children for the year 2001, which supplements the United Nations' Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (known as the Palermo Protocol), which was ratified by Jordan. This law focuses on protecting the victims of human trafficking, and making the penalty more stringent if the victims are women or children. It also provides the

opportunity to the public prosecutor to stop the pursuit of the victims or those sustaining damage if it was found out that their perpetration of crimes was the result of their being victims of trafficking.

In order for the law to take concerted measures to eliminate human trafficking, including trafficking in women, it stipulated that a national committee be formed to prevent human trafficking to raise the level of cooperation among all concerned authorities and institutions of law enforcement.

In 2010, the national strategy for preventing human trafficking was launched. It included a number of aspects, most important of which are the prevention, protection, legal pursuit, enhancing cooperation and building local and regional partnerships and cooperation in the field of human trafficking. Moreover, a draft regulation has been prepared for shelters, approved by the national committee. An administrative action plan was also prepared for the years 2010-2011, which includes the establishment of shelters for the victims of human trafficking. Coordination is underway among the Public Security Directorate and a number of non-governmental organizations which provide shelter services. There remains an urgent need to develop these services in order to guarantee the implementation of physical and psychological rehabilitation and recovery.

■ **The Criminal Trials Principles Law and its Amendments No. 9 for the Year 1961**

This law permits the public prosecutor and the court to listen to the testimony of any person who is under 18 years of age, using modern technologies based on closed-circuit video connection (CCTV) if there were reasons justifying this practice, provided that these methods permit any opponent to debate a witness during the trial. This testimony will be considered permissible evidence in court. This technology is considered suitable and necessary to protect children who are victims of sexual assault or domestic violence, and it is important to make such methods more prevalent, or even mandatory in all courts of law.

Child (X) was admitted to Dar Al-Aman after being transferred from the Family Protection Directorate as a result of allegations of sexual molestation by her father that was not medically established. Sessions with a psychological counselor proved this molestation, however. The child was summoned to the Supreme Criminal Court to provide her testimony, accompanied by a social expert. In the waiting hall, the child listened to stories about what would take place inside the courtroom, and asked repeatedly whether her father would be imprisoned or executed, as she watched prisoners handcuffed and escorted. Inside the courtroom, the child gave a similar testimony and allegations to that she had given earlier against her father, but she kept repeating her questions to the judge, who told her that her father was present in the courtroom. As a result, the child collapsed and could not continue with her testimony. The judge permitted her to take a break, but when she came back, she denied being molested by her father, contradicting her testimony earlier, and the child was transferred to the public prosecutor who accused her of giving false testimony.

The law permits defendants in misdemeanor cases to appoint a lawyer as a representative to attend the trial on their behalf, unless the court specifically decides that their presence is

mandatory for the achievement of justice. This is with the exception of the session for the arraignment of charges and entering the pleas, as well as the session designated for defendants' defense testimony. All this benefits the female defendant, in the sense that she is not required to appear in courts, but rather is sufficiently represented by her defense lawyer in criminal cases.

■ **The Crime Prevention Law No. 7 for the Year 1954**

According to this law, women are detained administratively without a judicial decision but rather by an order from the administrative ruler. This law has played a role that could otherwise be considered an alternative mechanism to the judiciary in solving conflicts, especially where family disputes are concerned. However, justice dictates the suspension of this law, because it is heavily influenced by male dominated norms and traditions, for which women mostly pay the price. Many women were detained for protection purposes when they were exposed to threats of harm or even death by their families. The merit of this law in protecting the lives of many women must be recognized. However, it has failed to guarantee their right to freedom and to a new start far from threats.

Although this law was justified in the past, when there were no programs and services that facilitate the provision of shelters for battered women or interfere to solve conflicts with families, it does not have the same justifications, given that such governmental and non-governmental services are increasing both in quality and quantity.

Section Three: Mechanisms and Guarantees of the Right to Access Justice

Justice mechanisms, in this context, refer to the practical side of the right of access to justice through providing effective methods for legal fairness, seeking justice and complaining by people whose rights and freedoms are violated, in case any right was violated or threats were made to this effect, or if rights were denied. For women, this also means the level to which regulations and procedures are available that are gender sensitive, and which fulfill the actual implementation of women's rights on the basis of equality before the law. Such regulations would enable every person, regardless of his sex, to access justice and fairness, administratively and legally, without any impediments, whether general or related to gender, that impede her from resorting to the protection of the law, either out of apprehension of social stigma that affects women who resort to the authorities seeking protection and equity, financial cost which they cannot afford, long litigation procedures, or as a result of ignorance of the law, which could result in missing the opportunities to resort to justice. Most people cannot afford lawyer costs, expenses or fees. This applies specifically to women as a result of their economic dependency on men and their weak ability to earn income, or as a result of suffering from poverty and unemployment. Moreover, the social challenges women face compel them to resort to traditional relations which may restrict women's options in resorting to the judiciary, limiting their independence in decision-making regarding who represents them before the law.

In addition, most lawyers, even if available, are not equally sensitive to understand women's requirements or the difficulties they face when resorting to litigation. Some lawyers may not see or understand the discriminatory dimensions of a law, which may affect both men and women. Social and familial relations issues, especially in cases where children are involved, require different treatments in dealing with them, in terms of rapid decision making and achieving justice. Implementing these verdicts is even more important. Women who receive a court visitation verdict or alimony cannot wait for years for the verdict to be implemented.

Implementing the right to access justice requires the availability of a set of requirements that could lead to the promotion of a state of satisfaction and reassurance, as well as a feeling of safety and trust within the group and society. The fulfillment of these requirements needs a political will and the presence of efforts, resources, and expertise, in addition to the commitment to respecting human rights and acknowledging equality among the people, and the respect of the rule of law, such as:

■ Right to Litigation

This is a basic right, guaranteed for all Jordanians by the provisions of the Constitution. Courts of law are open to everyone, and judges are independent in their judiciary. Judges, public prosecutors and lawyers play an effective role in the field of protecting women's rights, enabling them to access justice. The mission of judges is represented in implementing the law in disputes presented to them, assuring that current laws and regulations are respected. Their role is manifest in interpreting the provisions of the law and protecting legality and legitimacy, through refraining from implementing any text that violates the Constitution. Judges are the protectors of human rights, and the ones who guarantee adherence to the commitments of a fair trial. They are

the ones who achieve justice for the oppressed and tackle injustice and oppressors, deterring those who infringe on the rights guaranteed by the law. The more women are represented in the judiciary, the better the chance to take women's needs into consideration when applying the law, because judges are members of society and are affected by the prevailing culture.

It is necessary to continue to make awareness and training programs available for those working in legal professions, including male and female lawyers and administrators, regarding the manner of dealing with women's issues within the prevailing social context, enabling them to possess the knowledge and skills to deal with women's issues positively. This type of programs helps study the assumptions in the minds of litigants, and attempt to address judicial cases not only from the perspective of assumed neutrality, but also from a perspective of equality, justice and equal opportunity.

The judiciary plays a significant role in establishing the principles of justice and fairness through the implementation of the principles of human rights and the international Charter, making judicial decisions more sensitive to women issues. In a judicial precedent, a magistrate judge in Tafileh issued a decision in which he based his judgment on provisions from international law, in a case concerning discrimination against a girl in Al-Hassa, south of the Kingdom. This represented a positive step and a legal precedent towards using international conventions as binding references in courts of law. The judge succeeded in changing the girl's name at her request, basing his judgment on the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

The judiciary's reliance on international legal references, however, is still in its infancy, especially that these conventions were not published in the Official Gazette until 2006 and 2007, as mentioned earlier.

Among the rights adjacent to the right to litigation are the right to a fair trial and the right to resorting to alternative mechanisms in solving conflicts, as well as others that benefit women.

■ **Right to Access Information**

Efforts to make information available are still deficient and fail to provide all the necessary information to whoever requests it or needs it without delay or financial cost. Some initiatives have attempted to do so, whether at the official level, such as the Prime Ministry's website, which publishes decisions and some basic information, and provides Official Gazette issues electronically, or other ministries' websites or bulletins published by them, or material prepared and published by non-governmental organizations and national institutions, including the JNCW's website and its publications, or programs by community radio stations, including "Farah Al-Nas" station, for example. These initiatives do provide some information, but are still not sufficiently effective to reach a broad base of citizens, especially women. Furthermore, they do not provide complete information in a form that is comprehensible by the general public.

Hence, it is necessary to use the educational institutions and the media, as the most capable methods to better reach the public in various locations.

The government has realized the need to enact a law to guarantee the right to access information. Hence, Law No. 47 for the year 2007 was approved and ratified, and Jordan became the first Arab country to enact such a law, which continues to face many obstacles and constraints that restrict the actual implementation of this right.

■ Right to Knowledge of Legal Texts and Provisions

Reports state the fact that four billion people suffer from the absence of legal empowerment and are living outside of the framework of the rule of law in the world. No doubt this is indicative of the great level of seriousness and deficiency in these people's right to legal and institutional knowledge and information that guarantee them the right to access justice. Additionally, there is no doubt that the absence of educational curricula that deal with legal culture and the science of law is considered among the basic obstacles facing the effective flow and availability of information, and people's ability to understand this information and acquire effective knowledge that benefit their lives in terms of protection, prevention and defense. This is important, especially since the rule of law principle is based on the well-known concept that the legal text is a "pretext applicable to all", based on the principle that "ignorance of the law is not a basis". This is a thorny issue that presents a challenge and comprises a basic paradox. We, on one hand, do not muster the means to assure that everyone is knowledgeable of the principles of the current laws. We do not have the freedom to claim ignorance of the laws, because this would become a means of dissociating ourselves from legal commitments and impunity. Publishing laws in the Official Gazette represents an adequate solution. Yet the Official Gazette is not available to all people easily, in addition to the fact that many of the binding provisions that affect the legal positions of people are not published, such as some regulations and instructions, or some public decisions. Although the Official Gazette is available on some electronic websites, the limited prevalence of the internet and the poor ability to use it by large sectors of society, especially by less privileged group, such as the poor, women and children, reduce the interest envisaged. This requires the search for methods that would guarantee exposure to the laws, when needed, easily and without cost, especially for women. This issue remains one of the major challenges.

Some initiatives sought to provide this service, including the Women Knowledge Network³, and the "Waraqati" project on the Jordanian Women website⁴, in addition to the websites of the Prime Ministry, the two houses of parliament, the Judicial Council, and various ministries and public institutions, and universities, in addition to media, civil society and some international and Arab websites.

Providing texts and provisions as they are, however, is not sufficient. The legal adaptation necessary for implementing laws on facts and realities and the pragmatic understanding require simplifying the information, and using a less complicated language than the legislative articulations and technical terms. Furthermore, identifying texts that should be implemented on a case-by-case basis is substantially difficult for the non-specialist, in addition to the effect of procedural legislation, evidence laws and other considerations on the origin of right, which makes it difficult to identify. All these are challenges that require the search for ways to address

³ www.amanjordan.org

⁴ www.women.jo

them, such as providing specialized knowledge and information service centers that have trained capabilities, and providing telephone and electronic lines, counseling and assistance legal offices free of charge, within which the Jordanian Lawyers Association can play a major role, in addition to legal and specialized civil society institutions.

The required knowledge does not only involve making the texts and provisions available, but rather instilling awareness of it, as well as of the basic legal principles and the objectives of the law. A deep understanding of the law is liable to generate and instill the conviction and trust in the legal system, which contributes to trust in the credibility and feasibility of the law at the private individual and the general social⁵ level, and the role of all this in building a society of justice and equality.

■ Right to Access Legal Counseling and Advisory Services

The provision of free legal counseling and advisory services is considered one of the basic requirements for guaranteeing the right of access to justice. The problem lies in the lack of a prevention culture, in such a way that most people would seek information and advice before being involved in legal problems. The culture of knowledge of the law's provisions is almost totally absent. The science of law is considered, according to the majority of people, complicated and elitist. Rarely are any efforts exerted to simplify the provisions of the law and making related information available to the public. The culture of resorting to specialists is also absent, even for financially competent people. If we add to this the fact that the cost of these professional consultations and their financial burden for large parts of society, especially women, prevent financially incapable people from requesting this service, a problem surfaces that requires specialized studies to investigate its economic, social, and even psychological effects. Its certain results include the loss of rights and an imbalance in justice, along with associated risks on trust, tranquility, safety and peace.

The provision of these services does not only represent a personal service for individuals to arrive at justice. Rather, the whole society needs them to establish a social commitment to the rule of law, to motivate a serious quest for avoiding getting involved in problems that require interference by the judiciary, and to spread respect and adherence to the supremacy and rule of law, which leads to the feeling of security, justice and equality.

■ Right to Access Legal Assistance

Laws have regulated the means for providing legal assistance. However, and in limited and very specific cases, this assistance was absent from many important areas. As we mentioned when we talked about the role of lawyers, there exists the potential for benefiting from the opportunities available, namely appointing a defense lawyer for financially incapable defendants, in accordance with the provisions of Article 100 of the Jordanian Lawyers Association. Furthermore, the law stipulates that a lawyer must be appointed for defendants facing major criminal charges which require, in case of conviction, the death sentence or life imprisonment with hard labor. The text of the Association's law insinuates, however, that legal advice is

⁵ "Seeking Justice: Authority, Law and Freedom", Mohammad Nour Farahat, Published by "Sutour Khasah", 2000, p172.

available in criminal cases only, although injustices imposed on women specifically, and rights that could be lost, are in other areas as well, such as issues related to Shari'a law, where there is no text of Article 100 because there is no Association for Shari'a lawyers, and because they are not necessarily members of the Lawyers Association. Furthermore, cases related to rights may involve the potential for losing rights that are no less important for its owners than criminal penalties, especially that litigation before courts of conciliation and first instance can only be done through lawyers, and wide groups of society, especially women, are incapable of providing lawyer fees, and are compelled to choose not to resort to the judiciary.

The JNCW has established the Women's Complaints Office to receive, through various means, women's complaints and transfer them to a wide network of service providers, including legal assistance from non-governmental organizations and professional agencies. The Ministry of Justice's initiative to support this service is considered one of the most prominent aspirations of those concerned with justice for a basic institutional treatment that receives government support in this field. It may be possible as well to demand that the Greater Amman Municipality and other municipalities in the Kingdom provide this service within the parameters of their municipalities free of charge, as a developmental service to the local community.

■ **Right to Free Litigation or at Reasonable Fees and Expenses**

The basic principle is that justice is granted free of charge. Despite this, legal regulations tended to impose litigation fees that were gradually increased, with the excuse of maintaining the serious nature of the trial or litigation despite the fact that those who are financially capable may abuse the litigation right, while those who are financially incapable may lose their right because they cannot afford these fees. The law guarantees the poor the right to apply for deferring the fees. However, the possibility for submitting such a request is faced, on one hand, with the difficulty of proving financial incapability, including the embarrassment this causes for the applicant, especially if she is a woman. On the other hand, the fees are considered deferred, and therefore a debt on the beneficiary, that she will have to pay if she lost her case for any reason. If we add to this most people's ignorance, especially the poor, of this possibility, and their ignorance of the procedures for utilizing them, we would reach the conclusion that there are several stumbling blocks that prevent maximum use of this text.

Whereas the principle is free litigation, the legislator was fair regarding the fees for complaints and for dropping criminal cases, although the same was not applied to rights claims. Furthermore, fees for Shari'a cases, though reasonable, are not available for each poor person, especially women and old people, and for personal status cases for non-Muslims. Fees represent a special problem for women, whereby fees for divorce cases or dissolution of marriage in certain cases reach JD 800, and alimony fees reach, in some courts, JD 350, which requires an effort to amend the laws and standardize litigation fees at the lowest levels for all litigants, in realization of the principle of equality among Jordanians and to guarantee the right to access justice and protect the rights of some groups, such as women and children.

Litigation involves direct and indirect costs, where the former refers to financial expenses borne by parties to legal disputes, such as court fees (case fees, serving fees, enforcement fees), lawyer and expert fees and expenses, which are considered high compared with the low compensation

that may be decided by the court, especially in family and domestic violence cases, such as alimony and compensation for abusive divorce. By Indirect fees, however, we mean the time and effort needed to follow-up on cases, and the expenses incurred in preparing data and checking with various departments and institutions, as well as the time a woman spends away from her work, her children, or her family members, in addition to the cost and hassle of childcare, transportation, and difficulty in reaching courtrooms since many of them are far from the places where women reside.

■ **Right to Suitable Time Frames for Attaining and Implementing a Fair Ruling**

There is no doubt that slow justice is closer to denying justice than to achieving it. Hence, guarantees are necessary to make sure that decisions are issued within suitable time periods, and that these decisions are actually enforced within a reasonable time and without complications. Hence, refining and distinguishing between laws of principle and laws of enforcement on one hand, and the legal texts that provide room for procrastination, is one of the basic guarantees of the right to access justice, especially when decisions involve children and matters that cannot afford delays, such as alimony, custody, visitation rights of children and others.

The difficulties in issuing alimony decisions, and the difficulty of enforcing these laws have led to proposing the draft law for the Alimony Lending Fund, for example. The new Personal Status Law of 2010 included, for example, a text to establish this law. This has not been implemented as yet. The enforcement of the alimony ruling, which mostly represents a small monthly payment for the poor, resulted in the past into the beneficiaries, including children, women and elderly people not receiving the payments. This is still the case. The beneficiaries prefer, despite their dire need, not to pursue the benefits legally, because the cost of the follow-up and implementation necessary may exceed the amounts specified in the court verdict, in addition to the time, effort and suffering these procedures involve.

The above shows that the Jordanian legal and judicial systems, civil society initiatives and national institutions include a host of services aimed at guaranteeing the right to access justice. Together, they form available opportunities. The problem, however, lies in the relatively recent interest in these services and the increasing demand for them, as well as the insufficiency of what is available of them. Hence, there is an urgent need to develop available opportunities, improve current services and improve their effectiveness through:

Section Four: Recommendations

■ Legislation Development

National efforts should be continued to complete the process of refining and taking out from current legislation any discrimination against women, and any legal text that ceased to be appropriate, or does not meet the needs of women and the Jordanian society at this stage. This should be done by reviewing new legislation to make sure it responds fairly to the needs and requirements of both men and women. Efforts should be directed towards legislation that achieve justice, participation and equality, and proposing any new texts or laws that fulfill national goals, represented in achieving justice and fairness, and increasing women's participation in various fields.

■ Promotion of Legal Knowledge and Culture

Knowledge is power, prevention and protection. It is the basis for building trust between the individual, the state, the society and the official and non-governmental institutions. Ignorance is a main reason behind the absence of this trust, the loss of rights and the spread of a state of dissatisfaction and insecurity.

Providing information and making knowledge of legal rights, provisions and procedures available is a public service that is required immediately and without hesitation. This requires serious thought in the direction of considering the science of law and the principles of human rights an integral part of the sciences and knowledge necessary and required at various stages of study. Spreading the legal culture requires using educational curricula based on respecting the values of right, justice, freedom and equality. Among the suitable mechanisms for achieving this are taking strict arrangements to guarantee the imposition of and commitment to the rule of law principle, and respect of the law by the powerful before the weak. Add to this the importance of making the Official Gazette available in the marketplace and public libraries for everyone, and making it more widely available electronically, as well as providing popular printings of publications that explain and simplify the provisions of the law and answer frequently asked questions.

One of the urgent priorities is realizing the rights and legal principles that protect them, as well as the necessary legal constraints mentioned therein. Among the fundamentals of building the state where the law rules is that citizens comply accurately in their rights and duties, and strive to develop them through the legitimate means specified by the constitution, far from sharp conflicts that arise occasionally, leaving negative effects on the unity of the social and family fabric, instilling a violent behavior in society to achieve personal or class interests at the expense of public interest and the weaker groups within society, including women.

Hence, it is necessary to expand continued legal education and awareness programs and to eradicate legal illiteracy especially that directed at women, in order to contribute to establishing the principles of the rule of law and protecting human rights, which is a joint responsibility between the people and the state authorities.

We are not restricting knowledge to information, but rather as law and rights being a culture for a democratic society that exhibits a deep understanding resonating in the individual and group conscience, and its reflections in the social and political behavior. It is a culture that reflects creativity, achievement and takes sides with truth and justice. This culture does not result from merely making information available, but is influenced by the position that the state authorities and societal powers assign to the law and human rights, and establish freedom, justice and equality.

■ Availability of Data and Information

Among the conditions of proper planning and feasible projects is basing them on a reliable scientific foundation. This cannot be achieved without creating and making available information and data, through documentation, studies, statistical surveys, building databases and computerization. They all require scientific efforts and a will to publish this information and make it available for whoever needs it, for public opinion and for decision-makers.

Among the conditions for a sense of security and trust in the fairness of the state system, and people's readiness to abide by the rule of law and the provisions and decisions of the judiciary is the availability of documented annual data and information, and periodic publishing of court decisions and case details, as well as data related to police work and information from parties working in the field of women complaints. These issues instill the concept of deterrent penalty and legal pursuit of anyone who violates the law.

In addition, making data and statistics available, encouraging academic studies and analysis of the data, addressing them in the media and the press, and making them available to the official and public state institutions could lead to clarifying uncertainty and suspicion regarding the level of commitment to the rule of law, especially the commitment of those entrusted with implementing the law by virtue of their responsibilities. It is difficult to visualize popular and parliamentary control and monitoring in the absence of this disclosure, and it is difficult to visualize the effectiveness and influence of this control in the absence of the provision of real data and information. Justice sought by women in this respect cannot be achieved if data is classified by gender.

