UNIFEM

Towards Political Empowerment
for Jordanian Women

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Forward

Today, Women's issues, role and involvement in public life have gained great and increased concerns not only on the national level, but also on the regional and global level. Globalization and liberalization, which opened new opportunities for women to prove themselves in the contemporary world arena and participation in all levels of political and economic spheres, have shed light on organizations and systems that still hinder the progress of women.

During the past three decades, women status has faced radical changes in the area of strengthening women's capacity in education, work and her general participation. These changes made her aware of the existing gender gap, which were initiatives towards changing their social roles and integration into society. Noting her role in society is as important as men in the social, economic, cultural and political aspects.

Within the framework of Arab Women Parliamentarian (AWP) project executed in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Morocco, UAE, Oman, Bahrain, Kuwait and Iraq, this study "Towards the Political Empowerment of Women" was conducted.
The project aims to facilitate the empowerment of AWP to act as agents of change in the political process, which continues to be a priority of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) in its 2004-2007 Multi-Year Funding Framework (MYFF).

This study is an attempt to examine the political system in Jordan and identify obstacles and challenges facing women's political empowerment including the degree of prejudice of Jordanian society towards women political empowerment.

I wish to extend my gratitude to the consultant Dr. Mohammad Khair Eiedat Political Science Professor in the University of Jordan and the reviewer Dr. Kamal Abu-Jabir for their extensive efforts in producing such a document.

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Contents   *Pages*

Contents   **Pages**

Executive summary

In Jordan, in terms of political empowerment, women find themselves significantly marginalized. The major gains that they achieved in terms of educational status have yet to be translated into gains in political status. The question remains: how to understand the factors that have created this weak political empowerment and how to develop a strategy to address that concern.

The main argument of this study is that, to be effective, such a strategy to promote women's political empowerment will need to recognize the linkages between issues and different target groups. In other words, whether one aims to change negative attitudes towards women's empowerment, or to strengthen positive trends, the issue of target groups is central. It is true that 'society as a whole' can be considered as a target group' particularly when addressing the negative perceptions that society holds towards women and women's political empowerment, which run across society. But a strategy that fails to respond to different sub-groups in society is likely to be over-simplistic and ultimately ineffective. For this reason the survey which was conducted for this study considered differentiated factors such as age, gender and education to be useful in defining different target groups.

It is often assumed that women as a whole are a 'natural' target group for programmes to enhance women's political empowerment. However, this study reveals that this is not necessarily a wholly reliable assumption. In some ways, many women demonstrate 'prejudice' against women in much the same manner as do men, though admittedly to a lesser extent. In this case, when aiming to change negative attitudes towards women, it might be more effective to target 'society in general' (i.e. men and women).

Differences between men and women are evident, however, in terms of their attitudes towards changing the existing rules and regulations in order to offer women increased opportunities for political empowerment. In this case, women demonstrate more willingness than men. Thus for future potential positive trends in terms of women's political empowerment, women generally represent a better target group than men.

Overall, the survey reveals that youth represent the most responsive target group. Among all age groups, they consistently demonstrate the least prejudice against women's empowerment. The younger age group was also the most eager to provide women with an opportunity to achieve greater political empowerment by supporting change in the electoral law and an increase in the quota for women in parliament.

The survey reveals that the role of education in shaping public attitudes towards women and women's political empowerment was more ambiguous. At best, its role proved to be a mitigating factor but not a determining