■ Provision of Free Services

In light of the continued increase in the cost of obtaining good professional services, the increase in demand for them, and the need for them, the numbers of those incapable of utilizing these services are increasing at higher rates. These services have become too expensive for the majority of people to afford, bringing back concepts that do not comply with the modern state perceptions and its responsibilities towards its citizens, such as resorting to ethnic, tribal and regional side allegiances, and demanding they play a role in protecting the rights that the law is supposed to have protected. This, in turn, led to confusion in managing public affairs, in a manner that led politicians to search for individual solutions to economic and social problems, far from public solutions that achieve justice for all on the basis of citizenship and equality. Others also resorted to methods of attaining their rights on their own, which led to more crime and breaking the law. In the best cases, large societal groups preferred to drop their rights, give

up on pursuing them and even completely waiving them, which form an indirect incentive and encouragement for law violators. This precipitated a feeling of the futility and ineffectiveness of the law, and spread a lack of trust between the state and its institutions on one hand, and the individual and unofficial sectors on the other. Rights were lost, criminals went unpunished, and public trust was plagued with a serious imbalance, until the state started to take heed of these problems and started providing these services through activating existing texts, providing services, qualifying those providing them, and encouraging civil society organizations to provide this type of services. Media outlets also expanded and allocated special programs for legal awareness and answering people's enquiries related to the law and rights, which, as we mentioned earlier, remain to be geographically limited services, available only for a very limited number of people, which requires vertical and horizontal, qualitative and quantitative institutional expansion.

■ **Equitable Distribution of Services**

In light of what was mentioned in this study, large efforts were exerted at the level of serving various geographical regions and governorates in the Kingdom, through courts of law and public institutions. Yet a much smaller effort was exerted at the level of providing information, data and the provision of services in the area of providing justice and facilitating ways of achieving it. Many geographical areas continue to lack free legal service provision institutions and headquarters for women and human rights institutions that provide such services. With the exception of some institutions that started to expand geographically in these services, what is available does not fulfill or consider the needs of specific groups such as children and women.

Hence, the requirements for achieving justice include the equitable distribution of services qualitatively and quantitatively. This requires concerted efforts, complementary performance, exchange of information, and attention to training that motivates sons and daughters of various areas to confront the gaps and contribute to closing them and permit additional qualitative services, in addition to investing well in modern communication methods to facilitate contact, distribution of knowledge and reduction of cost.

■ **Enhancement of Human Rights Principles**

As we pointed out earlier, the practical and tangible enhancement of human rights principles affects everyone without discrimination, based on the references referred to earlier in this study, which automatically leads to a tangible improvement in methods of legal equality and achieving justice. It is imperative that we follow an applied methodology in spreading the culture and values of human rights, without tolerating violations, regardless of their source, instilling in people's minds and souls that the law protects these rights, and that the state assumes its responsibility in this field. Human rights is an internationally approved system of values and practical provisions that aim at protecting people's rights and improve their standards of living, and not simply a set of theoretical slogans that are applied selectively and whimsically, so that a few people enjoy them while the majority of people, especially marginalized groups in society, such as women, are deprived of enjoying them.

The support of the state and the various powers of society is required to enable citizen service centers in general and women in particular to be able to assume their roles in spreading and enhancing the culture of human rights. These centers include human rights offices in public institutions, such as public security, the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Justice, human rights and women's rights organizations, and organizations working with children, juveniles, the elderly, the sick, workers, the environment, journalists and others.

■ **Building People's Confidence in Justice and its Institutions**

Building popular trust and complete conviction in justice and its institutions, can only take place through adherence to the principles of justice, and respecting these principles in the implementation at all levels and by the various authorities of the state, such as the legislative, executive and judiciary, and by the media, civil society, opinion and intellect leaders, and religious leaders. This trust cannot be enhanced away from the rule of law; a just law that respects and frames institutionalization and human rights and protects them. Trust cannot also be built away from commitment to combat corruption in all its manifestations, including nepotism, favoritism, bribery, power deviation and discrimination, or far from adherence to good governance principles, with all that it means in terms of transparency in performance and accountability. Women's trust in the justice system cannot be achieved away from adherence to the principles, basics and fundamentals that this report addressed in detail regarding justice, the judiciary and human rights. Building this trust requires a serious and resolute commitment to the fair implementation of the law. Such trust is the basis of tranquility, which, as the constitution stipulated, is the right of all Jordanians. It enhances confidence in equal opportunities, and represents the solid foundation for national affiliation. It is a basic prerequisite for advancing on the road to justice, participation and equality, with endorsement and support from the leadership and the various authorities of the state.

In addition, public right cases have not developed sufficiently. This refers to cases that are not driven by any party directly involved in the case, but are rather driven by the court itself. The law protecting from domestic violence, for example, stipulates that legal assistance institutions should inform security authorities about violence cases they are reviewing. Such a compulsion may represent a social constraint to women who suffered from violence, preventing them from resorting to these centers requesting assistance, worrying from the results of such action on their families. It is noteworthy that many countries, such as Sweden, give women exposed to violence the choice to report the case, if they wish to, which encouraged many women to resort to requesting help in service provision centers, without necessarily informing law enforcement agencies.

■ **Development of Legal Counseling and Assistance Centers**

Forms of legal assistance methods have developed in Jordan, and the number of formal and informal national institutions that respond to the needs and issues of women have increased in number. Centers for legal assistance and guidance that provide legal support to women in litigation are considered a very important source of power in women's struggle for their rights. These institutions or centers lead legal reform efforts where women rights are concerned. Most women, however, know nothing about them. Even if sufficient information was made available

about them, and they come forward to present their cases before them, these centers may provide legal advice, but are incapable of providing actual support in court, especially that these centers' financial resources cannot accommodate the huge number of cases presented to them, especially with the need to sustain the provision of these services, which requires the provision of permanent financing, which may not always be fulfilled. Hence, JNCW proposed the establishment of legal guidance and assistance centers in various areas of the Kingdom, either through municipalities or the courts, to provide free legal guidance and assistance to all men and women, with the requirement that workers in these centers be trained to fulfill the special needs of women in this field, under the supervision of a reference party of specialized male and female experts.

■ Legal Knowledge and Culture

Legislation, including laws and regulations, are mostly written in complicated and confusing technical language that contains legal terms ineligible by laypeople. Hence, most people are incapable of recognizing their rights to begin with, in order to demand them. Although recognizing rights does not necessarily guarantee accessing justice, it is certain that anyone who does not know his or her right cannot demand it. In this sense, it is fit to say: "Knowledge is power."

The lack of knowledge about available services among women, whether provided by civil society organizations or government institutions, affects women's ability to access justice negatively. Hence, relevant parties should strive to increase women's awareness and the level of their legal culture, and to integrate human rights and women and children's rights principles and concepts into educational curricula at various educational levels, and to organize training programs and large-scale awareness campaigns, such as the "16 Day Campaign against Violence against Women", and other campaigns that are organized at specific times, similar to the campaigns for promoting awareness of the laws and rules for nomination and elections that precede parliamentary, municipal or associations elections.

On the other hand, there is a need to increase free professional guidance services, and guaranteeing that women can access them easily, provided this coincides with the efforts aiming at spreading awareness and societal training to enhance the role of civil society in accompanying and developing such services, in addition to awareness towards performing more field research and surveys to assert whether the procedures and systems for women to access justice are women-friendly or not, effective or not, and henceforth building measurement indicators about progress in this field. It is necessary here to stress the importance of surveying the opinions of women themselves on what they need from the legal system, in order to formulate practical recommendations to enhance the role of the civil society in keeping up with the development of services provided to them.

Finally, it is necessary to assure that providing legal and procedural guidance and information is also available to handicapped women, in such a way that awareness and guidance materials on women's rights are available in appropriate formats, or printed in Brill format, or are available in an adequate audio-visual form, such as using sign language.

It has also become necessary to encourage non-governmental organizations to provide advice and support in the field of providing such services whenever possible.

Chapter II:
Participation; the Economic Empowerment of Jordanian Women

Introduction

Jordan attaches great importance to developing and employing human resources in developmental efforts, since the human element represents its most important resource, and the main engine to drive development in various fields, especially the economy. Over the past three decades, the focus increased on enhancing the role of women in the various fields of economic development as one of the major development priorities, emanating from a deep belief in the concept that women represent half the society, and are an important and vital part of human resources operating in it. The trend developed towards setting policies that aim at activating economic participation for women in a larger magnitude, in line with international trends calling for the need to direct developmental programs specifically for women, within what was known internationally as the "Women in Development" method.⁶

This interest was manifest in the successive efforts aimed at enhancing women's role and their effective economic participation, whether by amending legislation and eliminating discriminatory texts, or by setting national strategies, plans and programs that would maximize economic opportunities for Jordanian women, develop vocational training programs, and enhance the capacities of rural women to realize income, in addition to making soft lending programs available for women and establishing suitable economic projects in rural and Badia areas. These national programs and plans did not ignore directing attention towards enhancing the capabilities of women with special needs, and activities concerned with promoting awareness, building capacities, networking, and building partnerships with relevant parties.

Relevant parties also recently undertook instilling the idea of incorporating gender in the labor market. This was manifest in the launch of the National Strategy for Jordanian Women and the economic and political empowerment theme for women adopted by the Millennium Development Goals, which led to achieving a number of tangible achievements, although they have been limited in the last few years.

It must be admitted that these efforts did not prevent the retreat of the Jordanian women's economic position, compared to other women in the region and worldwide. Unemployment rates increased for females compared to males by about 2.1 times, whereby it was 21.7% for women compared to 10.4% for men. Furthermore, the pace of progress in Jordanian women's average economic participation witnessed a relative stagnation over the past twenty years, and did not increase as was hoped. The pace of that increase was slow, at a maximum level of 2.4% over the past ten years. It must be mentioned here that the average refined economic activity for women, which expresses average economic women participation, did not exceed 14.7% in 2010.⁷ This is close to its average in the year 2000 (12.3%), which promotes legitimate questions over the rate of actual progress that took place on Jordanian women's economic participation over the past twelve years.

⁶ See: United Nations Development Fund for Women, Jordan Center for Social Research, Dr. Musa Shtaiwi: "Economic Marginalization of Jordanian Women", 2008.

⁷ Source: Department of Statistics, 2010.

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE 1:

Figure No. 1: Average Refined Economic Activity for Females (1994-2010)

The gender gap⁸ between males and females, which reached 48.8% in 2010⁹ contracted minimally during the same period,¹⁰ which indicates the presence of a large disparity between the two sexes in many areas, including inequality in salaries and wages, and the concentration of women's work in specific sectors; mainly, education and health. In addition, women enter the labor force relatively late and leave it relatively early compared to males. All these represent real problems in Jordanian women's participation in the labor market.

Reverting to international indicators, we find that Jordan occupied the 129th position out of 134 countries in the "International Gender Gap Report 2010", whereby the economic participation rate for females to that of males did not exceed 0.32%, which indicates that female participation rate is very low compared to males, according to the equality guide.¹¹ These indicators also show the direct relationship between the economic activity of women and their educational levels, indicating a relatively high level of education for both employed and unemployed women equally.¹² Another characteristic of the female labor force in Jordan is the relative high rate of economic activity for unmarried women (19.9%) compared to (12.7%) for married women.¹³

The poor level of women's economic participation is considered one of the major obstacles facing economic development efforts in Jordan. On one hand, it is a waste of large productive capacities that are needed to achieve development, and an increase in dependency ratios in the Jordanian society, where women represent 70% of working age dependents. On the other hand, it represents a low return on Jordan's investment in educating females for the family and society. It is certain that women's participation in the labor market and their economic empowerment are considered among the best ways to invest the energies and capacities enjoyed by women, helping to transfer them from the dependent group to the economic participants group. This is an indispensable option to increase the level of economic performance and enhance the developmental process in Jordan, as well as attaining the desired level in terms of the well-being of society and the individual, especially in light of the fact that women's expenditure in essence is on education, health and well-being, and hence, the more empowered women are the more this will reflect on the well-being of families, and consequently society as a whole.

This part of the report reviews, in three sections, the most prominent national achievements in the field of enhancing women's economic participation in Jordan, and the most important challenges and gaps that continue to face women in various aspects of the economy, in addition

⁸ The gender gap represents the economic participation rate for males minus the economic participation for females.

⁹ Source: Department of Statistics, 2010.

¹⁰ Source: Data from the Department of Statistics, and the Annual Labor Report by the Ministry of Labor, 2010.

¹¹ The equality guide represents the female economic participation rate to the male economic participation rate. The more the value approaches a full one, the larger the equality in the value of the indicator between males and females. The farther the value is from one, the less the equality in the indicator value between males and females. If the value is equal to one even, this means there is equality in the indicator value between males and females.

¹² Source: Ministry of Labor, Working paper on Women in the Jordanian Labor Market, 2010.

¹³ Source: Department of Statistics, Labor and Unemployment Survey, 2010.

to the most important strategic trends that may enhance women's economic participation in Jordan.

Section One: Achievements

This Section reviews the concerted efforts exerted by relevant official and non-official stakeholders in Jordan at various levels to enhance the Jordanian women's economic participation, and the coordination role of the Jordan National Commission for Women (JNCW), in partnership with various executive parties in the public sector institutions and the civil society to amend relevant laws and regulations, and provide financing and lending, as well as statistics and data classified by gender, that will support the decision making process, in addition to implementing a number of direct projects and awareness efforts to build women capacities and enhance their participation. Following are some of the most prominent achievements:

1. Policies, Strategies and National Plans

The formation of the Jordan National Commission for Women as a general umbrella for setting policies related to women, as was explained in the previous chapter, came from the attention afforded by the Jordanian leadership and the successive governments for the issue of women empowerment and enhancing their economic, social and political participation in development efforts. Another goal of the formation of JNCW was the preparation of the National Strategy for Jordanian Women for the years 2006-2010, which dedicated a special axis for empowering women economically through overcoming the difficulties facing women in the labor market, especially those related to the low economic return as a result of their undertaking of low-paying jobs, or as a result of discrimination against them in wage levels, their low qualifications level, and the involvement of many women in unorganized labor, as well as the lack of providing supporting services for their work.

JNCW will continue to adopt the women economic empowerment issue and increasing their participation in the labor market, as a major priority on the National Strategy on Women for the years 2011-2015. This strategy included a special axis for the economic empowerment of women, which generally aims at increasing the potential for women's access to work opportunities available, especially in the private sector, reducing gender occupational segregation, enabling women to work in specialized jobs and professions that had been monopolized by men, and occupying leadership and decision-making jobs, in addition to enhancing pioneering work for females and establishing new projects, which will contribute to creating new job opportunities, especially from women to women.

In addition, the Millennium Development Goals and their indicators, especially the third goal which calls for "enhancing gender equality and women empowerment" were incorporated within the government's plans for economic and social development for the years 2004-2006, and the development executive programs for the years 2007-2009 and 2009-2011, which was prepared by the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation in cooperation with stakeholders, including JNCW, civil society institutions and experts in the field of women and human rights.

On its part, the Ministry of Labor institutionalized the concept of gender by redrafting the Ministry's strategic plan and the work plans of its directorates, whereby the plans became gender compliant.¹⁴ Similarly, the Vocational Training Corporation's strategic plan gave the women's economic participation issue special attention, focusing on female participation in vocational training as part of the National Agenda / Support of Employment and Vocational Training Axis.¹⁵ Work is underway to instill the gender sensitive budget concept and implementation in various national institutions, through preparing a plan for institutionalizing training on this subject as part of the program to prepare upper and middle management leaderships at the National Training Institute, in addition to implementing indicators for adopting the gender perspective in seven ministries and government institutions. These will be implemented in all departments and institutions as part of the Budget Law in 2012, in addition to approving other specialized strategies that contribute, directly or indirectly, in improving women's economic situation, such as the National Poverty Strategy, the Population Strategy, the child, agricultural development, national strategy for the youth, the national strategy for the elderly (2008-2010) and others.

Despite the presence of these policies and plans that targeted empowering women economically, present indicators for women economic participation show that the result of these policies was weak and limited, and hence were insufficient to effect a tangible change on the ground, which requires an evaluation to understand the reasons, and carry out interventions that directly target the economic participation of women within the targeted sectors.

2. Relevant Laws and Legislation

Jordan has endeavored to establish a legislative environment that guarantees equality between men and women, providing wider participation of women in economic activity. In Paragraph 2 of Article 23, the Constitution stipulates paying all workers' wages that are commensurate with the type and quantity of the work done. Jordan also committed, for some time now, to achieving equity in wages when it ratified the Equal Pay Agreement (1966), and the Discrimination in Employment and Profession for 1985. It also ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) for 1992, which stresses the right for an equal pay for equal work. The Civil Law No. 43 for the year 1976, and the Labor Law No. 8 for the year 1996, and the Civil Service Regulation No. 30 for the year 2007 emphasize the principle of equality among citizens in the field of work. Laws related to women were amended to include texts that take into consideration the needs of working women, and mothers in specific in the work environment.¹⁶

Despite these steps, there continue to be large constraints facing the implementation of comprehensive arrangements to guarantee equity in pay for women. Official statistics show that there is a gap in male and female employee pay at the same skill levels. Within this framework, coordination is underway between the International Labor Organization and local partners,

¹⁴ Source: Ministry of Labor, Working Paper on Women in the Jordanian Labor Market 2010.

¹⁵ Source: Ministry of Labor, Working Paper on Women in the Jordanian Labor Market, 2010

¹⁶ The details of rights in the various relevant laws are provided in Section Two of Chapter I of this report, under Laws In Effect.

including the Ministry of Labor and the Jordanian National Commission for Women (JNCW) to develop national plans for decent labor, equality and equity in pay.

The temporary Social Security Law No. 7 for the year 2010 provides a package of social guarantees that protect the insured from old age, disability and death risks. Furthermore, the Social Security Corporation started applying the motherhood insurance, and the insurance against unemployment as of September 2011, in addition to expanding coverage by the provisions of security insurance, whereby social coverage is provided for female workers in small establishments, which absorb the larger numbers of female labor. It is expected that this will contribute to increasing the ratio of females insured and covered by social security, presently representing 25% of the total number of insured individuals.¹⁷

3. **Women Financing and Micro-Lending**

The efforts of the Development and Employment Fund are considered among the initiatives that sought to provide the necessary funds to encourage Jordanian women to participate economically through private work. The Fund provided the necessary funding for women to establish private enterprises in professional, tourism, commercial or handicrafts areas. The Fund also created a special program for women; namely, the "Rural Women Empowerment Fund". On its part, the Development and Employment Fund (from its establishment and until 2009) financed women projects, with the ratio of projects directed at women reaching 60% of the total number of projects financed, and 41% of the total volume of financing providing by the Fund. The Employment, Education and Professional and Technical Education Fund, in turn, attended to employing women through financing the Project for Supporting and Rehabilitating Jordanian Women, in addition to the "Producing Families" and "Credit Funds" programs, supervised by the Ministry of Social Development.¹⁸

Regarding laws and legislation that regulate lending mechanisms at banks, we find that there is equality between men and women in rights regarding obtaining bank loans, if they are capable of guaranteeing and repaying the loan. There are no specific conditions for women. In recent years, banking establishments have facilitated granting loans to females against salary guarantees, which gave women a wider range to obtain special bank loans. It must be pointed out, however, that the chances for women to provide other collateral, such as real estate, is considered minimal compared to men.

In addition, the contribution of many government and non-government micro-lending agencies contributed to encouraging women to take on entrepreneurial work and develop small scale projects that reduce unemployment rates among women and improve their families' standards of living. Despite the fact that the ratio of female borrowers is close to that of males, it is noticeable that most of these loans were relatively small in size, and were mostly spent on women's personal needs and their families' daily needs. A study carried out by the Studies and Policies Department of the Economic and Social Council in 2011, titled "Micro and Small-Scale Lending in Jordan" showed that some borrowers use micro and small-scale financing for the

¹⁷ Source: Data from the Social Security Corporation.

¹⁸ . Data from the Development and Employment Fund

purpose of financing personal and consumer expenditure, mostly by women. Despite the large volume of this type of lending, we find that only one third of the total job opportunities created are for females. This indicates that these establishments primarily contributed to fulfilling daily economic needs, more than supporting sustainable economic projects. Furthermore, the Hashemite Fund for the Development of Jordan Badia was also established to achieve comprehensive development in various regions of the Badia, through establishing and nurturing productive development projects, and enhancing the developmental role of women in the Badia, as well as facilitating obtaining financial facilities and the related technical consultation.

In general, work was done on implementing a number of mechanisms and programs aiming at increasing women participation in economic activities, especially in nontraditional sectors of their work. Some government and non-government organizations facilitated the access of limited-income women or unemployed women to credit services.

Section Two: Challenges and Gaps

Despite numerous efforts and achievements addressed in the first chapter of this part, a number of reasons continue to cause the poor economic participation of women. Most studies performed in this field indicate social and cultural factors as the main reasons for women's poor economic participation in Jordan. As an example, a study published in 2008 by the United Nations Development Program, in cooperation with the Jordanian Center for Social Research titled "The Economic Marginalization of Jordanian Women" shows that the reasons behind women unemployment are, as is the case with men, due to reform and restructuring programs, weak harmonization between education outputs and the requirements of the labor market, minimum wage-levels policies, demand for using expatriate labor in most productive sectors, particularly the agricultural sector, in addition to the continued effect of traditional social values which place constraints on women participation in public life.¹⁹

On the other hand, a report published by the Women Labor Directorate at the Ministry of Labor titled "Women in the Jordanian Labor Market 2004-2009" indicates that there is a number of reasons behind the poor participation of women in the Jordanian labor market, related to supply and demand. Among the most important reasons related to the supply side, the large number of social responsibilities shouldered by women in the family, such as having and rearing children, which make women prefer to withdraw from the labor market, especially that women's joining the labor market was not accompanied by an integration of roles between men and women, which rendered economic participation an additional burden to women, in addition to their social responsibilities. The report also addressed cultural obstacles, in that society specifies the areas acceptable for women's work, such as education and health in the public sector specifically, in addition to inequality in accessing education and training opportunities, the limited freedom of women's movement and their role in the decision-making process. As for the reasons related to the demand side, these included discrimination in the workplace, discrimination in wages, unavailability of suitable job opportunities for women in the governorates in an equitable

¹⁹ Source: United Nations Development Fund for Women, Jordanian Center for Social Research, Dr. Musa Shtaiwi: "Economic Marginalization of Jordanian Women", 2008.

manner, work owners' inclination to avoid employing married women to avoid the financial burdens of maternity leaves, the lack of job security in the private sector, and long work hours.²⁰

It is well-known that the issue of economic development and the issue of women empowerment are mostly dealt with as two separate issues. This section of the report, however, addresses the issue of economic development from a gender perspective, since the large part of the inactive Jordanian resources is represented by women. Women represent about 85.3% of the economically inactive population, according to 2010 statistics. Furthermore, official statistics highlight the wide gender gap and the weak economic activity of Jordanian women, which results in reducing the potential productivity of the Jordanian economy and increases dependency levels. Hence, this chapter of the report will address this phenomenon, and the possibility of transferring women from the dependents category to the economically participating category as an indispensable option for enhancing the development process.

This part of the report highlights the root causes of the basic challenges that weaken women's economic participation in Jordan. It starts with listing the challenges through presenting a brief summary of the Jordanian economy as a whole, and the current challenges facing it, as well as the basic challenges and causes, and then identifying the targets and interventions required, keeping in mind the specificities of the targeted female segments, whether those unemployed economically active women, or those who are not economically active.

The quest to increase the competitiveness of the Jordanian economy requires addressing a number of economic and social challenges that formed as a result of several factors, perhaps the most important of which are the progressive population increase, and the demographic changes accompanying that growth over the last decades and years, which is what led to an imbalance in the relationship between new entrants into the labor market and ability of the Jordanian economy, in its public and private sectors, to generate sufficient job opportunities for these numbers every year, in addition to the imbalance in the structure of the economy, resulting from the weak contribution of the agricultural and industrial sectors in the gross domestic product compared to the services sector, as is shown by the Executive Development Program of the National Agenda 2011-2013, published by the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, the national economy's continued dependence on foreign aid, let alone the economic openness policy adopted by Jordan which, despite its many positive areas, has exposed Jordan to the effects of international changes and crises, and the factors that control the market economy, which mostly attend to economic growth away from the social dimension of economic growth.

These factors have together contributed to the emergence of a number of challenges, most important of which are: the high current account deficit in the balance of payments, resulting from the structural deficit in the trade balance, which can be attributed to the high volume of imports at rates higher than the volume of exports, high indebtedness, high unemployment rates accompanied by educational policies that led to the emergence of an open voluntary unemployment, disguised unemployment and poor productivity, which led, in turn, to the increase in dependence on expatriate labor to cover the deficit in undesired jobs by Jordanian

²⁰ Source: Dr. Khuloud Al-Marashdeh, Women Labor Directorate at the Ministry of Labor. Report titled "Women in the Jordanian Labor Market 2004-2009."

labor. In addition, Jordan is facing other challenges that are no less important than those mentioned earlier, such as fluctuating economic growth and local and foreign investment, low levels of savings, and high dependence on assistance and remittance from expatriate Jordanians.²¹

The economic situation affects directly the unemployment rates and economic participation ratios for men and women equally. The fragility of women's position, however, and society's perception of their work as a secondary need and not an urgent one, results in women being the first to suffer from the prevailing economic situation, and the first to leave the labor market, as well as the labor category that is most obliged to accept unfair working conditions. Looking at the Jordanian labor market, we find that average female economic participation is low compared to males, not exceeding 14.7% for females against 63.5% for men in 2010, with a gender gap of 48.8%. As the following illustration shows, women economic participation grew by 2.4% only over the past 10 years, and hence, the gender gap decreased by a very small amount over this period.

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 2:

Figure No. 2: Average Female and Male Economic Participation in Jordan for the Period (2000-2010)

Data from the Department of Statistics 2010

It can also be noticed that women economic participation in the Jordanian labor market is closely connected directly with the high level of education. Over the period 2005 - 2009, average economic participation of females with a Bachelor's degree or more reached about 64.98% on average, at a rate of approximately 34.1% for those with an intermediate diploma. Hence, the high level of education for economically active females is directly reflected on the characteristics of working and unemployed females alike in the job market, where 48.4% on average of the total workers have a Bachelor's degree or above. In return, 52.1% on average of the total number of the unemployed have a Bachelor's degree or above, and 25.5% on average of the total number of the unemployed are holders of intermediary diplomas.²² Women in Jordan face unequal challenges compared to men, in view of their educational achievement. Despite the fact that about 50% of Bachelor's degree students in various universities are females, according to the 2009 census, women suffer from a severe weakness in participation in work in regulated private sector establishments, small scale enterprises and the unregulated sector. This is because such establishments do not provide a working environment that is conducive to women workers' needs, whether in terms of long office hours or the lack of facilities for the woman worker's children, or laying women off because of their marriage in some cases. Furthermore, working women face clear discrimination in the levels of wages compared to men. In addition, working women suffer from discrimination in promotions and training courses inside or outside Jordan.²³

²¹ Source: These conclusions were arrived at through reviewing the National Agenda's development implementation program, published by the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation (2011-2012).

²² Source: Ministry of Labor, Working Paper on Women in the Jordanian Labor Market 2010, based on data from the Department of Statistics.

²³ Source: Ministry of Labor, Working Paper on Women in the Jordanian Labor Market 2010

Official data indicate that the average economic activity increases among unmarried women at double the rate with married women, while these rates increase for married males, which indicates that female economic participation is directly affected by family obligations and values connected to the social roles of women²⁴.

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 3:

Figure No. 3: Comparative Average Economic Activity for Males and Females by Social Status (2010)

Males

Females

Married

Single and includes Divorced and Widowed Persons

Data from the Department of Statistics 2010

In light of the above, it must be concentrated on transferring women from being dependent to a situation whereby they can become producers. For this purpose, it was necessary to identify the female targeted categories and classifying them within the unemployed from among the economically active women, and those economically inactive, and identifying the size of each of these categories. Figure No. 4 clarifies the distribution of females within the framework of economic activity, showing that the volume of the economically inactive category is very large, reaching about 85% of females who are in the working age.

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 4:

**Figure No. 4: Relative Distribution of Females within the Economic Activity Framework Population in Working Age
Approximately 3.4 million**

Economically Inactive

Approx. 2 million (60.5%)

Economically Active

Approx. 1.4 million (39.5%)

Economically Inactive (Males)

0.69 million (36.5%)

Economically Inactive (Females)

1.3 million (85.3%)

²⁴ Source: United Nations Development Fund for Women, Jordanian Center for Social Research, Dr. Musa Shtaiwi: "Economic Marginalization of Jordanian Women", 2008

Economically Active (Males)
Approx. 1.2 million (63.5%)

Economically Active (Females)
Approx. 0.2 million (14.7%)

Female Workers
Approx. 0.18 million (11.5%)

Unemployed Females
Approx. 0.05 million (3.2%)

Data indicate that addressing the major challenges facing the efforts to enhance economic growth in Jordan depend to a large extent on success in enhancing women's economic participation. Here, we can identify three major challenges that face women participation in the Jordanian labor market. These are:

1. Difficulty of women's access to job opportunities in the private sector, and continuing to work there.
2. Gender occupational segregation, and the need for women's horizontal participation in the various economic activities, including specialized jobs and professions that were monopolized by men, and vertically by assuming leadership and decision-making positions.
3. Enhancing female entrepreneurial work and establishing private projects. This will contribute to finding new job opportunities, especially from females to females.

2-1 Women's Difficult Access to Sustainability of Job Opportunities in the Private Sector

Despite the development in the Jordanian society over the past few decades, Jordanian female work continues to be concentrated within the education, health and social work sectors. The Third Jordan Annual Jordanian Human Development Report (2011) indicated that employment averages among women continue to be less than aspired in small and medium size enterprises, where the rate of women participation in the labor force does not exceed 15% compared to an international rate of more than 43% and the general rate for the region which is approximately 28%, meaning one third of the international rate and half the rate in the region, which reflects on unemployment and poverty rates in Jordan. Furthermore, women's ownership of small and medium size enterprises does not exceed 5.3% of the total number of these enterprises.²⁵ If we take into consideration that the ratio of working females in the public sector (government) is about one third of workers in this sector, representing half the female work force, the rate of women employment in the private sector seems very humble.

It can be said that there are two sub challenges under this challenge:

- A. The ratio of educated females does not appear as part of the labor force, which created a problem referred to as the "local brain-drain and loss of capacities."

²⁵ Source: Jordan Human Development Report 2010.

- B. Low demand for local labor in the shadow of using expatriate labor in the main productive sectors.

2-1-A Sub Challenge One: Loss of Local Capacity and Brain-Drain

Going back to national statistics, the wide gap between males and females regarding the problem of brain-drain and loss of c locally becomes evident. Unemployment among female university graduates reached 54.2% in 2009. The ratio of qualified (diploma or above) unemployed females to unemployed males is 3 to 1, with the ratio of economically inactive females from university graduates reaches 35%, while the ratio of economically inactive females among diploma holders reaches 65.9%²⁶.

The reluctance of educated women to participate in economic life in general and in the private sector comes as a result of this sector being a female labor repellant environment that does not support female labor or appreciate their requirements. It is void of any benefits or guarantees that the public sector provides as an institutional and social environment that permits women to reconcile their work's requirements and their family responsibilities, facilitating adaptation with the circumstances and developments, and offering them the ability to convince the man and society that their work does not contradict their basic duties towards their families.

The amendments that the Jordanian Labor Law for the year 1996 included, and the amendments introduced by the temporary social security law, which were alluded to earlier in this report, which came as a response to developments and changes that took place in society as a whole, and development in the work environment in Jordan in particular, are important amendments that helped provide protection and the supporting environment for the working woman, to enable her to participate in economic life and encourage her to work in the private sector. Doubtlessly, they also reduced the gap between women and the private sector, giving them wider scopes to select the type of work they wish. But the more important challenge remains to be the implementation of these amendments on the ground and complying by them, especially by work owners, and enlarging them to include the rest of the issues, including:

■ Inequitable Pay between the Sexes

As was referred to earlier in this report, and despite Jordan's commitment for a long time to achieving equity in wages for work of equal value, and the constitution's guarantee, in Article 23, of the right of all workers to wages commensurate with the quantity and quality of work, there are still obstacles facing the achievement of justice and equality in pay between the sexes, including the lack of texts in the Labor Law emphasizing the principle of equal pay.

Furthermore, the Jordanian constitution did not clearly and openly prevent discrimination in pay in cases when work is different in quality and equal in value. Actual practice shows that working women still face clear discrimination regarding the level of pay, compared to men in both the public and private sectors. The gap in pay between both sexes, however, seems much larger in the private sector, where official statistics indicate a gap between the pay of men and women at the same skill levels. Table No. 1 shows that the gender gap in pay between sexes for workers

²⁶ Source: Data from the Department of Statistics.

with specialization reached 35%. In other words, women with specialization, numbering half of all working women, receive a pay per hour that is lower by 35% than average pay received by men with specialization. And the pay gap between men and women with specialization in the private sector reached 43%, compared to 29% in the public sector. In addition, female employees classified at skill level 2, amounting to about 32% of working women, receive wages that are 19% less than those received by men in the same category of the private sector, compared to 7% in the public sector.

Table No. 1: Pay Gap between Men and Women by Skill Level and Sector, 2006

Skill Level	Skill Type	Pay Gap between Sexes	Pay Gap in the Private Sector	Pay Gap in the Public Sector
1	Primary professions	0%	14%	4% in favor of females
2	Clerks, service staff, shop sales staff, handicrafts workers, machine operators and assemblers.	14%	19%	7%
3	Technicians, specialists, assistants	8%	7%	13%
4	Specialists	35%	43%	29%

Paper on Policies of Equitable Pay in Jordan.

Sectors where there is concentration of women's work, sometimes referred to as the feminine sectors in Jordan, which include education, health and social work, continue to practice discrimination in wages in favor of men. For example, wages of female with specialization in the field of education are less than those of men in the same sector by one third. As a result of the low number of men in this sector, men receive higher wages than women working at the same level, because work owners exploit women's strong desire to work in this field and their readiness to accept relatively lower wages to do so, due to this sector's characteristics that are suitable for women's circumstances and society's perception.²⁷

■ Lack of Balance Between Women's Work and Family Responsibilities in the Private Sector's Work Environment

Due to the nature of the Jordanian society, women shoulder a number of social and family responsibilities, such as caring for children and rearing them, following up on their school obligations, and other burdens and responsibilities that increase with women entering the labor market and the new responsibilities that result. Hence, the multiple roles assumed by working women will require them either to exert additional efforts and outstanding energies to be able to reconcile their family requirements and complete their job requirements at high levels of achievement in terms of the required time and quality, or this will have a direct negative impact on the women's levels of achievement, represented in an increase in job turnover levels, being late to or absent from work, which emphasizes the negative stereotypical image with work owners regarding women's performance levels and their commitment, and hinders women's chances in job opportunities in the private sector. This could also represent an impediment to

²⁷ Source: Paper on Pay Equity Policies in Jordan, International Labor Organization, in partnership with the Jordanian National Commission for Women, 2010.

women in choosing the type of work they wish to do, such as choosing to work in the public sector because working conditions there, such as work hours, provide sufficient time for them to reconcile their family needs with their work requirements. They may also select to withdraw entirely from work.

Hence, official and non-official parties should work at making arrangements to rectify this problem and find a formula to enhance balance between women's work and their family responsibilities, including making employment more flexible in terms of work hours and location., due to the effect this has on increasing women's participation rates in the private sector, and increasing the private sector's attraction of female labor and its consideration of women's needs and increasing female participation rates in the private sector.

■ **Lack of Supporting Services to Working Women, including Childcare Facilities for Female Workers Children, such as Nurseries and Kindergartens, and Logistical Difficulties related to Transportation Facing Women**

Many studies showed that among the core causes of low women participation in the labor market is the lack of kindergartens at appropriate prices that do not consume a large chunk of the family income, providing services throughout the day, and in evenings and on official holidays when needed. These studies indicated the need to fill the urgent need to increase the number of nurseries as one of the requirements for increasing women participation in the labor market, and their continuing to work after marriage and having children, by providing nurseries for their children. The Commission had addressed the Prime Ministry, the Public Sector Development Ministry and the Ministry of Justice in order to include in the Public Service Regulation the necessary texts compelling the provision of nurseries and kindergartens for the children of male and female workers, and allowing mothers one hour daily, over two breaks, to nurse their infants, for one year after the end of the maternity leave. Furthermore, the provision of logistical services to women, including transportation and nurseries, will result in increasing women participation in the labor market, and enhancing working women's productivity when they are assured that their children and the environment they are in during their work are well.

■ **Poor Matching between Education Outputs and Skills Required in the Labor Market**

Education and training represent two important factors that help empower individuals and contribute to providing them with the necessary knowledge and skills to increase their participation in life in general. Matching the type and level of education and training received by the individual and the labor market requirements in terms of knowledge and skills is considered among the most important necessary factors to increase economic participation in the private sector for men and women in general. Despite the high female education rates in Jordan at all levels, practical disciplines that were attached to educating females are considered among the most significant problems facing women in finding job opportunities in the private sector. Such scientific disciplines which females normally join, which can be referred to as the feminine disciplines, enjoy no demand in the labor market, in addition to the fact that they do not provide the knowledge and skills that are compatible with work requirements in the private sector. These disciplines are normally selected because they are socially acceptable and enhance women's

traditional roles in the labor market as an educator, teacher, nurse, social worker, administrative assistant, etc.

It is noteworthy here that female selection of these education disciplines is not the result of their desire to work in this field, but rather the result of social conditions and prevailing cultural legacies that directly affect female decisions, including the control of fathers and brothers in the education and type of discipline decision, in addition to giving preference to male children in the family as far as the nature and level of education are concerned, at the expense of females, since the male is the future head of a household. This places females in a position whereby they either accept the specialization available and imposed on them, regardless of the career and professional future it will provide them, or discontinuing their education.

Hence, despite the availability of educational opportunities for females, these opportunities are not compatible with the principle of justice and equality. Most girls do not enjoy the freedom of selecting their areas of specialization and planning for their professional future. This reduces options available to them in choosing the work they wish to do, unlike men, who have better opportunities to choose the quality of education.

The following table summarizes the reasons connected to the problem of losing capacities and local brain drain, and their connection to the targeted categories.

Table No. 2: Reasons Related to the Issue of Loss of Local Capacity and Brain-Drain

Targeted Categories	Main Reasons
<p><u>First Targeted Category:</u> Economically Inactive Females</p>	<p>Job market environment (especially the private sector) is repellent to female labor and insensitive to women’s needs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pay discrimination between sexes. • Imbalance between the work environment in the private sector and the woman's work and family responsibilities. • Lack of supporting services for working women, including childcare and kindergarten, and logistical problems related to transportation facing women.
<p><u>Second Targeted Group:</u> Unemployed educated economically active women</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor compatibility between education outputs and skills required in the labor market.

2-1-B Sub Challenge Two: Challenge Related to Demand for Local Labor Versus Increase of Expatriate Labor Employment

This problem is mainly concentrated in the private sector, where work owners tend to employ expatriate labor, especially in jobs local labor is not attracted to. The volume of this challenge is evident in the huge number of expatriate workers, officially estimated at about 336,000 expatriate workers, representing double the total number of Jordanians seeking employment. It is noteworthy that this challenge is not due to a shortage in qualifications or training for local labor, since 47% of unemployed Jordanians had qualifications that are less than a high school diploma, compared to 91% of expatriate labor with less than a high school degree.

Department of Statistics data indicate that 22% of unemployed women have limited skills, keeping in mind that most of the demand for labor in jobs created require few or limited skills. This demand is concentrated in the capital city of Amman mostly.

At the level of women participation in the unofficial (unregulated) sector, however, a study titled "Women Participation in the Unregulated Work Sector" reached the conclusion that the structure of the unregulated job market does not differ substantially from that of the regulated work, since the professional structure of both is horizontal, whereby female workers are concentrated within jobs that require a lower level of skill, diversity and specialization. The study also explains that female workers in this sector tend to work in the transformational manufacturing sector, trade, service activities, and social, personal, educational and health activities, as well as social work or with families that require house help. It is noteworthy that reasons provided by male and female workers in houses reflect clearly the nature of the Jordanian society's beliefs towards "women's nature", and "what is appropriate for them" in terms of jobs that are compatible with these beliefs. The importance of these reasons ranged between flexibility in distributing the time made available by these jobs, and the suitability of the job in caring for family members and children, as well as the low operating cost of the work and better working conditions.

The following table summarizes the main causes related to demand for local labor in the shadows of demand for using expatriate labor and their connection to the targeted category.

Table No. 3: Main Causes Related to Demand for Local Labor

Main Causes	Targeted Categories
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Females face problems in searching for opportunities in the labor market • Work owners find difficulty in finding the required qualified females to fill the vacant positions. • In many cases, transportation represents one of the main reasons behind reluctance to work. • Ignorance of women of market requirements in terms of required skills and experience. 	<p><u>First Targeted Category:</u> Female job seekers in urban areas, with limited skills.</p> <p><u>Second Targeted Category:</u> Workers in the unofficial sector in urban and rural areas.</p>

2-2 Vertical and Horizontal Gender Occupational Segregation

The work environment in most western and Arab societies suffers from vertical and horizontal gender occupational segregation. Vertical segregation refers to the concentration of most women's work at the medium professional levels, away from leadership positions and policy and decision-making centers. Horizontal segregation, however, refers to most females' work in jobs and assignments that require a lower level of skill, diversity and specialization compared to what men do.²⁸

Gender-based segregation is considered one of the important economic challenges that should be addressed, since it has the potential of pushing many women to working in crowded sectors,

²⁸ Source: Women participation in the Unregulated Work Sector, 2008.

controlled by women in lower salaries, in addition to its negative influence on incorporating women in various economic activities, which leads to reducing the level of female economic participation. According to the Duncan Scale of 0.44, Jordan shows a higher reading for occupational segregations than the average in the MENA (Middle East and North Africa) region, amounting to 0.34.

Women economic participation rates in Jordan are affected by their social status, and the number and ages of their children, and the availability of services related to working women, especially nurseries and childcare centers. Furthermore, the volume of the female labor force is affected to a large extent with the ages of women and their marital status. Work is affected directly by the increase in the number of married working women, and increased number of pregnancies, in addition to the high cost of employing them, especially after marriage, whereby the work owner bears alone the cost of maternity and child-rearing leaves, being the decision-maker in the employment process. Hence, he refrains from employing women. This led to the emergence of a large challenge represented in the vertical and horizontal gender segregation in the labor market, which we summarize hereunder.

2-2-A Horizontal Occupational Segregation

Horizontal segregation indicates that there are certain jobs and professions where most women work, compared to others. In other words, there are employment and professional categories with female concentration more than others. Looking at Figures No. 5, 6 and 7, which show the distribution of female work horizontally over various economic and productive sectors and activities, we find that there are sectors where there are concentrations of women's work, such as education, health and social work, and in larger volumes than those in sectors like transformational industry and agriculture, for example. The fact is that more than half of female workers 53.8% are concentrated in two main activities; namely, education 39.1% of the total number of female workers, followed by the health and social work sectors 14.7%, while 7.4% of the total number of female workers work in the transformational industries sector.²⁹ Among the manifestations of horizontal occupational segregations is that 48.2% of the total number of female workers work in the public sector, while the rest work in the private sector, compared to 37% only of the total number of male workers working in the public sector. Only 14% of workers in the private sector are females, compared to 86% males.³⁰

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 5:

Figure No. 5: Relative Distribution of Jordanian Workers 15 Years and Above in the Private Sector by Sex (2009)

Males

Females

Data from the Department of Statistics, 2010

²⁹ Source: Ministry of Labor, "Working Paper on Women in the Jordanian Labor Market" 2010.

³⁰ Source: Department of Statistics. Labor and Unemployment Survey, 2010

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 6:

Figure No. 6: Relative Distribution of Female Workers 15 Years and Above by Current Economic Activity (2010)

**Agriculture
Transformational Industries
Health and Social Work
Education**

Data from the Department of Statistics, 2010

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 7:

Figure No. 7: Distribution of Number of Female Workers 15 Years and Above by Main Economic Activity for the Years (2000-2009)

**Mining
Supplies Manufacturing
Electricity, gas, and water
Construction
Wholesale and restaurants
Transportation, storage and communications
Financial mediation
Real estate and trade activities leasing
Public administration and social security
Education
Health and social work
Other Social and personal services**

Data from the Department of Statistics, 2010

The reason behind horizontal gender segregation can be attributed to the following:

■ **Social Perception of Education through Traditional Social Standards that Contribute to Directing Females towards Certain Professions**

Despite the increase in levels of university education among women in Jordan, yet the educational system continues to maintain stereotypical gender roles that inhibit the capacities of women and their future chances, and motivate them to occupy jobs that are considered "appropriate" according to traditional social standards on one side, yet on the other hand they are characterized by job and occupational segregation based on gender, which contradicts the state's perception of a fair society that is open to all.

The social and economic circumstances to which women are subjected when selecting an academic area of specialization restrict their professional development. The cultural legacy, traditions and habits, and the female subjugation to paternal authority, whether from her father, brother or husband, in decisions that concern education or choosing its type or period, and the common belief that girls joining certain field professions such as engineering, medicine and higher educational programs will cause women to lose the opportunity for early marriage or will contradict with their family responsibilities. All these are circumstances that reduced women's

rates of joining faculties of sciences in universities. Data indicate that a high ratio of girls join faculties of humanities, where most disciplines taught converge on enhancing the traditional role of women (as teachers - educators), while joining other faculties like engineering and computer science, recedes noticeably. There is also a qualitative gap in women joining the higher education stage such as Master's and Doctorate degrees. University disciplines that are associated with women do not enjoy large demand in the labor market and are not compatible with its needs, which forces women sometimes to resort to accepting jobs that are lower than their qualifications and skills. If the opportunities are available, the return is usually low and unfair.

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 8:

Figure No. 8: Relative Distribution of Students in University Education in Jordanian Universities by Sex (2009)

Students in University Education

Students in Science Faculties

Students in Human Sciences Faculties (Theoretical)

Women and Men in Jordan in 2010 Figures

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 9:

Figure No. 9: Relative Distribution of Students in Higher University Education in Jordanian Universities by Sex (2009)

Students in Higher Diploma Programs

Students in Master's Programs

Students in Doctoral Programs

Males

Females

Women and Men in Jordan in 2010 Figures

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 10:

Figure No. 10: Relative Distribution of Graduates of Engineering, Communications and Computer Science in Jordanian Universities by Sex (2009)

Engineering

Communications

Computer Science

Males

Females

Women and Men in Jordan in 2010 Figures

- **Wrong Stereotypical Perception by Work Owners and Female Job Seekers over some Jobs and Professions Regarding their Suitability for Men more than Women**

Social habits, traditions and norms play an important role in stereotyping a number of roles for men and women alike, on the basis of gender. The most important constraints are the ones that effect not only the right to choose the type of work for women in general, but women's work in general. These have played over the past few years an important role in directing women behavior in selecting the jobs and professions to practice. We notice, for example, a wide emphasis by women to select the teaching profession. Despite the fact that a large number of women do not wish to take such a job, the nature and culture prevailing in this society impose this on them because the teaching profession is one that is most acceptable in society, and has no mingling with the other sex. It also provides wider opportunities for connections and marriages. In addition, it is a profession that enjoys short and flexible working hours, which provides women with sufficient time to reconcile and balance their responsibilities for family affairs and rearing children, and job requirements. These traditions also directed women towards the field and sector they work in. For example, we see that women's participation in the private sector is still low as a result of society's negative perception of women's work in the private sector compared to the public sector.

In addition to the social constraints, some legal constraints have an effect on directing women and work owners towards specific jobs and professions. Reviewing the articles of the Jordanian Labor Law related to women's work, we realize that the law imposed constraints on employing a working woman, and viewed her with a kind of prejudice and inequality through Article 69 and the instructions issued therein, whereby the nature of industries and professions, and the times when women are prohibited to work were specified, and work owners were committed to observing them. Despite attempts by this article to take into consideration women's nature, in terms of physical build, psychology and cultural and social legacies of society when specifying industries and professions women can work in, they represent a violation of women's right to select the type of work. It would have been more feasible to allow women the right to select the professions they want to work in, without having legal texts that allow or prohibit the choice.

■ **The work environment in the public sector attracts female labor, supports women and is sensitive to their requirements**

As mentioned earlier, the public sector provides an institutional and social working environment that enables women to reconcile their general and personal requirements and facilitates adapting with the conditions and developments, providing a high level of protection and job security, and the ability to convince men and society that women's work does not conflict with their basic duties towards their families. This makes the public sector the perfect choice and the more attractive and appropriate for women.

2-2-B Vertical Occupational Segregation

This challenge is evident in the lack of parity and equitable distribution between males and females in the organizational structure in both the public and private sectors alike. Women continue to face huge difficulties in moving up the career ladder and assuming leading positions in the work environment. There is evidence of gender-based vertical segregation in Jordan.³¹

³¹ Source: Available in the report on Auditing the Incorporation of Gender in the Public Sector in Jordan, 2010.

This type of segregation, normally called the "glass ceiling", indicates that most women work at job levels with low-level salaries.

Table No. 4: The following table summarizes the main causes of gender occupational segregation and their connection to targeted groups

Main Causes	Targeted Groups
<p>Main Causes for Horizontal Segregation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Society's perception of education through traditional social standards that contribute to directing women towards specific professions. • Wrong stereotypical perception of work owners and job seekers regarding some jobs and professions in terms of their suitability for men more than for women. • The work environment in the public sector is one that attracts and supports female labor, taking their needs into considerations. 	<p><u>First Targeted Group:</u> New graduates who are economically inactive</p>
<p>Main Causes for Vertical Segregation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of appreciation of female abilities and the prevailing negative perception regarding the limitation of women's leadership abilities, in addition to the tendency of decision makers not to give women the fair opportunity to attain leadership positions, fearing women may have to leave those positions at any point in time due to marriage or maternity. 	<p><u>Second Targeted Group:</u> Job seekers in the private sector</p>

2-3 Enhancing Entrepreneurship and Establishing Small and Medium Enterprises for Women in Jordan

Small-scale enterprises are considered the main engine of the economy in developing countries, playing an important role in achieving many economic and social development goals for individuals and the state. On one side, they develop exports and increase value added for goods and services, and support large projects and develop them through producing some large project inputs, and reducing production costs. They also help increase state revenues through contributing to the taxes sector and participation in social insurance. On the other hand, they are considered among the effective tools to reduce poverty and unemployment, and the equitable distribution of income among social classes, raise the standard of living for citizens, develop rural areas, and reduce urban migration, in addition to encouraging citizens to take initiatives, and sustain work, and helping achieve optimum employment of human resources, develop individual skills in administrative and organizational matters and prepare specialized people to support large projects.

Enhancing entrepreneurship among women and encouraging them to establish small-scale productive projects or own businesses is considered among the most successful methods that can be undertaken by the state and relevant unofficial establishments that focus on increasing the economic participation of women. Such projects directly affect finding work opportunities for all family members, including women, guaranteeing social stability through providing opportunities for housewives to become owners of their own projects within their residential areas, which will enable them to manage their businesses without undermining their family obligations. Furthermore, increasing the ratio of women business owners and small-scale project owners will

contribute to increasing women participation (for pay) in the private sector and at various administrative levels. This assumption comes as a result of a study performed by the World Bank in 2009, showing that women represent 48% of the labor force in institutions and projects owned by women, compared to 37% in institutions owned by men. In addition, women representation in administrative and leadership positions is noticeably larger in establishments owned by women, which is indicative that women business owners tend to employ females, and that the work environment in these establishments is gender-sensitive and compliant with women's special needs.

Despite the expected positive effect of establishing productive projects for women at the level of their economic participation, there seems to be reluctance on behalf of women in this respect. Statistical data indicate that the ratio of women owning businesses in 2010 reached 2.1% of the total number of working women, and that the ratio of women working in the private labor sector has decreased from 4% in 2002 to 2.4% in 2010. These rates are considered low if compared with these indicators for men, which reached 7.7% for work owners and 10.5% for the self-employed. They are also considered noticeably low rates if compared with rates of women hired for pay, which reached 94.8%.³²

The low ratios of women business owners and those self-employed through small-scale projects in Jordan are due to social, financing and organizational difficulties that face women when establishing these establishments or projects. These include:

Table No. 5: Relative Distribution of Jordanian Workers (15 Years and Above) by Work Status and Sex for the Years (2002, 2007, 2010)

Work Status	Sex					
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
	2002		2007		2009	
Employee for Pay	94.2	82.1	94.8	82.1	94.8	81.3
Work Owner	0.6	3.8	1.7	8.5	2.1	7.7
Self Employed	4	11.8	2.4	8.8	2.4	10.5
Works for Family without Pay	0.4	2.0	0.8	0.5	0.4	0.4
Works without Pay	0.8	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.1

Labor and Unemployment Survey/Department of Statistics

2-3-A Financing Difficulties

- Women do not own the financial resources to finance establishing their own productive projects, whether in terms of cash capital, or real estate, or stock shares, etc. Data indicates that women comprise only 17% of land owners and 22.1% of apartment owners, compared to 83% and 77.9% respectively for men. The ratio of Jordanian women who own financial securities (stock shares) reached 43.2%. This is a fairly good rate compared to men. The total value of the financial securities owned by women, however, does not exceed 22%.

³² Source, Department of Statistics, Labor and Unemployment Survey, selected years.

- The limited ability of women to practice their rights in accessing and controlling the resources they own and use them in an absolute manner. In most cases, women's work is merely a method for supporting and complementing the family income, and not a method to achieve their economic independence. The supremacy of the paternal system within the family renders the right to control women's wages and resources restricted to males. In case women were able to obtain this resource, it goes towards fulfilling the family's daily needs. Hence, women remain incapable of controlling their own resources because these resources go for the benefit of the family without any benefits going to the women themselves, such as a share in the house ownership, to which they contributed, or any other property, because this property, by law and social norms, belongs to the family and is generally registered in the man's name, although his wife may have contributed financially to acquiring it.

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 11:

Figure No. 11: Relative Distribution of Owners of Real Estate and Financial Securities and their Value by Sex (2009)

Workers Insured by Social Security
Total Value of Financial Securities (Stock)
Owners of Financial Securities (Stock)
Apartment Owners
Land Owners
Male
Female
Men and Women in Jordan 2010

- The limited ability of women to borrow and benefit from financing institutions and projects, whereby women's ability, in total, to access and use information available on micro-financing institutions, their types and conditions are considered among the constraints facing women in borrowing. Women's lack of ownership of large collateral, and the strict conditions imposed by lending institutions to grant loans, as well as the high interest rates on these loans, and women's fear of not being able to repay their financial obligations on the loans, are considered additional reasons for the weak utilization by women of loans granted by financing institutions and projects. Although data (figure No. 12) indicate that women received about half the total loans granted by financing institutions for the year 2009, women's share of the total value of loans did not exceed 30.8%, which shows the small number and value of loans extended to women, and their insufficiency to develop and nurture their projects as required, which reflects on the quality of the product and service provided, enabling her to continue and compete.

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 12:

Figure No. 12: Relative Distribution of the Number of Borrowers and the Total Value of Loans by Sex (2009)
Total Value of Loans

Borrowers

Male

Female

Women and Men in Jordan in 2010 Figures

2-3-B Poor Technical and Administrative Capabilities and Skills Necessary to Enable Women to Plan and Finance their Small-Scale Projects, Manage and Sustain Them

- The weakness of the technical ability of females in selecting and achieving economically feasible projects to connect between small and large projects, especially in the field of small projects fulfilling the needs of large projects, led to limiting productive projects for women within traditional areas, in addition to similarities in the quality of goods produced by these projects and their incompatibility with market requirements in terms of quantity and quality, and henceforth, the difficulty in marketing them. This contributed to the failure of some projects and women's fear of a repeated experience.
- Women entrepreneurs lack the administrative expertise and skills necessary to establish and manage small-scale productive projects. Women's lack of knowledge and their poor abilities to deal with the market indicators of supply and demand and selecting areas in demand, in addition to their lack of experience in the areas of marketing and financial management of projects, including preparing feasibility studies, cost accounting and other considerations, and the lack of training and preparation programs necessary to obtain the planning and financing skills and techniques necessary to enable them to start, manage and sustain these projects, and women's loss of confidence in their administrative skills and abilities, made women fearful and hesitant to enter the entrepreneurial field of work and establishing their own projects.

2-3-C Poor Self-Esteem and Self-Confidence among Women as a Result of Social Upbringing Patterns and Cultural Heritage

The stereotypical image of women in society, reflecting the image of the subservient female who works in limited fields that are accepted by society, and the upbringing patterns based on considering women the weaker link that is always in need of care and support from men, and who rely on others, are all factors that reflected negatively on women's self-image and their capabilities and capacities. This resulted in losing confidence, weak self-esteem, and lack of entrepreneurial thinking and efforts to create opportunities for themselves. Women need to rebuild their self-confidence through reviewing success stories of entrepreneurial women who succeeded in challenging difficulties and social and cultural constraints, and establishing successful and sustainable projects.

Table No. 6: The following table summarizes the main targeted categories and the main root causes within this challenge

Targeted Categories	Main Causes
----------------------------	--------------------

<p>First Targeted Category: Economically inactive skilled females</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women do not own the financial resources necessary to finance the establishment and development of their productive projects. • The limited ability of women to practice their rights in accessing and controlling the resources they own and using them with absolute freedom.
<p>Second Targeted Category: Job-seeking skilled women</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The limited ability of women to borrow and benefit from financing institutions and projects. • Women have weak technical and administrative abilities and skills which are necessary to enable them to plan and finance their small projects, manage them on commercial basis and sustain. • Loss of self-confidence, low self-esteem and lack of entrepreneurial thinking among females as a result of the social upbringing patterns and social heritage.

Section Three: Recommendations and Required Trends

In light of the above, the report proposes general recommendations and directions that include quick solutions to deal with the main highlighted challenges.

3-1 General Recommendations

1. Work to amend legislation to close the gaps that are unfair to women in some present laws and remove all forms of discrimination against them, and widen the legal protection necessary for women, to include issues pertaining to maternity, motherhood and their personal and family life, including their right to take the decisions related to their professional future and guaranteeing their economic rights.
2. Activate the role of official and non-official entities in monitoring and observing institutions and companies for the purpose of assuring their commitment to women's rights as stipulated by different legislation.
3. Provide national periodic and detailed gender disaggregated data, for the purpose of enabling decision-makers to accurately identify the state of women's economic participation, problems facing it and appropriate solutions.
4. Take the necessary arrangements to guarantee the principle of equality in wages between men and women, whether by making legislative amendments or reevaluating the value of work performed by women using standards that are far from discrimination on the basis of gender.
5. Organize media campaigns to increase social acceptance of women's work, and strive for achieving social integration between men and women, clarifying the importance of financial independence of women and raise awareness among women of their rights regarding ownership and their rights to use their resources..
6. Provide consultation services for women with regards to work, and create organized and legal channels to demand women's rights and provide consultations in this field.
7. Provide supporting services for working women, especially encouraging the establishment and development of nurseries and kindergartens, improve supervision over them to support women's desire to join the labor market and stay in it, and utilize legislative texts mentioned in the Labor Law through an adequate implementation mechanism.
8. Implement training programs to empower women and develop their capacities and skills, and to rehabilitate young job-seeking women to fulfill the needs of various productive sectors of labor, and help women find better job opportunities.
9. Prepare and implement media plans aimed at women, to increase their awareness of the benefit and feasibility of establishing small-scale projects, and their importance in empowering women and providing job opportunities, as well as highlighting the experiences of entrepreneurial women in this field.
10. Perform studies of the promising sectors to invest in the Jordanian economy and directing those searching for jobs to encourage them to establish small productive projects.
11. Enhance women's participation in trade and labor unions at all levels.
12. Provide a comprehensive training package on methods of establishing, developing and managing small productive projects, starting from selecting the business idea to preparing an economic feasibility study, cost accounting, mechanisms for managing

- and organizing work, marketing, and ending with methods to obtain financing and manage this financing in a proper manner.
13. Guarantee the rights of women working in seasonal and part-time businesses and in the unregulated sector, which represents a wide door for employing a large number of poor women, especially in urban areas, committing to flexible and appropriate employment terms protected by work legislation.
 14. Provide parallel markets where women can market their products and control their results.
 15. Take the necessary measures to guarantee the professional safety of working women, and provide the appropriate work conditions for that, especially regarding their health and responsibility during pregnancy and delivery.

3-2 Specific Approaches to Face Specific Challenges

3-2-A Proposed Approaches for Facing the First Challenge (Facilitating Women's Access to Job Opportunities)

We present here the most important approaches proposed to deal with the first challenge on women accessing job opportunities in the private sector, taking into consideration targeted groups within a timeframe that ranges between long-term, medium-term and short-term, according to the nature of the approach.

■ Local Brain-Drain

The approaches addressed hereunder deal with six problems; namely, poor matching between education outputs and the labor market requirements, insufficient flexibility in office hours in the private sector, tax legislation that involve discrimination against married women, the lack of facilities for childcare, building the capacities of female job seekers, and finally, the transportation problem.

Approach Timeframe	Required(Proposed) Approach
Long-Term	<p>This approach emphasizes dealing with the mismatch between education outputs and the requirements of the labor market.</p> <p>This is done through distributing survey forms to work owners to identify the required skills, and then designing training programs to build the capacities of females in these areas and providing them with these skills. The long-term objective of this approach is to incorporate these training programs in the school curricula offered by the universities and colleges themselves. It is proposed that coordination takes place between the Ministry of Labor, universities, industry and trade bureaus and relevant associations to help perform this survey, in cooperation with the Department of Statistics and university research institutes such as the Strategic Studies Center at the University of Jordan.</p>
Long-Term	<p>This approach concentrates on treating the insufficient flexibility problem during office hours in the private sector through encouraging work from home and part-time work.</p>

	<p>Work from home, as well as part-time work for females should be encouraged for the purpose of treating the root cause of work hour inflexibility in the private sector. In order to achieve this, the Labor Law and the Social Security Law must be amended, assuring recognition of this type of work and the right of female workers to all benefits on pro-rata basis, as well as providing specific incentives to companies that provide job opportunities for women from home, such as offering tax exemptions or other encouragement incentives.</p>
Long-Term	<p>This approach emphasizes amending current tax legislation that discriminate against women.</p> <p>Women should be granted additional tax exemptions since they contribute to family expenses and well-being.</p>
Medium-Term	<p>This approach concentrates on providing childcare facilities managed by women for women.</p> <p>For the purpose of solving the problem of the unavailability of facilities that provide childcare at reasonable prices, it is proposed that women are permitted to care for children at home as a paid service, provided the maximum number of children per woman is five. This type of service is presently provided in Jordan through the unofficial sector, though at a limited level. However, they are expanding as a result of need and the suitability of these services for working women.</p> <p>Childcare services at home may be regulated through questionnaires that survey opinions and preferences of the beneficiaries from these services, and monitoring their satisfaction with the level of these services. It is also possible to provide training and capacity building programs to mothers who are willing to provide these services to increase the level of their abilities to provide high quality services. It is noteworthy that the Greater Amman Municipality has recently enacted legislation that permits women to work from home. JNCW can play a role in facilitating this process through signing memorandums of understanding with Amman Municipality, UNICEF, the Jordan Enterprise Development Corporation and the Ministry of Social Development, which should review their instructions to permit the provision of these services from home.</p>
Medium-Term	<p>This approach concentrates on building the capacities of job-seekers in the public sector.</p> <p>It is noteworthy that 70% of resumes presented to the Civil Service Bureau are those of female job seekers (about 150,000 application / resume). In most cases, the educational qualifications of these applicants do not fit the job requirements, and they mostly come from governorates. This category must be targeted by training programs and their access to work places facilitated through training courses that are supported by the government in order to provide the opportunity for training within the work environment through the private sector institutions and non-profit institutions that are specialized in this.</p>
Short-Term (Achieve rapid	<p>This approach concentrates on treating the transportation problem through encouraging the implementation of the idea that women provide</p>

benefits)	<p>the transportation services to women.</p> <p>The popularity of transportation services provided by women to women has recently increased internationally. It is expected that implementing this idea will result in a number of positive effects on economic development in Jordan in general, not only because it addresses one of the root causes of this challenge, but also because it will create new job opportunities for women in the transport sector.</p>
------------------	---

■ Demand for Local Labor in view of Demand for Expatriate Labor

The paragraph hereunder addresses the weak demand for local labor as a result of demand for using expatriate labor through two approaches: The first is supporting rural women through building their entrepreneurial capacities and skills, and the second is improve the level of communication and networking between work owners and women seeking jobs.

Approach Timeframe	Required (Proposed) Approach
Long-Term	<p>This approach concentrates on supporting rural women and enabling them to serve the local communities by identifying demand and then building capacities.</p> <p>This is done through performing research to identify the training needs of rural communities over products and services through cooperation and coordination among non-profit organizations, market representatives and other relevant parties, and then providing training and programs to build entrepreneurial capacities and skills of rural women. This could help rural communities rely on themselves, and contribute to the economic empowerment of women.</p>
Short-Term (Achieve rapid benefits)	<p>This approach concentrates on building on the achievements of some women projects aimed at empowering women.</p> <p>This is done through the facilitation of networking among women seeking jobs, and work owners registered with specific non-profit organizations. Non-profit organizations that are appointed to work on this initiative should work at verifying the adequacy of the human rights record of work owners, in addition to their adherence to the minimum wage requirement. The scope of services provided for training women may be widened for women who are incapable of filling vacant positions as a result of lacking the required skills.</p>

3-2-B Proposed Approaches to Face the Second Challenge (the Vertical and Horizontal Gender Occupational Segregation)

This paragraph addresses challenges related to the gender occupational segregation (vertical and horizontal), through four approaches: Identifying the problem and highlighting it as a challenge, encouraging university graduates to build networks to find jobs, setting financial and in-kind incentives for work owners to employ and promote women, and finally, enhance women participation in the judicial system.

Approach Timeframe	Required (Proposed) Approach
Long-Term	This approach concentrates on identifying and highlighting the problem through performing special research. Specialized studies and research should be carried out to find the reasons behind the slow promotion of females and their attainment of high positions. Such studies should also aim at identifying levels of women's productivity, their features and leadership abilities in various job positions.
Medium-Term	This approach concentrates on giving confidence to women through the establishment of female work networks at universities. This approach includes the establishment of female employment networks at universities. These networks can be monitored and coordinated by JNCW.
Short-Term (Achieve rapid benefits)	This approach concentrates on encouraging work owners in the private sector to employ and promote women through providing incentives. This approach comprises the establishment of a system / indicator at JNCW for classifying equality between sexes. Data for measuring this indicator would then be collected for from companies annually, as well as encouraging work owners to employ and promote women through financial incentives such as specific tax exemptions for companies that attain advanced positions by this classification.
Short-Term (Achieve rapid benefits)	This approach concentrates on enhancing women's participation in the judiciary system and implementing the recommendations of the "Women's Agreement" committee. This can be done through establishing centers for female police stations in various areas of the Kingdom, with the condition that there is at least one policewoman in each police station. With time, this experiment can be generalized and implemented in other establishments within the judicial system in Jordan.

3-2-C Proposed Approaches for Addressing the Third Challenge (Enhancing Female Entrepreneurship)

This paragraph addresses approaches related to the third main challenge; namely enhancing female entrepreneurship through two approaches: Directing commercial financing and micro-financing towards women's medium and small-sized projects, and offering tax benefits to encourage women who establish new projects for the first time.

Approach Timeframe	Required (Proposed) Approach
Long-Term	This approach concentrates on re-directing micro-financing. This approach comprises redirecting commercial and micro-financing towards women's small and medium projects, implementing a more stringent audit process to find out if women applying for funding muster the entrepreneurial skills and work plans that show the levels of economic feasibility for projects and chances for success. Furthermore, the necessary measures should be taken to facilitate the procedures for extending loans and reducing the volume of

	collateral needed from female entrepreneurs who wish to obtain financing for their projects, and performing specialized research to find the reasons behind high interest rates on loans extended by lending agencies, and explain how these parties can be more organized within the framework of companies' social responsibility.
Medium-Term	This approach concentrates on offering female entrepreneurs sufficient freedom to develop and grow. This is done through granting tax exemptions for projects established by women for a year after commencing work, for example, provided these exemptions are provided for one time for businesswomen who have the skills and clear work plans as well as reasonable chances for success.

Chapter III:
Equality; Citizenship and Decision-Making in Public Life

1. Introduction

Jordanian women's participation in political and public life represents a major benchmark in their public struggle since an early stage of the Jordanian state's establishment. Since the middle of 1940's, early women organizations combined between their quest for improving the Jordanian society and conquering challenges like illiteracy, ignorance and illness, and their quest for improving the status of women themselves. Women organizations' early agenda developed in the 1950's to include women's right to nomination and voting in elections, and the amendment of laws that discriminate between men and women, such as the Personal Status Law and the Labor Law, which were applicable at the time.

Looking back, the magnitude of the progress achieved by Jordanian women over the past five or six decades becomes evident. Jordanian women have succeeded, with support from the state's political leadership and the Jordanian National Commission for Women (JNCW), since its establishment, and the hard work of the women organizations and movements, as well as enlightened powers within society, in reaching decision-making positions in the three authorities, and in assuming leadership positions in many areas that were limited to men, whether in the government, municipal councils or the two houses of parliament, in addition to the judicial and security apparatuses, and other positions that were opened to Jordanian women.

Despite the importance of what has been achieved, it remains the start of a long journey that women need to travel in order to reduce the gender gap in participation in public and political life, and elevate their role in the decision-making process and assume leadership positions in the three authorities, the private and public sector, and additionally, in civil society organizations and political parties. It is no secret that women participation in political life and decision-making positions remains below the aspired level of a vast sector of women, and is below the general averages for political participation at the international and regional levels, or if compared with countries similar to Jordan in income levels.

It is a fact that enhancing Jordanian women's participation in political life and decision-making positions does not only agree with their humanitarian right to equality, guaranteed by the Jordanian constitution and international human rights conventions, but has become a critical factor in empowering Jordanian women at the economic, social and cultural levels. Women reaching decision-making positions in the state's executive, legislative, and judicial authorities will contribute to closing the gaps of unjust laws against women, enhance the chances for eliminating discrimination against them, and widen the scope for legal protection of women, including their personal, familial and economic rights. Enhancing women's assumption of these positions is interpreted into a wider possibility for approving policies and legislation that are gender-compliant, which permit women to practice their lives far from discrimination, social stigma and violence, and allow them to make decisions related to their future freely.

Similarly, it can be said that women's access to the judiciary and the security and police service will reflect positively on their confidence in judicial and security systems, and increase their ability to resort to justice and utilize these systems. It is well-known that one of the indicators of the weak response of these systems to gender and women's requirements is the low level of women's representation in the decision-making process, as was evident from the "*Progress of*

the World's Women: In Pursuit of Justice (2011-2012)", published by the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Women Empowerment (UN Women) 2011.

Judging from the advanced levels reached by Jordanian women in the fields of education and health, it can be said that conquering the challenge of low political participation levels and assuming decision-making positions at levels compatible with regional levels, and levels of countries similar to Jordan in income, is a matter that can be achieved if the tools and necessary enabling environment were available. By the latter, we mean not only the higher political will, which is actually present, but rather gender-compliant policies and legislation, and the involvement of various state and civil-society institutions in women empowerment processes, since this represents a general societal challenge, rather than a sectoral or class challenge confronted by women's organizations and women individually.

Hence, this section will address the historical trajectory and the present position of women in their quest for accessing the legislative and executive authorities, and political participation through parties and civil society organizations. We will stop at every level to identify the main obstacles and means to overcome them.

2. Brief History of the Development of Women's Participation in Jordanian Public and Political Life

Women's participation in public life and politics started around the time of the Second World War. Before that period, participation took place through social and charity societies present at the time. The first Jordanian women's society was established in 1944; namely, the Women Solidarity Association, which was established by Ms. Amirah Al-Shureiqi, headmistress of Al-Zahra' Elementary School, and a group of the school teachers and their friends. The Association's objectives were social and cultural in nature. Available sources indicate that the first official meeting was held on December 25, 1944 at the residence of Her Majesty Queen Sabah, the late King Talal's mother. Princess Zain Al-Sharaf assumed the actual leadership of the Association which, since it did not have a headquarters building, held its meetings in the homes of its members.

There is no doubt that the spread of education among women elites during that period contributed to crystallizing women's awareness of the need for joining this Association, in addition to the growing political awareness in the society, and the increasing aspirations for freedom from imperialism, and overcoming the obstacles against development, such as poverty, illness and illiteracy. It is noteworthy that two pioneering women from Egypt's women's movement; Huda Sha'rawi and Amina Al-Sa'eed visited Amman in 1945 and met King Abdullah Bin Al-Hussein the Founder, expressing their support to the establishment of a Jordanian Women's Union, to be part of the Arab Women's Union. The founding King approved this request, and before long, the Women's Union Association was established in the same year in accordance with the Association's Law No. 105 for the year 1936, this was before the establishment of the Ministry of Social Affairs.

The disastrous results of the 1948 war led to a mass exodus from Palestine. Immediately, Jordanian women, through charity and women's organizations existing at the time along both

banks of the river Jordan, hurried to assist and provide relief to immigrant families and groups most in need. Soon after, the Women Solidarity Association merged with the Women's Union in 1949 to form one body under the name "Hashemite Women's Association."

During the 1950's, more women's associations sprung up, including the Young Women's Christian Association (1950) and the Arab Women's Union (1954). Pioneering women were also active through other charitable organizations, especially the Jordanian Red Crescent (1951), which established the Red Crescent Hospital the following year. As for The Arab Women's Union, it played an important role in raising political awareness and presenting demands to enable women to participate politically. A number of memorandums were submitted by the Union to the government demanding the support of women's rights, including the rights to vote and be nominated. The Women's Union also worked at combating illiteracy in society, expanding the scope of female education and preparing women to play an effective role. The Union called for amending the Personal Status Law and the Labor Law to provide better working conditions for women. These efforts bore fruit in 1955 when the Jordanian Cabinet of Ministers issued a decision giving educated women the right to vote but not be nominated, which means excluding uneducated women from the right to vote. This, in turn, led to expanding demands for granting all women the right to vote, without discrimination.

With the dissolution of the Arab Women's Union in 1957, the main body for women's participation in political life disappeared. This, however, did not prevent women from joining charity and social work, and the number of charity and social associations increased. Some of them were restricted to women or were led by women. Israel's occupation of the West Bank in 1967 represented another turning point that rekindled the flame in the women's movement and brought it back to the political and social stage in its wider meaning. More than one women's union was established in the years 1968 / 1970. The Arab Women Organization continues to exist until this day. 1974 was, however, a distinctive year. Preparation for the International Women's Year; 1975, declared by the United Nations, encouraged the formation of a women's preparation committee for the International Women's Year, culminating in the establishment of the Jordanian Women's Union Association. On the other hand, 1974 witnessed an important development at the Jordanian women's political participation level, with the issuance of an amendment to the constitution ratifying women's right for voting and being nominated for the House of Representatives.

Although the Jordanian women's movement was influenced by the national and regional political upheavals, this did not prevent the establishment of more women's organizations. In addition to the Women's Union Association established at the end of 1974, the General Union of Jordanian Women was also established in 1981, representing a framework for various women's organizations operating in different governorates. A club was also established for professional and business women, in addition to a number of women's organizations and associations under the umbrella of the General Union of Charity Organizations. On another level, and in light of freezing parliamentary life in Jordan after 1974, the National Consultative Council was formed to replace the parliament temporarily. Eleven women were appointed as members in the Council's three sessions, which continued until 1983. The first National Consultative Council included three women, and its second and third sessions included four women, which is equivalent to 6% of the total number of 190 members of the three Councils.

As a result of the vacancy of a number of seats, due to the death of some members, complementary elections were held in Jordan to fill these vacant seats in the House of Representatives in 1984, when women participated for the first time as voters. No women came forward to be nominated.

With the elections of the eleventh Jordanian House of Representatives in the end of 1989, which started a new era of political openness, Jordanian women practiced their right in voting and nomination alike. 12 female candidates were nominated in those elections, out of 684 candidates representing 1.85%. These nominations were restricted to seven out of twenty districts. None of the female candidates won in these elections, although some of them achieved advanced positions in terms of number of votes in their districts. In June 1991, the "Jordanian National Charter" was launched. The Charter was prepared by a Royal Committee composed of 60 members, including four women. It represented an organizing framework for Jordanian political life, based on democracy and plurality. In its Article 8 of its foundations (Chapter One), the Charter stipulated that "Jordanians, men and women, are equal before the law. There shall be no discrimination between them in rights and duties, though they may differ in race, language or religion."

In the 1993 elections, the number of women candidates decreased to three women only, out of 534 candidates, not exceeding 0.56%. One of them, Toujan Faisal, won a seat in the House of Representatives to become the first Jordanian woman to enter this council. Hence, women representation in the House, comprising 80 seats at the time, did not exceed 1.25%.

Among the significant developments in the early 1990's was the establishment of the Jordanian National Commission for Women in 1992, headed by HRH Princess Basma Bint Talal, as a special platform and framework for women's policies. Consideration was given, when the Commission was formed, to the comprehensive representation of various women's sectors and relevant official institutions. Among its earliest achievements was the ratification of the National Jordanian Strategy for Women, through a national conference for women held in 1993. 1995 witnessed the establishment of a new organization for women; namely, the Jordanian National Forum for Women, headed by HRH Princess Basma. Chapters of this Forum covered all the governorates in the Kingdom. The following year, Princess Basma Center for Women Affairs was established for the purpose of providing information, preparing studies and training women in various developmental fields.

Among the legislation that formed the political openness law package, the Political Parties Law No. 32 was enacted in 1992. It established the legitimacy and plurality of parties in Jordan, where the number of registered parties grew to reach 21 political parties before the November 1993 elections. A general survey carried out in the middle of 1993 showed the limited presence of women in these parties' assemblies and establishment and leadership committees. The survey also showed that ten out of the twenty registered parties did not mention any paragraph related to women in their programs or approaches. Eight parties mentioned women in one brief paragraph. Only two parties included a paragraph on women in their programs, summarizing their outlook in the need for changing the reality of women. Both parties connected this with the general social and economic change in the country.

Going back to the parties' establishing boards, as was declared in 1992 and 1993, it was evident that out of 17 registered parties at the time, the establishing committees of three parties did not include the names of any women, while the establishing committees of five parties included less than 5% women. Women were represented in establishing committees of six other parties at rates between 5 and 14%. Only two political parties included between 5 and 19% women in their establishing committees, with one party not revealing the names of its establishing board members. In general, the rate of women's membership in the establishing boards of parties together did not exceed 5%.

At the leadership board's level, 76.5% of parties (13 out of 17) did not include any women in their leadership boards, while three parties included one woman in its leadership. Women's representation was restricted to two in only one party. In other words, the rate of parties that included at least one woman in its leadership did not exceed 23.5%. With the increase in the number of political parties towards the end of the 1990's, no tangible development in women's participation in leadership boards of existing parties took place.

3. Jordanian Women's Shifting Trends towards a Women's Quota

The idea of allocating a minimum number of seats in the House of Representatives for women was first presented for discussion at the "Jordanian Women and Political Action" symposium held on July 5, 1993, in a background paper submitted by the New Jordan Center for Studies. Yet most discussions, including within the Jordanian women's movement, varied between rejecting the idea of a quota and hesitation in accepting it. The women's movement, however, started to change its position as a result of its own experience in the 1993 elections, when the number of candidates receded strongly, and the idea of allocating special seats for women in the House of Representatives became more acceptable, a practice that was followed by a number of democratic countries in the developed and developing worlds alike. This change was evident in the symposium held on March 24, 1996 under the title "Jordanian Women and the Election Law", which discussed various experiences from around the world, which included election systems that adopted a special quota for women. That symposium showed the increase in numbers of those who support the adoption of the quota principle in the women's movement, even if for a transitory period. The deliberation of the symposium thus ended with the formation of a follow-up committee for the recommendations which called for organizing a national campaign to approve a share of seats for women in the House of Representatives. The first follow-up meeting ended on May 5, 1996 with the formation of a women coordination committee for the purpose of arriving at a fair participation of women in the parliament. Women activities then held two more meetings on May 21 and June 12, 1996, where women's organizations drafted a memorandum to submit to His Majesty King Hussein and HRH Princess Basma Bint Talal, President of the Jordanian National Commission for Women, as well as the speakers of both houses of parliament and the prime minister. The meeting also named the members of a women delegation to submit this memorandum to officials.

At the eve of the municipal elections in 1995, which are the first municipal elections to be held in one day, Princess Basma called for the appointment of 99 women in municipal committees formed for the purpose of preparing for the election of municipal councils and their heads. The

government did approve the proposal and in deed assigned the proposed number in municipal committees. This step was concurrent with the increased local interest in women's participation issues.

Despite the fact that the political parties' opinion survey regarding their position from the women's quota issue had been carried out in 1995, it showed that a majority of 13 parties (out of 20 parties who responded to the survey) opposed the allocation of a share of seats for women, against 5 parties that approved it. However, a generally positive climate towards the women's quota started to form in the country. Perhaps its most prominent indications is that a draft new elections law that had been prepared by the government in 1996, and published in the local newspapers, stipulated the allocation of 17 seats for women, provided the number of representatives in the House of Representatives be raised to 100 from 80.

The "Women's Forum ", formed in the middle of 1996, specified its main demand as allocating 20% of the seats at the House of Representatives for women. It addressed officials in the executive and legislative authorities, and met with the speakers of both houses of parliament. Their efforts, however, did not materialize into convincing the government to adopt the demand. Hence, the 1997 elections were held on the basis of the Elections Law approved in 1993. Two surveys that had been carried out by the Strategic Studies Center and Al-Arab Al-Yawm daily newspaper had showed high numbers of supporters of the allocation of a quota for women at the House of Representatives, among the public. A survey carried out by the Strategic Studies Center in November 1997 showed that 45.5% of those surveyed supported the allocation of a women's quote, while 44.1% opposed it. Another survey by Al-Arab Al-Yawm daily newspaper carried out in July 1999 showed, however, that 62.7% of those surveyed now approve the allocation of a quota for women, even if for an interim period.

The 1997 parliamentary elections, for which 17 women were nominated out of 524 candidates, representing 3.2% of those nominated, emphasized the need for a women's quota at the House of Representatives. None of the women candidate won any seats, including the only representative who had been elected in the 1993 elections. Hence, Jordanian women had to wait until the middle of 2003 when the 14th parliamentary elections were held, according to the temporary Election Law No. 34 for the year 2001, which was amended in 2003, to stipulate the allocation of an additional share of seats for women, amounting to 6 seats, or 5.5% of the total number of seats of the House of Representatives, which is 110 seats. 54 women ran for these elections, distributed over 27 election districts, out of 534 candidates, or 10.1% of the total number of candidates. Women's competition over the quota seats were higher than the national average for competing, with 9 candidates per seat of the women's quota, against 7.4 per seat at the national level.

1. Women in Parliament

A. Two Decades of Women's Participation in the Jordanian Parliamentary Elections

The 1989 parliamentary elections represented the first benchmark in the history of parliamentary life in which women participate as candidates and voters. The return of parliamentary life and the prevalence of a democratic climate towards the end of the 1980's helped encourage women to

enhance their political role and participation in public life. These elections witnessed a large turnout by female political activists to run for the House of Representatives seats. 12 women, out of 647 candidates ran, representing less than 2% of the total number of candidates. Although none of the female candidates won any seats, and despite the low ratio of female nomination, these elections were considered the first step towards breaking the psychological barrier for women, which pushed them to participate in elections and nominations for the House of Representatives.

Table No. 1 shows the results female candidates achieved in the 1989 elections.

Table No. 1: Women Candidates in the 1989 Elections

Name	District	Seat	Number of Votes	Rank	Candidates
'Aisha Al-Razzam	Amman 1st	Muslim	1176	14	22
Na'ila Al-Rashdan	Amman 3rd	Muslim	1046	16	34
Haifa' Al-Bashir	Amman 3rd	Muslim	365	25	34
Janet Al-Mufti	Amman 3rd	Circassian Chechen	2604	3	8
Toujan Al-Faisal	Amman 5th	Circassian Chechen	1328	6	6
Jumlah Al-Nahar	Amman 5th	Muslim	702	35	46
Dam El-Izz Shreim	Amman 5th	Muslim	262	41	46
Dr. Eidah Al-Mutlaq	Irbed	Muslim	3495	34	64
Dr. Mufeidah Sweidan	Irbed	Christian	3817	4	5
Widad Al-Shinawi	Ma'an	Muslim	155	27	27
Nadia Bushnaq	Al-Zarqa'	Muslim	2602	21	51
Huda Fakhouri	Al-Balqa'	Christian	2987	6	8

Source: Ad-Dustour Newspaper, November 3, 1997, Page 27.

It is clear from the table above that most candidates running for the 1989 elections were among the activists in social, political or media fields. Some of them received large numbers of votes in their districts. However, the nature of the voting system, especially the method of calculating votes to identify winners, as well as the prevailing male culture and women's limited experience in organizing election campaigns, did not provide them with any scope for success.

The 1993 elections were conducted on the basis of a new law, which is the Amended Temporary Law to the Elections Law No. 22, known as the "one man one vote" law. It was the subject of political debate and division. Within the prevailing climate, the number of female candidates for these elections receded to three women out of a total number of 534 candidates. In other words, the rate of female candidates did not exceed 0.56% of the total number of candidates.

Nevertheless, these elections included one positive result, with candidate Toujan Al-Faisal winning the Circassian seat in the Amman third district, making her the first Jordanian woman to reach the Jordanian House of Representatives (see Table No. 2 for the results of female candidates in the 1993 elections.)

Despite the continued use of the "one man one vote" system in the 1997 elections, which was the reason behind the boycott of the elections by a wide spectrum of the political opposition, the number of female candidates in those elections increased to 17 candidates out of 524 candidates, or 3.2% of the total.

None of the 17 female candidates won in those elections. Toujan Al-Faisal, who was a candidate in the 1997 elections did not retain her seat in the House of Representatives, despite her doubling the number of votes she received in 1997 over those received in 1993 (see Table No. 3 regarding female candidates in the 1997 elections, and the number of votes received.)

Table No. 2: Women Candidates in the 1993 Elections

Name	District	Seat	Number of Votes	Rank	Candidates
Toujan Al-Faisal	Third	Circassian and Chechen	1885	1	3
Janet Al-Mufti	Amman 3rd	Muslim	853	3	3
Nadia Bushnaq	Al-Zarqa'	Muslim	1995	-	54

Source: Al-Urdun Al-Jadid Center for Studies.

Table No. 3: Women Candidates in the 1997 Elections and their Votes

District	Name of Female Candidate	Number of Votes
Amman 1st.	Aisha Al-Razem	774
Amman 3rd.	Emily Naffa'	2292
Amman 3rd.	Toujan Al-Faisal	4227
Amman 3rd.	Norma Shatarah	243
Amman 4th.	Fatimah Hassounah	656
Amman 5th.	Fardous Al-Masri	297
Amman 5th.	Hiyam Kalimat	885
Amman 5th.	Laila Faisal	867
Bedouins Middle	Wisaf Al-Ka'abneh	67
Irbed	Samihah Al-Tall	236
Ramtha and Bani Kinanah	Fatimah Obaidat	824
Al-Zarqa'	Sabah Al-Anani	648
Ajloun	Nawal Al-Moumani	60
Al-Balqa'	'Ajayeb Hadaress	369
Al-Karak	Hafithah Al-Ma'aytah	39
Al-Karak	Siham Al-Bayaydah	457
Aqaba	Da'ad ASultan	142
Total	17 Candidates	13,086

Source: Al-Urdun Al-Jadid Research Center , 1997.

The recurrent failure of Jordanian women in reaching the House of Representatives between 1989 and 1997, with the exception of one candidate winning in 1993, led to doubling efforts to approving the allocation of a share of seats for women in parliament, or the women's quota. Women's organizations conviction in the importance of approving a quota for women in parliament was enhanced, based on the experiences of other countries which used the positive discrimination principle in favor of women, stipulated by the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women, known as the "Women's Agreement".

Women's organizations worked at mobilizing public opinion support for approving the quota system as a temporary and interim mechanism, until the subjective constraints that hinder the election of women through free competition mechanisms are removed, giving women the opportunity to prove their presence and efficiency in legislative work. This would open the doors for disposing the quota system at a later stage. In the middle of 1996, the "Women Coalition" was formed from a group of women's organizations and civil society organizations involved in women's affairs, for the purpose of coordinating efforts and concentrating pressure for allocating 20% of parliamentary seats for women. The coalition collected 15,000 signatures on memorandums addressed to the executive and legislative authorities. A number of meetings were held with the legal committee and the speakers of both houses of parliament for this purpose.

Although the elections planned for 2001 were postponed pending the enactment of a new elections law, the Temporary Law No. 34 for the year 2001 did not include a text on the women's quota. On the eve of the parliamentary elections in June 2003, however, an amendment was issued on that law, simultaneously with the enactment of Regulation No. 17 for the year 2003 to divide election districts and the seats allocated for each. 6 seats were allocated for female candidates, to be added to the total number of the House of Representative seats, which became 110 seats instead of 104.

Despite the fact that women's share of seats was below the demands submitted by the women's movement, forming 5.5% of the house seats, compared to the 20% ratio demanded by the women's movement, the 2003 elections, however, which were the first elections implementing the share allocation of parliamentary seats for women, encouraged women to run for parliamentary seats. The number of candidates reached 54 women out of 819 candidates, representing 6.6% of the total number of candidates.

Hence, 6 candidates made it to the fourteenth House of Representatives through the women's quota system, out of 110 house seats, or 5.45% of the total number of seats. It is noteworthy that none of the candidates won any additional seats outside the quota system.

Despite the continued demands for increasing the number of quota seats in the House of Representatives, the parliamentary elections of 2007 adopted the system of dividing electoral districts set in 2003, thus maintaining the same share allocated for women; namely 6 seats. The 2007 elections witnessed a large increase in women's willingness to run for House of Representatives. The number of candidates in these elections reached 199 out of a total number

of 885 candidates, or 22.5% of the total number of candidacies, representing an unprecedented number.

Those elections achieved an improvement on the number of women's seats in the fifteenth parliament. In addition to the winners of the six quota seats, another candidate won through free competition, which raised the number of women in the House of Representatives to seven, with a ratio of 6.4% of the total number of seats.

The fifteenth parliament, elected in 2007, did not complete its constitutional term, and was dissolved early, and a new temporary law for elections was enacted, based on which the 2010 elections were held. The new Law No. 9 for the year 2010 raised the number of the House of Representatives seats to 120, and doubled the number of seats allocated for women to 12. This raised women's participation ratio to 10% of the total number of the house seats. Despite the criticism directed against this law, including its non-response to the women's movement demands of raising women's representation rates to 20% of the house seats. Doubling the number of quota seats, however, from 6 to 12 was perceived as an important gain for the Jordanian women's march.

The election period of 2010 witnessed a widespread movement by organizations concerned with women's affairs, all of which worked hard to raise the level of women's representation in parliament through gaining additional seats through free competition in addition to the quota system, to arrive at achieving the hoped-for ratio, in addition to helping qualified and competent women form a pressure group and reach the House of Representatives, for the purpose of increasing women's gains and rights, and upgrading the legislation necessary to improving their reality. Within this framework, JNCW worked at helping female candidates and encouraging society and voters to select the qualified candidate. 134 women ran for the house elections out of a total of 763 candidates, representing 17.5%. 13 women won as representatives in the House of Representatives, representing 10.8%. 12 won seats through the quota system, while one candidate won through free competition.

From the above, one can notice that despite persistent social and legislative constraints hindering Jordanian women's aspirations to reach the House of Representatives in appropriate numbers, set at the time at 20% of the total number of seats, women's march towards the house of representatives recorded a number of gradual successes starting at the 1989 elections and until now. Perhaps the most significant indicators of progress in this march is the increase in the number of candidates from 12 in 1989 to 199 in 1997, and 134 in 2010, (Table No. 8). The gradual increase of the number of candidates in the parliament's election cycles is noticed, the number multiplied during the 2010 elections by over ten-fold compared to female candidate numbers in the first elections cycle in 1989. The number of male candidates did not witness this phenomenon, but rather fluctuated in an unstable manner between parliaments. Table No. 4 shows that the number and ratio of female candidates increased by about 15 points between 1989 and 2010.

Table No. 4: Number of Men and Women Candidates for Parliamentary Elections, and the Percentage of Women Candidates during the Past Six Elections (1989, 1993, 1997, 2003, 2007, 2010)

Year	Number of Candidates			Percentage of Women Candidates (%)
	Women	Men	Total Candidates	
1989	12	635	647	1.85
1993	3	531	534	0.56
1997	17	544	561	3
2003	54	765	819	6.6
2007	199	686	885	22.5
2010	134	629	763	17.6

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 1:

Figure No. 1: Number of Women Candidates in Parliamentary Elections for the Years (1989, 1993, 2003, 2007, 2010)

Women nominated for Parliament

On the other hand, the number of seats occupied by women in the two houses of parliament increased from one seat in 1993 to 13 in 2010, or the equivalent of 11 percentage points between 1989 and 2010.

Table No. 5: Number and Percentage of Men and Women's Representation in the House of Representatives during the Past Six Elections (1989, 1993, 1997, 2003, 2007, 2010)

Year	Number of Winners		Percentage of Parliament Representation (%)	
	Women	Men	Men Representation	Women Representation
1989	0	80	100	0
1993	1	79	98.75	1.25
1997	0	80	100	0
2003	6	104	94.55	5.45
2007	7	103	93.64	6.36
2010	13	107	89.17	10.83

Despite the fact that the increase in the number of seats occupied by women in the parliament was accompanied by an increase in the number of seats occupied by men (see Figure No. 2) as a result of a gradual increase in the number of seats (from 80 seats for elected parliamentary councils in 1989, 1993, and 1997) to 110 seats in those elected in 2003 and 2007, then to 120 seats in the sixteenth parliament elected in 2010), the gender gap in women and men's representation is decreasing gradually (see Figure No. 3).

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 2:

Figure No. 2: Comparison between Number of Parliamentary Seats Occupied by Women and Men for the Years (1989, 1993, 2003, 2007, 2010)

Number of seats

Males

Females

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 3:

Figure No. 3: Comparison between Representation Rates of Women and Men in Parliament for the Years (1989, 1993, 1997, 2003, 2007, 2010)

Percentage of Parliamentary Representation

Males

Females

It must be admitted on the other hand, however, that the achieved ratio of Jordanian women's representation in the House of Representatives remains low according to local and international standards. They are below the standard level of representation specified by the Jordanian women's movement (20%), and is below the representation levels decided internationally, which should not be below 30%, according to the work program issued by the Fourth International Conference for Women in Beijing, 1995. Figure No. 4 explains the differences between the present level of women's representation in the Jordanian House of Representatives, and the women's representation levels required locally and internationally.

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 4:

Figure No. 4: Comparison of the Present Women Representation Level in the House of Representatives with the Required Levels Locally and Internationally (1989, 1993, 2003, 2007 and 2010)

Percentage of Current Representation

Globally Required Representation Rates

Locally Required Representation Rates

Current Representation Rate

B. Two Decades of Women's Participation in the Jordanian Senate

The first woman was appointed to the Senate in 1989, at the same time the eleventh parliament was elected, inaugurating an era of political openness in the country. The Senate is the part of parliament that is assigned. It is composed of a number not to exceed half the number of the elected House of Representative members. Both houses represent the legislative authority; the Parliament. Since the number of Senate members was 40 at the time, women's participation ratio was 2.5%.

Despite the fact that the Senate is formed through appointment, rendering it free from the constraints that prevent women from accessing the House of Representatives through free election competition, women's participation in the Senate was tinged with some sluggishness and gradualness. In 1993, the number of women in the Senate increased to two women, or 5% of the total number of members. It increased again in 1997 to 3 women, or 7.5% of the total number.

The rates of women's participation in the Senate started to increase since 2003, with this increase coinciding with the increase in the number of the House of Representatives members to 110. The number of the Senate members was raised not to exceed half the number of the House of Representative members, where seven women were selected among the 55 appointed members, raising women's representation to 12.7%. The same was repeated in the Senate in 2007, with women's representation remaining the same at 12.7% of the total number of the Senate members.

A similar situation during the election of the sixteenth parliament in 2010 allowed the increase of the number of women in the Senate to 9 women, when the number of the House of Representatives members was increased to 120. Hence, the Senate was formed of 60 members, 15% of whom were women. This was the highest rate of women's representation for Jordanian women, not only at the level of the Senate, but also at the level of the successive houses of representatives and cabinets of ministers.

Table No. 6 shows the development of women's participation in consecutive Senates over the years 1989 - 2010. Figure No. 5 shows a comparison between the ratios of women's representation in the two houses of parliament between 1989 and 2010.

Table No.6: Number of Women Representatives in the Senate and their Ratio to Total Number of Members for the Years (1989, 1993, 1997, 2003, 2007, 2010)

Year	Number of House Members	Number of Women Appointed	Percentage of Women Representation (%)
1989	40	1	2.5
1993	40	2	5
1997	40	3	7.5
2003	55	7	12.7
2007	55	7	12.7
2010	60	9	15.0

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 5:

Figure No. 5: Comparison between the Ratios of Women's Representation in the Two Houses of Parliament for the Years (1989, 1993, 1997, 2003, 2007, 2010)

Percentage of Women's Representation
Women in the House of Representatives
Women in the Senate

We therefore notice the increase in women's representation levels in the Senate by 12.5 percentage points between 1989 and 2010; an increase of 4 percentage points in favor of women's representation in the Senate, compared with women's representation in the House of Representatives during the same period, estimated at 11 percentage points.

Recommendations related to enhancing women's representation in Parliament:

Continuing work on increasing the rate of women's representation in the House of Representatives and the Senate to at least 20% of the seats by the following measures:

- Raising the quota of seats for women in the House of Representatives to at least 20%.
- Encompassing a text in the new elections law stipulating the nomination of women candidates within the national lists in the event they are approved, whereby they constitute not less than 30% of the total list, and ordering the names of the women candidates in such a manner as to ensure that they are given genuine chances to win.
- Working on convincing the political parties and any other national lists to present convincing women candidates that have social background.
- Inviting the government to present financial incentives to political parties that include women candidates on their lists, as well as to parties that are represented by women in Parliament.
- Inviting women's organizations to prepare for women's participation in parliamentary elections using a set of empowerment tools that are put into effect at an early stage, and working on reviewing past experiences of training and supporting women candidates in order to develop them and improve their results.
- Effective women's participation in dialogues related to the elections law, inclusive of the meetings of parliamentary committees, and coordinating with women members in the House of Representatives and the Senate for the sake of achieving a gender-compliant and gender-sensitive elections law.
- Using traditional and new media outlets, such as social media, electronic media, and private radios, to gather the support of the public for increasing women's representation in the House of Representatives and the Senate.

2. Women in the Jordanian Political Parties:

Despite the long standing history of Jordanian political parties and the early participation by women in their struggles since the 1950's, women have so far continued to make up a minimal number of memberships in the Jordanian political parties, particularly in their leadership boards.

Partisan life in Jordan has embarked on a new stage after 1989, marked by political openness and the expansion of opportunities for participation in all their various political and social forms. In this climate, the Jordanian National Charter, which was issued in June 1991, included principles for regulating and controlling the political parties. The Charter called on political parties to commit to a number of principles, including the commitment of the parties that undertake or share in ministerial responsibility to the principle of "equality and equal opportunities among all the citizens and adopting efficiency and eligibility as basic standards for assuming public jobs." Moreover, the Political Parties Law No. 32 for the year 1992 constituted the legal point of reference for political parties' plurality, providing opportunities for joining and engaging in

partisan action for the various citizens. The Political Parties Law emphasized, albeit implicitly, anti-discrimination against women. Nevertheless, the levels of women's engagement in political parties remained low, while the levels of women's representation in leadership boards across the 1990's were merely symbolic.

In the early 1990's, the level of women's membership in the founding bodies of the 17 political parties that were established in 1992 and 1993 did not exceed 5%. As for the leadership bodies, three quarters of the registered political parties did not include any woman among its members, while one quarter of the political parties (or 23.5%) included one or two women in the first rank leadership bodies. On a different note, half of the political parties, which numbered 20 parties before the 1993 elections, did not include in their platforms any paragraph related to women's issues, while eight of them included a paragraph of a general nature on women. Only two parties dedicated within their platform a special paragraph on women having a programmatic sense.

According to data from the Interior Ministry, issued in May 2007, the total number of females in the 35 political parties that had registered in accordance with the Political Parties Law of 1992 did not exceed 372 women, out of 4,116, the total number of founding members of males and females. This means that the rate of females in the founding bodies of political parties did not exceed 9%.

The male-dominant culture that prevailed in the society, in addition to the political conditions that governed the country before the stage of political openness, have allowed for patriarchal prevalence over the establishment processes of political parties in the early 1990's. Moreover, the prevalent political culture, which looked on partisan action warily, and even negatively, was a barrier to citizens' involvement, particularly by women, in political parties. The 20-year-old march since the enactment of the first modern law for political parties, meaning Law No. 32 for the year 1992, shows that political parties' introduction into the legislative, legal, and public system has not yet dissipated citizens' fears and concerns of joining the parties; those fears and concerns that have been passed down through the decades. At the same time, the parties that were established in the past two decades did not, in turn, succeed in adapting to the core changes that were taking place in the social and political environment over the past decades. This limited citizens' confidence and their willingness to participate, as had been expected. Parties were repeatedly criticized for their programs and approaches that did not respond to citizens' aspirations and vital interests, but, more importantly, for not becoming an integral part of the structure of the political system aiming to compete to achieve ruling power. In other words, women's abstinence from participating in political parties is partly attributed to a much larger dilemma, namely the unattractive nature of the parties, their weak ability to attract and involve citizens in general, and their lacking ability to address women's rights and aspirations for justice, participation, and equality through a systematic and pragmatic approach.

Statistics issued by the Department of Statistics show that the rate of women's representation in the General Assemblies of licensed political parties in the middle of the past decade did not exceed 6.8% in 2005 and 7.5% in 2007, as shown in Table No. 7 below.

Table No. 7: Rate of Representation of Men and Women in Political Parties' General Assemblies and the Gender Gap for the Years (2005, 2007, 2008, 2009)

Year	Rate of Representation in Political Parties' General Assemblies (%)		Gender Gap
	Women	Men	
2005	6.8	93.2	86.4
2007	7.5	92.5	85
2008	27.8	72.2	44.4
2009	29.1	70.9	41.8

The issuance of the Political Parties Law No. 17 for the year 2007, which raised the number of founding members for any party to 500 members, thus encouraging those parties to attract a higher number of founding members to fulfill the minimum legal requirement, inclusive of women, has led to the increase of the rate of women's participation in political parties, registering 27.8%³³ in 2008 and 29.1%³⁴ in 2009. On a different note, the number of political parties chaired by a woman increased to two parties out of eight currently existing parties. Data published in 2010 indicate that a total of 3,285 females have participated in founding General Assemblies of political parties, belonging to 18 political parties, and the rate of their representation out of the total number of members is around 29.1%. (See Table No. 8 below).

Table No. 8: Number of Men and Women Members in Political Parties in 2010

No.	Name of Party	Male	Female	Total	Percentage of Females
1	Du'a' Party	215	320	535	59.8%
2	Progressive Arab Ba'th Party	406	173	579	29.9%
3	Jordanian Communist Party	364	161	525	30.7%
4	Jordanian Socialist Arab Ba'th Party	433	93	526	17.7%
5	Islamic Action Front Party	757	64	821	7.8%
6	Jordanian National Party	309	405	714	56.7%
7	Al-Hayah Party	382	185	567	32.6%
8	Al-Risalah Party	452	57	509	11.2%
9	Islamic Al-Wasat Party	411	97	508	19.1%
10	Unified Jordanian Front Party	508	33	541	6.1%
11	Jordanian Democratic People's Party (Hashd)	292	286	578	49.5%
12	National Movement for Direct Democracy Party	326	211	537	39.3%
13	Constitutional National Party	638	32	670	4.8%
14	Jordanian Democratic Popular Unity Party	373	139	512	27.1%
15	Jordanian Al-Rafah Party	282	226	508	44.5%
16	National Trend Party	1271	182	1453	12.5%
17	Justice and Development Party	359	211	570	37.0%
18	Freedom and Equality Party	232	410	642	63.9%

³³ Source: Department of Statistics

³⁴ Source: Department of Statistics

Grand Total		8010	3285	11295	29.1%
-------------	--	------	------	-------	-------

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 6:

Figure No. 6: Comparison between Percentage of Men and Women's Representation in General Assemblies of Political Parties for the Years (2005, 2007, 2008, 2009)

Participation Percentage

Males

Females

Despite the noticeable increase of the rate of women's representation in the General Assemblies of political parties between 2005 and 2009, as well as the noticeable decrease in the gender gap (see Figure No. 6), women's participation in partisan action has not risen to the aspired levels, which would enable those parties to play their natural role in getting women into parliament. Needless to say, women's involvement in organized political party action and their assumption of leadership positions in them will provide women with many leadership and political skills and capacities, which will help them enhance their opportunities to run for parliamentary elections through the party and receive its full support to get them into parliament, in addition to the fact that developing their leadership potential will reflect on their performance as members of parliament, which will, in turn, reflect positively on increasing the society's acceptance of women in the legislative decision-making process and gradually eliminate the need for the women's quota. In this regard, the data describing the nature of running for the elections of the 16th parliament in 2010, indicate the low number of women who were nominated on behalf of the parties they belonged to, whereby that number did not exceed 19.7% of the total number of partisan candidates, the rate of whom, in turn, did not exceed 13.1% of the total number of candidates in those elections³⁵. Only one woman candidate in this category won a seat.

Figure No. 7 and Figure No. 8 show the relative distribution of candidates in the 2010 elections, according to their representative political trends and gender, as well as the relative distribution of women candidates according to political trends.

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 7:

Figure No. 7: Relative Distribution of Candidates in Parliamentary Elections in terms of Their Representation of Political Parties by Gender (2010)

Percentage of Political Party Male Candidates

Percentage of Independent Male Candidates

Percentage of Political Party Female Candidates

Percentage of Independent Female Candidates

³⁵ Source: See "Properties of candidates of the 16th Parliament, their trends towards ethics of conduct, and their trends towards many social, economic, and political issues," Jordanian Parliament Observer, Al-Quds Center for Political Studies

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 8:

Figure No. 8: Relative Distribution of Women Candidates in Parliamentary Elections in terms of Their Representation of Parties They Belong to (2010)

Percentage of independent Female Candidates

Percentage of Political Party Female Candidates

Recommendations related to women's representation in political parties:

- Calling on the government to establish a gender-sensitive mechanism for financial support provided to political parties.
- Calling on political parties to present transparent data about their membership in general and about the membership in the various leadership entities and their activities in general, categorized according to gender, and in a manner that would allow for the provision of a gender-compliant database about these parties.
- Calling on the Ministry of Political Development to create an optional list of best practices for political parties, particularly in relation to their policies towards justice and equality between men and women.
- Calling on the concerned institutions that encourage and promote excellence and entrepreneurial qualities to introduce the dimension of justice and equality to awards of excellence granted by these institutions, as well as to list political parties and civil society organizations as beneficiary categories in those awards.
- Calling on the Jordanian political parties to develop their political programs in a manner that responds to the aspirations of citizens, men and women alike, and to not settle for generally worded references to women's issues in their programs, as well as to endeavor on addressing concrete and specific demands and goals for targeted women's sectors.
- Political parties must work on adopting systematic mechanisms for increasing women's representation in the various intermediary and leadership positions, in order for the rate of women's representation in elected leadership positions to achieve at least a third of the total, inclusive of positions in the political office and the central committee. Parties must also adopt gender-sensitive policies in general in all their internal and external activities.
- Political parties must give the necessary priority to the issue of training and qualifying their staff of women, providing them with leadership, communications, and negotiations skills, as well as skills for managing election campaigns.

3. Women in Municipal Councils

Municipal councils have existed since the beginnings of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and the first municipalities' law was created in 1925. Women's involvement in these councils, however, was only achieved in the last two decades. Indeed, the Amman Municipality had included a woman in its council for the first time in 1980, and the council was then composed of only 12 members. In 1986, one woman was reappointed in the Greater Amman Municipality council, but the number of the council's members had jumped to 50 members.

The Municipalities Law No. 29 for the year 1982 had granted women the right to elect and run for membership in the municipal councils. At that time, two women ran for the presidency seats,

but failed to win in those elections. Jordanian women remained distant from the municipal council until 1995, when HRH Princess Basma Bint Talal, the Chairperson of JNCW, proposed the appointment of 99 women as members in 99 municipalities within the municipal committees that the government had formed to prepare for the municipal elections, which were scheduled to be conducted in all of the Kingdom's governorates in one day. The government agreed to this proposal, which encouraged women to become involved in the municipal elections, as voters or as candidates. In those elections, 19 women were nominated, and 9 of them won seats in municipal councils, while one woman candidate won the presidency of a municipal council. HRH Princess Basma made the best of an opportunity provided by a text present at that time in the Municipalities Law that allowed the government to appoint two additional members in each municipal council. She urged the government to appoint women to the municipal councils, and the Cabinet of Ministers approved her request by appointing 23 women in several municipal councils.

The experience of the 1995 elections encouraged more women to run for the municipal elections in 1999, where 8 women out of a total of 43 women candidates won, while 25 women were appointed³⁶. In the subsequent municipal elections in 2003, 46 women participated in the elections and only 5 women won, while 99 women were appointed as members in the various municipal councils, which was done to ensure the presence of at least one woman in each municipality, while one woman was appointed as president of a municipality³⁷. The number of women in municipal councils, whether elected or appointed, registered 104 women out of a total 1050 members of municipal councils, including three women in the Greater Amman Municipality council. This increased the rate of women's representation in municipal councils to 10% of the total number of members.

The year 2007 saw the approval of Law No. 14 for the year 2007, amending the Municipalities Law and creating the quota system in the municipal elections, whereby 20% of the municipal council's seats at the least were allocated for women and to be occupied by the women candidates who receive the highest numbers of votes. In the event that the required number of women candidates that matches this percentage is not achieved or is not available, the aforementioned law has provided for covering the shortage through appointments, which has ultimately encouraged women to participate in the elections extensively. Consequently, 380 women, out of a total of 2,070 candidates, ran for the 2007 municipal elections, which is equivalent to 18.4%. A total of 231 women won in the 2007 municipal elections, including 211 women who won using the quota system, while 20 women won seats in municipal councils through free competition. This has raised the rate of women's representation in the municipal councils to 25%. It is worth noting here that the rate of women voters reached 52% of the total number of voters, in addition to the fact that women were appointed to the Amman Municipality council and one woman won the presidency of a municipal council through competition.

In 2011, the 16th House of Representatives decided to raise the percentage of the women's quota stated in the Municipal and Local Councils Law from 20% to 25%. This decision was the inevitable result of the effective impact that the quota system had on raising the level of women's

³⁶ Source: Study "Jordanian Women in Municipal Councils."

³⁷ Lbid .

participation in municipal elections, both as candidates and as voters, and of the noticeable increase in the rate of women's representation in municipal councils in the 2007 municipal elections. Generally speaking, the public opinion's awareness of the importance of supporting women's presence and participation in municipal councils increased, namely with the aim of ensuring that these councils communicate with a vital part of the local communities, as well as to benefit from women's skills in strengthening these councils' capacity to improve the services that are provided to citizens and updating their viewpoints to become developmental entities. Moreover, women's experience in municipal councils will enhance the public's conviction of the importance of women's participation in public and political life and of securing women's access to legislative decision-making positions. This stems from the idea that giving women the opportunity to prove their effectiveness in developing their local communities will enable them to establish grassroots supports, which, in turn, will pave the way to obtaining seats in parliament.

Table No. 9: The Number of Women Candidates and Winners of Seats in Municipal Councils in the Years (1995, 1999, 2003, 2007)

Year	Number of Women Candidates	Number of Women Winners By Competition	Number of Women Winners by Quota	Number of Appointed Members	Total Number of women in Local Councils	Percentage of Women's Representation in Councils
1995	20	10	0	23	30	0
1999	43	8	0	25	33	0
2003	46	5	0	99	104	10%
2007	380	23	211	7	241	25%

Table No. 9 above shows the growth of the number of women candidates and winners in municipal elections from 1995 to 2007.

When the House of Representatives took the initiative of raising the women's quota in municipal councils from 20% to 25% during its deliberations of the new municipalities' law, it was time for the women's organizations to combine between the demand for increasing that percentage and the demands that focus on women empowerment and strengthening their capacity and performance for municipal work. The study, "Jordanian Women in Municipal Councils," which was issued by the Jordanian National Commission for Women (JNCW), came to emphasize the need for merging the enhancement of women's participation from a numeric viewpoint with the enhancement of the quality of women candidates' skills, whether in terms of improving their knowledge of the Municipalities Law and their work or improving the individual skills of both women candidates and winners, such as foreign language competencies, computer skills, public communication and outreach, and leadership skills.

It would also be useful to translate the aforementioned study's conclusions and results on the ground, in order to raise the efficiency level of the women members of municipal councils and enhance their knowledge and expertise about the tasks of a municipality and municipal council by providing more training courses in Jordan or through visits abroad.

The study has shown that the interests of women members of municipal councils tend to focus more on service, social, and environmental issues rather than on women's rights and issues related to policies. This is something that is both natural and expected at the beginning of their experience. Yet, there might be a need in the upcoming stage to give more focus on raising the level of general, political, and legal knowledge and education for the women members of municipal councils.

On a different note, enhancing women's participation in municipal councils requires a generally conducive environment within the local community and the municipal councils themselves. This requires the provision of the necessary information to new women members about the work of local councils, as well as the need to take time from their schedules for the purpose of training and learning about the tasks they would be undertaking, in addition to the show of patience, a positive spirit, and the necessary cooperation on the part of the presidents and members of municipal councils, which would enable the new women members to master the tasks and roles they are assigned.

For this purpose, a network called "Nashmiyat" was established as part of the JNCW to enable former, current, and future women presidents and members of municipal councils to raise the level of their performance and build on their aspired developmental role within the municipal councils.

4. Women in Professional Associations and Societies

Professional associations and societies represent the official regulatory vessel for the various occupational and professional categories in the Jordanian society. They have a widely extensive national network of branches, societies, and committees that cover all the governorates and major cities in Jordan. The formation of professional associations began in the early 1950's with the creation of the Lawyers Association (1950) and was followed by others, such as the Dentists Association (1952), the Journalists Association (1953), the Doctors Association (1954), and the Pharmacists Association (1957). Nowadays, there are 12 professional associations, in addition to two professional societies for certified accountants and tourist guides. There are a total of 102 branches for associations in the 12 governorates of Jordan.

The study, "The Civil Society in Jordan: Its Structure and Regional and Sectoral Distribution," which was published in 2011, estimated the number of members in professional associations and societies to be 177,256 members, according to data from the associations themselves. The number of female members was 48,937, which is equivalent to 27.6% of the total number of members. (See Table No. 10).

The largest share of female memberships is concentrated in the Engineers Association, the largest professional association in terms of the membership size, registering a total of 15,580 female members. Although the rate of women members in the Engineers Association does not exceed 18% of the total number of members in this association, they, nevertheless, represent 31.8% of the total number of female members in all the professional associations.

In reality, professional women represent a large percentage of the General Assemblies of some of the professional associations, achieving 56% of the total number of members in the Nurses Association, 54% in the Pharmacists Association, 38.8% of the Agricultural Engineers Association, 34.7% of the Dentists Association, around 20% of the Lawyers Association, and 16% of the Doctors Association.

Despite the high rate of females' participation in terms of membership in the professional associations, this was not reflected in the structure of the associations' council. Women's participation in professional associations' councils decreases to low rates that have not exceeded 4.8% in 2008 and 3% in 2009. This dictates the need for these associations to work on addressing the wide gender gap that exists, particularly at the leadership levels in the professional associations, as shown in Table No. 10 and Figure No. 9.

Table No. 10: Membership in Professional Associations

No.	Association	Number of Members	Males	Females	Percentage of Males	Percentage of Females
1	Lawyers Association	9089	7289	1800	80.2%	19.8%
2	Dentists Association	6800	4441	2359	65.3%	34.7%
3	Pharmacists Association	12507	5753	6754	46%	54%
4	Doctors Association	20000	16800	3200	84%	16%
5	Engineers Association	85505	69925	15580	81.8%	18.2%
6	Agricultural Engineers Association	14870	9099	5771	61.2%	38.8%
7	Journalists Association	872	686	186	87.7%	21.3%
8	Geologists Association	2700	1200	1500	44.4%	55.6%
9	Veterinarians Association	1305	1024	281	87.5%	21.5%
10	Nurses Association	20000	8800	11200	44%	56%
11	Contractors Association	1371	1371	---	100%	0.0%
12	Artists Association	737	641	96	87%	13%
13	Tourist and Travel Guides Society	1000	800	200	80%	20%
14	Certified Accountants Society	500	490	10	98%	2%
	Total	177256	128319	48937	72.4%	27.6%

Source: Accumulative table prepared by the Al-Urdun Al-Jadeed Center for Studies on the basis of data acquired directly from the professional associations and societies using research questionnaires addressed to them, 2010. Study of "The Civil Society in Jordan: Structure and Regional and Sectoral Distribution", published in 2011.

Table No. 11: Relative Distribution of Women's Participation in Professional Associations and Associations' Council and the Gender Gap for the Years (1997, 2002, 2007, 2008, 2009)

Year	Rate of Women Participation in Professional Associations	Gender Gap	Rate of Women Participation in Associations' Council
1997	19	61.2	-
2002	27	46	-
2007	23.3	53.4	-
2008	22.7	54.6	4.8
2009	35.7	28.6	3
2010	33.3	33.4	4.9

Source: Available Data from the Department of Statistics for 2008 and 2009.

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 9:

Figure No. 9: Comparison of Rate of Men and Women's Participation in Professional Associations' Memberships for the Years (1997, 2002, 2007, 2008, 2009)

Percentage of Participation

Males

Females

It is a well-known fact that family and social pressures negatively affect women's capacity and their full participation in professional associations, limiting in particular their ability to assume leadership positions. Nevertheless, this does not prevent the adoption of suitable mechanisms that would enhance women's professional participation in an association's leadership actions, in a manner that is proportionate with women's numbers in professional associations' memberships.

Recommendations related to women's participation in professional associations and societies:

- The professional associations' development of mechanisms designed to improve female participation in associations' councils and other technical committees and sub committees, as well as putting in place a timeline for enhancing female representation in General Assemblies (within three terms for instance), which will lead to representing women in the association in accordance with the percentage of their memberships in the General Assembly of the association.
- The professional associations' adoption of an initiative to develop work mechanisms that are suitable to the working women and home-keepers, enabling them to participate in the various activities of the association, particularly in leadership roles. Examples of such mechanisms include the selection of relatively early times for meetings or provision of childcare services and facilities for the mothers that might be accompanied by their children when taking part in meetings, etc.

- The General Assemblies of professional associations' review of laws and regulations in a manner that would take into consideration the needs and requirements of women members, and considering adoption of such suitable policies, legislation, and procedures not only a professional responsibility, but also a national responsibility, as well as benefiting from best practices and expertise of other countries in the area of achieving justice in professional associations as a way that provides exemplary conduct for other Jordanian civil society organizations.

5. Women in Trade Unions

The establishment of trade unions dates back to the first half of 1954, when ten trade unions were created all at once, six of which sought to unify their ranks under the General Federation of Trade Unions, which ultimately turned into the only national umbrella for the trade union movement, present to this day.

This was preceded by lengthy struggles that culminated in the issuance of the Trade Unions Law number 35 for the year 1953, followed by the Laborers Compensation Law for the year 1955. The number of registered trade unions soon increased to 36 unions by 1955, then up to 39 unions by 1956 and 1957. The 1967 war, however, led to the decrease of the number of trade unions to 20 unions, and in the mid 1970's, the trade union movement was subjected to a re-organization process that lowered the number of unions to 17 general unions. This number remains the same today.

The rate of women's participation in the labor force stands at only 14.7% of the total number of economically active population. It is below the level of females' economic participation found in neighboring countries or countries that have similar income levels. At the same time, women, particularly those with educational qualifications, suffer from unemployment rates that are double those of men, in addition to presence of various forms of gender-based discrimination, especially in the private and unregulated sectors. Needless to say, the concerns and issues related to working women do not occupy the appropriate place on the agenda of the General Federation of Trade Unions. However and despite the vagueness of data related to unions' memberships over the past two decades, the membership percentage of working females rises in specific trade unions, such as textiles, banks, insurance, accounting, and health services, while women's membership in the rest of the trade unions is almost symbolic.

As for the administrative bodies of trade unions, women's participation remains limited to a small and symbolic number, particularly given the absence of periodic elections in those unions and the fact that the winning members to these administrative bodies are declared by default in the absolute majority of these unions. Some unions that have a high number of women members select several of those women, who are on the winning list of candidates, by default. Of the unions that have a high level of women's representation in their administrative bodies are the General Trade Union of Workers in Public Services and Free Vocations Professions and the General Trade Union of Workers in Textile, Garment, and Clothing Industries, where there are four women members out of the original nine members in the union's leadership, as well as the General Trade Union of Workers in Private Education, where there are five women members out of the original nine members in the administrative body. Women members in the General Trade

Union of Workers in Health Services are represented by two women out of the original nine members, while four other trade unions include one woman member in their administrative bodies. The remaining nine trade unions have no women representation in the administrative bodies.

Table No. 12 shows the members of the administrative bodies of the 17 trade unions and specifically the number of women members. It is noteworthy that there are no more than 20 women in leadership positions, out of the total of 171 leadership positions in the various unions, which is equivalent to 11.7% of the total number of leadership positions.

Table No. 12: Jordanian Trade Unions, Establishment, Members, Administrative Bodies, and Number of Women in Administrative Bodies

No.	Name of Trade Union	Year of Establishment	Number of Members	Number of Members in Administrative Body	Number of Women in Administrative Body
1	General Trade Union of Workers in Petrochemicals	1963	7500	9	0
2	General Trade Union of Workers in Banks, Accounting, and Insurance	1954	3000	9	0
3	General Trade Union of Workers in Electricity	1960	8000	9	0
4	General Trade Union of Workers in Health Services	1962	1000	9	3
5	General Trade Union of Workers in Typing and Photocopying	1954	5000	9	1
6	General Trade Union of Railway Workers	1946	750	9	0
7	General Trade Union for Public Services and Free Vocations	1954	4227	9	4
8	General Trade Union of Workers in Textile, Garment and Clothing	1954	4000	9	5

9	General Trade Union of Workers in Seaports and Shipping	1956	2134	9	1
10	General Trade Union of Workers in Mining and Metal Industries	1970	8000	9	0
11	General Trade Union of Workers in Food Industries	1976	3100	9	1
12	General Trade Union of Workers in Air Transportation and Tourism	1955	4500	9	1
13	General Trade Union of Workers in Commercial Stores	1976	800	9	0
14	General Trade Union of Workers in Land Transport and Mechanics	1954	73830	9	0
15	General Trade Union of Workers in Construction	1972	2000	9	0
16	General Trade Union of Workers in Private Education	1969	3500	9	4
17	General Trade Union of Workers in Municipalities	1954	425	9	0
Total			131766	153	20

Source: Study on the status of the Jordanian women's participation in trade unions, JNCW, 2010

Table No. 13 and Figure No. 10 show the relative distribution of women's participation in trade unions (percentage of women members in trade unions) and the gender gap for the years 2007-2009.

Table No. 13: Relative Distribution of Women's Participation in Trade Unions and the Gender Gap for the Years (2007, 2008, 2009)

Year	Percentage of Women's Participation in Trade Unions	Percentage of Men's Participation in Trade Unions	Gender Gap
2007	20	80	60

2008	21	79	58
2009	22	78	56
2010	22	78	56

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 10:

Figure No. 10: Comparison of Relative Distribution of Men and Women's Participation in Trade Unions (2007, 2008, 2009)

Percentage of Participation

Males

Females

It is not possible to work on eliminating or decreasing the rate of the gender gap in trade unions without the democratization of these institutions and re-instituting periodic elections that are held on principles of fair competition. This also requires opening of doors for the free establishment of new trade unions, as well as reconsidering the professional classification of labor categories in view of the massive economic and technological changes that have introduced dozens of new and specific professions, which, so far, are not entitled to establishing their own independent trade unions. Indeed, working women are not able to access their right to justice, participation, and equality through simple merely symbolic representation or by including them, in format only, in leadership bodies in their organizations, without actually developing the current status of trade unions and adopting democratic means and mechanisms within them.

The serious treatment of the just representation of women in trade unions can only be done by, first and foremost, encouraging and promoting their membership in trade unions and updating the internal regulations of these unions in a manner that will enable women, as well as all other members, to play effective roles in the various activities, in addition to enabling them to start union-related coalitions and blocs to engage in elections according to transparent, free, and pluralistic mechanisms.

Recommendations related to women's participation in trade unions:

- Abandoning the method of symbolic representation for women in trade unions' leadership positions through appointments or default victories and instituting sustainable mechanisms designed to achieve justice in women's representation in trade unions in accordance with the number of women workers in the field represented by each concerned union.
- Training and qualifying more women unionists in order to learn about union-related actions, representation tasks, and negotiations with other social partners.
- Opening trade unions' doors to more men and women members, thus strengthening their social bases and encouraging women to participate in unions that have extensive public and social influence.
- Inviting the private sector to provide the necessary facilitations to women unionists, inclusive of opportunities for full-time union work and leaves of absence for the purpose of undertaking union-related training and education.

- Inviting the government, particularly the Ministry of Labour, to encourage the reform of unions in the labor movement and to provide opportunities to women members to participate in union-related work and to reach decision-making positions within the trade unions and the General Federation of Trade Unions.

6. Women in Business Organizations

Business organizations encompass a variety of types, such as chambers of commerce and industry, business owners associations, and other sector related societies. The first business organization was the Al-Salt Chamber of Commerce, which was established in 1883, while the Amman Chamber of Commerce was established in 1923. The Federation of Jordanian Chambers of Commerce was established at the end of 1995. The Jordan Chamber of Commerce nowadays includes 17 commerce chambers, which have a total membership of 79,000 members. As for the chambers of industry, their establishment dates back to the 1960's. Currently, there are three chambers of industry in Jordan, in addition to the Jordan Chamber of Industry, and the chambers of industry of Amman, Irbid, and Al-Zarqa' include 15,000 people in their memberships.

The number of business owner associations reaches 44 associations. They are registered under the Labor Law. While the number of business associations registered under the Associations Law are 24 associations. With Jordan's increased economic openness and globalization a new generation of business associations has risen.

With the exception of the Jordan Forum for Business and Professional Women (JFBPW), which was established in 1976, and the Business and Professional Women Club, established in 2003 and very active in Amman and Aqaba, women's presence in traditional business organizations remains almost negligent. Women have typically been represented in the main business organizations by a businesswoman, especially at the times when the chambers of commerce and industry were under specific administrations for several years.

An extraordinary breakthrough occurred in the Amman and Jordan chambers of commerce when Mrs. Reem Badran was elected as a member in both of these organizations in the 2009 elections. Mrs. Reem Badran is the only woman on the board of the Amman Chamber of Commerce, which is composed of nine members, and she holds the position of second vice chairperson. The Amman Chamber of Commerce has an extensive consultative council that includes 34 members, none of whom are women. Mrs. Reem Badran also holds the position of second vice chairperson in the Jordan Chamber of Commerce, which is composed of 30 members.

It is worth noting that the remaining chambers of commerce in Jordan have only men as members. As for the Amman Chamber of Industry, it includes two women members, Sawsan Haddad and Dima Sukhtian, out of a total of seven members. There is also one woman, Mrs. Dina Fakhoury, in the Board of Directors of the Al-Zarqa' Chamber of Industry, which has a total of nine members.

The Board of Directors of the Jordanian Businessmen Association does not have any women representatives, and so is the case with the other various business organizations.

In general and according to the Department of Statistics (2010), the widest gender gap in the different Jordanian organizations is in the chambers of commerce, where women's participation does not exceed 1.1%, compared with 98.9% for males, a gender gap of 97.8 points. The same applies to chambers of industry, where women's representation is slightly higher, registering 5.3%, compared with 94.7% for males, with a gender gap of 89.4 points.

Yet, while taking into consideration the weak participation on the part of women in entrepreneurship and establishing private businesses, something that is explained by several factors (as indicated herein this report), initiative must be taken to provide a mechanism for strengthening women's participation in the business sector, as well as enhancing women's ownership and engagement in small and medium enterprises, and increasing their representation in the chambers of commerce and industry and other business organizations.

7. Women in Executive Authority

The government and the public sector constitute the most favored venues for Jordanian working women. The public sector accommodates 48% of women workers, compared with the 52% of women workers in the private sector and informal sector.

In the context of governmental decision making, women's participation progressed gradually since the beginning of the 1970's with the appointment of the first Jordanian woman in the position of Ambassador at the Foreign Ministry, whereby Mrs. Laurice Hlas was appointed as the deputy to Jordan's permanent representative at the United Nations in New York. However, at the end of the same decade, Mrs. In'am Al-Mufti held the first ministerial position, namely as Minister of Social Affairs (now Social Development) in the government of H.E. Al-Sharif Abdel Hamid Sharaf. With this, she became the first Jordanian woman to hold a ministerial position after it was monopolized by men since 1921.

Since then, women were appointed in successive Jordanian governments, holding the ministerial portfolios of social development, information, industry and trade, planning and international cooperation, municipal affairs, government spokesperson, culture, communications and information technology, tourism and antiquities, and public sector development. In 1999, the first woman was appointed as deputy prime minister. The government of HE Faisal Al-Fayez, which was formed in 2003, was another turning point for women in this area, where a noticeable increase in women's representation in the Cabinet of Ministers occurred, registering 14.2% compared with the rate that did not exceed 5% in the period from 1979 to 1999. Another similar leap in this percentage occurred under the government of HE Dr. Adnan Badran, where the women's participation in government registered 15.3%, making it the highest rate of representation ever to be achieved by women in this field. This was followed by the rate of 14.2% under the government of HE Nader Al-Dahabi, but this percentage decreased to its lowest levels, namely 3.4%, under the second government of HE Ma'ruf Al-Bakhit in 2011.

The indicator of the rate of women's participation in the Cabinet of Ministers is not the only indicator used to measure the level of women's participation in the government field. The quality and type of leadership positions that were assumed by Jordanian women in the various cabinets of ministers are considered another indicator for measuring women's participation.

Jordanian women have held atypical ministerial positions, including Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Industry and Trade, Minister of Information, Minister of Planning, and Minister of Communications and Information Technology. These positions have historically been limited to men or have been stereotyped as being work for men.

Table No. 14: Ministerial Positions Held by Women in Jordan (1979-2011)

Year	Total Members	Number of Women	Percentage of Women	Ministerial Portfolios
1979	22	1	4.5%	- H.E. In'am Al-Mufti, Minister of Social Development
1981	21	1	4.7%	- H.E. In'am Al-Mufti, Minister of Social Development
1984	20	1	5%	- H.E. Laila Sharaf, Minister of Information
1993	27	1	3.7%	- H.E. Rima Khalaf, Minister of Industry and Trade
1996	30	1	3.3%	- H.E. Rima Khalaf, Minister of Planning and International Cooperation
1999	23	1	4.3%	- H.E. Rima Khalaf, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Planning and International Cooperation
2000	29	1	3.4%	- H.E. Tamam Al-Ghoul, Minister of Social Development
2002	27	1	3.7%	- H.E. Tamam Al-Ghoul, Minister of Social Development
2003	29	1	3.4%	- H.E. Ruwaydah Al-Ma'aitah, Minister of Social Development
2003	21	3	14.2%	- H.E. Dr. Alia Hatough, Minister of Environment, Tourism and Antiquities - H.E. Dr. Amal Al-Farhan, Minister of Municipal Affairs - H.E. Asma Khader, Minister of State and Media Spokesperson
2005	26	4	15.3%	- H.E. Dr. Alia Hatough, Minister of Environment, Tourism and Antiquities - H.E. Asma Khader, Minister of Culture - H.E. Nadia Al-Sa'eed, Minister of Communications and Information Technology - H.E. Suhair Al-Ali, Minister of Planning and International Cooperation
2005	24	1	4.1%	- H.E. Suhair Al-Ali, Minister of Planning and International Cooperation
2007	28	4	14.2%	- H.E. Suhair Al-Ali, Minister of Planning and International Cooperation

				- H.E. Maha Al-Khatib, Minister of Tourism and Antiquities - H.E. Hala Bseiso, Minister of Social Development - H.E. Nancy Bakir, Minister of Culture
2009	29	2	6.8%	- H.E. Maha Al-Khatib, Minister of Tourism and Antiquities - H.E. Hala Bseiso, Minister of Social Development
2010	31	3	9.6%	- H.E. Hala Bseiso, Minister of Social Development - H.E. Rabiha Al-Dabbas, Minister of Municipal Affairs - H.E. Nisreen Barakat, Minister of Public Sector Development
2011	27	2	7.4%	- H.E. Haifa Abu Ghazaleh, Minister of Tourism and Antiquities - H.E. Salwa Al-Damen, Minister of Social Development
2011	30	2	6.6%	- H.E. Nisreen Barakat, Minister of Public Sector Development - H.E. Ruwaydah Al-Ma'aitah, Minister of Higher Education

Source: The website of the Prime Ministry. Does not include cabinet changes.

Recent years, on the other hand, have seen an increase in women's appointment to local administrations of the Ministry of Interior. In 1990, the number of women appointed to the Executive Council for Governorates increased from three women (out of 180 members) to nine women (out of 240 members). In 1993, the government appointed eight women out of 120 members in local consultative councils, and in 2009, Mrs. Rabiha Al-Dabbas was appointed in the rank of governor in the Ministry of Interior before she was appointed as the Governor of Jarash.

As for public institutions, the number of women in the rank of director general increased. Women were also appointed as consultants in the Prime Ministry in the ranks of secretary general/director general as of 1993. In a study conducted by JNCW in 2010 about gender in the public sector, which included the examination of 81 government departments and institutions, a total of 72.32% of the total number of such departments and institutions, it was concluded that women registered the rate of 44.9% of the total number of employees and that the rate of women in leadership positions did not exceed 17%. Their rate in administrative positions does not exceed 10%, and women in non-leadership positions represent 46%.

In conclusion, the government has at its disposal many opportunities to enhance the participation of Jordanian women, whether by proposing gender-equitable amendments or strengthening women's presence in decision-making positions in the various Executive Authority institutions.

This is in addition to making suggestions about women candidates for the Senate's membership and reducing the gender gaps in the various institutions of the civil society and the private sector.

Regardless of the conditions that govern the formation of governments, the enhancement of fair distribution of ministerial portfolios and other executive positions must remain a fixed objective of all the governments, because the fluctuation of gender-based accomplishments, such as reducing the number of women in the Cabinet of Ministers between one government and another, will only harm Jordan's image and accomplishments in this area. For example, the presence of three or four women ministers in each Jordanian government would be considered an accomplishment that must not be forfeited from the gender point of view.

8. Women in Diplomatic Service

The first participation by a Jordanian woman in the field of diplomatic service was registered in 1970, when Jordan had one woman in the position of honorary ambassador. This status remained as is until 2001, when the government, implementing the Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which states the need to give women equal opportunity to men in governmental representation at the international level, appointed one ambassador in 2001, Jordan's ambassador to France. After that and in 2006, the government appointed two women ambassadors to the United Kingdom and Italy, in addition to appointing the first woman as the head of a diplomatic mission. Jordan also has a woman ambassador in Washington in the United States.

As such, the rate of women's participation in the diplomatic service has gradually increased from 2.3% in 1990 to 16.8% in 2009.

There are also several women employees in the Jordanian diplomatic service, including one in the rank of minister plenipotentiary, three as counselors, 21 in the ranks of first, second, and third secretaries, and 15 in the rank of attaches. There is also one woman in the Jordanian Permanent Mission at the United Nations, and three women diplomats, out of a total of four diplomats, in Vienna, as well as two women diplomats, out of a total of three diplomats, in London, and one woman in the rank of the Assistant Secretary General at the Arab League.

Table No. 15: Relative Distribution of Workers in the Diplomatic Service by Gender and the Gender Gap for the Years (1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2007, 2009)

Year	Women (%)	Men (%)	Gender Gap (%)
1990	2.3	97.7	95.4
1995	2.4	97.6	95.2
2000	3.8	96.2	92.4
2005	9.8	90.2	80.4
2007	16.5	83.5	67
2009	18.1	81.9	63.8

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 11:

Figure No. 11: Comparison of Relative Distribution of Workers in the Diplomatic Service (1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2007, 2009)

Males

Females

Although the 1993 Jordanian Diplomatic Service Regulation does not include, in the conditions that must be met by incumbents, anything to indicate discrimination against women, yet, the rate of women diplomats, particularly in high ranks, remains very low. This low rate is attributed to the nature of the diplomatic profession, as well as the difficulty that male spouses face in accepting the idea of changing their job every few years as a result of their wives' jobs. On a different note, the Jordanian Diplomatic Service Regulation does not permit the transfer of a diplomat who is married to another diplomat to any Jordanian mission for the duration of his/her spouse's work in the same mission, with the exception of missions that have more than five diplomats. As such, it is expected that the wife would be the one required to sacrifice her career to accompany her diplomat husband.

9. Women in the Judicial System

Jobs in the judicial system have been monopolized by men until recently. The first contribution of a woman in the judicial system was in 1996 when the first woman judge, out of a total of 500 judges, was appointed in the country, registering a rate above 0.2%. Yet, women's involvement in the Jordanian judicial system continued to increase gradually over the subsequent years, registering 1.2% in 2000 and 4% in 2003 when 25 women judges were appointed out of a total of 626 judges. The presence of women judges registered 2.8%, 5.3%, and 6.3% in the years 2005, 2007, and 2008 respectively, and in the following year, the number of women judges jumped to 48 judges out of a total of 676 judges, registering a rate of 7.1%. In 2010, the rate of women judges increased to 12.4% with women judges appointed to the juveniles' courts and the courts of conciliation, first instance, criminal courts, and cassation courts, as well as the position of a court president. 2004 is considered one of the most significant years for Jordanian women in the judicial system, when a Jordanian judge was elected to be in the General Assembly of the United Nations out of 35 incumbent international judges that were nominated by the Security Council for membership in the International Criminal Court to try war criminals in Rwanda (as indicated in the first chapter of this report). As such, the first Arab judge to reach the international criminal courts was a Jordanian woman. There were other important accomplishments for women in the judicial system in 2010, when the first woman was appointed in the position of a civil public prosecutor in the city of Amman

Table No. 16: Relative Distribution of Workers in the Judicial System by Gender and the Gender Gap for the Years (1990, 1996, 2000, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010)

Year	Women (%)	Men (%)	Gender Gap (%)
1990	0	100	100
1996	0.2	99.8	99.6
2000	1.2	98.8	97.6
2003	4	96	92
2005	2.8	97.2	94.4
2007	5.3	94.7	89.4

2008	6.3	93.7	87.4
2009	7.1	92.9	85.8
2010	12.4	87.6	75.2

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 12:

Figure No. 12: Comparison Between Relative Distribution of Workers in the Judicial System (1990, 1995, 2000, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010)

Males

Females

TRANSLATION OF FIGURE NO. 13:

Figure No. 13: Number of Women Judges (1990-2011)

Number of Judges

Despite the importance of these accomplishments, it must be said that the rise of women's participation in the judicial system did not exceed 12 percentage points between the years 1995-2010. More importantly, the gender gap between the rate of men and women's participation in the judicial system remains wide, particularly with regard to high ranking positions, which is due to the relatively new introduction of women in the judicial system (as shown in Table No. 16). One must remember that the rate of Jordanian women's participation in the judicial system, which is 12.4%, is considered a low rate when compared with the standard rate of participation in the world, which is 27%, and with the rate of participation at the level of the Middle East and North Africa, which is 24%³⁸.

Table No. 17: Distribution of Judges By Sex and Rank for 2011

Rank	Male	Female	Total
Higher	2	0	2
Higher	57	0	57
Special	40	0	40
First	49	2	51
Second	81	4	85
Third	93	4	97
Fourth	152	9	161
Fifth	170	22	192
Sixth	108	66	174
Total	752	107	859

Judicial Council, 2011

³⁸ Source: Progress of the World's Women (2011-2012): In Pursuit of Justice, issued by UN Women, 2011

14/3/2011 Upon the Royal Directives, the Cabinet of Ministers has decided to form the National Dialogue Committee, comprising 52 members, including four women who are:

- Asma Khader
- May Abul Samen
- Amina Al-Zu'bi
- Fatima Abu Aitah

The committee shall have the task of administering an extensive national dialogue about the various legislation that regulate the system of political action and reviewing the laws and legislation in a manner that achieves reforms that instill an advanced partisan and democratic life, form parliamentary governments founded on political parties, and submit two conciliatory laws for general elections and political parties. The committee shall have the freedom to conduct in-depth research in the various relevant laws and legislation.

The final document, which includes the committee's conclusions, which was submitted to the Prime Minister on 5.6.2011, refers to increasing women's seats from 12 to 15 seats, one seat per governorate and for each of the Northern, Central, and Southern Badias at the minimum.

The prelude to the document had underscored the importance of respect for human rights, equality, citizenship, and enhancing the stature of women.

Conclusion

The general purpose of this report is to identify the status of women in our country in order to seek highest degree of gender-based justice and to eliminate the legal and cultural stumbling blocks and the wrong social practices that entrench the traditional roles of women or that discourage women from the pursuit of equality, equitable opportunities, and justice.

The Jordanian experience throughout its history proved that the deficient fulfillment of justice and access to equal opportunity and rights between men and women has inevitably caused the decrease of economic and social participatory rates for the population at large, as well as the rise of dependence rates, a major wastage of highly educated human resources, and the maintenance of unemployment at its high levels, even at times when the national economy achieves good growth rates.

Given the prevalence of a higher political will, as well as the Jordanian state's commitment to enhancing the stature and role of women at all levels, it is clear that the method for overcoming the obstacles that stand in the way of women's progress towards equality and justice would be to create and provide an enabling general national environment that makes women empowerment a goal for all Jordanians, men and women, to be undertaken by the various national institutions, by which we mean the three constitutional authorities, as well as the public institutions in the private and public sectors, the civil society and the media. In other words, women's progress and advancement is not a goal that is relevant to one sex without the other, but is rather an integral part and one of the basic conditions for enabling the entire Jordanian society, leading to rectifying the inherited imbalances in social and economic roles and contributing to Jordan's advancement and achievement of the aspired levels of development, as well as fulfilling the goals of expanded citizen participation and strengthening and respecting human rights on the basis of justice, citizenship, and equality.

List of Figures

Chapter I		
Page Number	Number of Figure	Name of Figure
	1	Comparison Between Women Representation Percentages in the House of Representatives and the Senate for the Years (1989, 1993, 1997, 2003, 2007, 2010)
	2	Comparison Between Women and Men Representation Percentages in the House of Representatives for the Years (1989, 1993, 1997, 2003, 2007, 2010)
	3	Number of Women Judges in the Years (1990-2011)
	4	Rate of Female Graduates among Graduates from the Jordan Judicial Institute in the Years (1990-2010)
Chapter II		
	1	Average Refined Economic Activity for Females (1994-2010)
	2	Average Female and Male Economic Participation in Jordan for the Period (2000-2010)
	3	Comparative Average Economic Activity for Males and Females by Social Status (2010)
	4	Relative Distribution of Females within the Economic Activity Framework
	5	Relative Distribution of Jordanian Workers 15 Years and Above in the Private Sector by Sex (2009)
	6	Relative Distribution of Female Workers 15 Years and Above by Current Economic Activity (2010)
	7	Distribution of Number of Female Workers 15 Years and Above by Main Economic Activity for the Years (2000-2009)
	8	Relative Distribution of Students in University Education in Jordanian Universities by Sex (2009)
	9	Relative Distribution of Students in Higher University Education in Jordanian Universities by Sex (2009)
	10	Relative Distribution of Graduates of Engineering, Communications and Computer Science in Jordanian Universities by Sex (2009)
	11	Relative Distribution of Owners of Real Estate and Financial Securities and their Value by Sex (2009)
	12	Relative Distribution of the Number of Borrowers and the Total Value of Loans by Sex (2009)
Chapter III		
	1	Number of Women Candidates in Parliamentary Elections for the Years (1989, 1993, 2003, 2007, 2010)
	2	Comparison between Number of Parliamentary Seats Occupied by Women and Men for the Years (1989, 1993, 2003, 2007, 2010)

	3	Comparison between Representation Rates of Women and Men in Parliament for the Years (1989, 1993, 1997, 2003, 2007, 2010)
	4	Comparison of the Present Women Representation Level in the House of Representatives with the Required Levels Locally and Internationally (1989, 1993, 2003, 2007 and 2010)
	5	Comparison between the Ratios of Women Representation in the Two Houses of Parliament for the Years (1989, 1993, 1997, 2003, 2007, 2010)
	6	Comparison between Percentage of Men and Women Representation in General Assemblies of Political Parties for the Years (2005, 2007, 2008, 2009)
	7	Relative Distribution of Candidates in Parliamentary Elections in terms of Their Representation of Political Parties by Gender (2010)
	8	Relative Distribution of Women Candidates in Parliamentary Elections in terms of Their Representation of Parties They Belong to (2010)
	9	Comparison of Rate of Men and Women's Participation in Professional Associations' Memberships for the Years (1997, 2002, 2007, 2008, 2009)
	10	Comparison of Relative Distribution of Men and Women's Participation in Trade Unions (2007, 2008, 2009)
	11	Comparison of Relative Distribution of Workers in the Diplomatic Service (1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2007, 2009)
	12	Comparison Between Relative Distribution of Workers in the Judicial System (1990, 1995, 2000, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010)
	13	Number of Women Judges (1990-2011)

List of Tables

Chapter I		
Page Number	Number of Table	Name of Table
	1	Rate of Women Representation in Ministerial Positions (1979-2011)
Chapter II		
	1	Pay Gap between Men and Women by Skill Level and Sector, 2006
	2	Reasons Related to the Issue of Loss of Local Capacity and Brain-Drain
	3	Main Causes Related to Demand for Local Labor
	4	Main Causes of Gender Occupational Segregation and their Connection to Targeted Groups
	5	Relative Distribution of Jordanian Workers (15 Years and Above) by Work Status and Sex for the Years (2002, 2007, 2010)
	6	Main Targeted Categories and the Main Root Causes Within this Challenge
Chapter III		
	1	Women Candidates in the 1989 Elections
	2	Women Candidates in the 1993 Elections
	3	Women Candidates in the 1997 Elections and their Votes
	4	Number of Men and Women Candidates for Parliamentary Elections, and the Percentage of Women during the Past Six Elections (1989, 1993, 1997, 2003, 2007, 2010)
	5	Number and Percentage of Men and Women Representation in the House of Representatives over the Past Elections (1989, 1993, 1997, 2003, 2007, 2010)
	6	Number of Women Representatives in the Senate and their Ratio to Total Number of Members for the Years (1989, 1993, 1997, 2003, 2007, 2010)
	7	Rate of Representation of Men and Women in Political Parties' General Assemblies and the Gender Gap for the Years (2005, 2007, 2008, 2009)
	8	Number of Men and Women Members in Political Parties in 2010
	9	The Number of Women Candidates and Winners of Seats in Municipal Councils in the Years (1995, 1999, 2003, 2007)
	10	Membership in Professional Associations
	11	Relative Distribution of Women's Participation in Professional Associations and Associations' Council and the Gender Gap for the Years (1997, 2002, 2007, 2008, 2009)
	12	Jordanian Trade Unions, Establishment, Members, Administrative Bodies, and Number of Women in Administrative Bodies
	13	Relative Distribution of Women's Participation in Trade Unions and

		the Gender Gap for the Years (2007, 2008, 2009)
	14	Ministerial Positions Held by Women in Jordan (1979-2011)
	15	Relative Distribution of Workers in the Diplomatic Service by Gender and the Gender Gap for the Years (1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2007, 2009)
	16	Relative Distribution of Workers in the Judicial System by Gender and the Gender Gap for the Years (1990, 1996, 2000, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010)
	17	Distribution of Judges By Sex and Rank for 2011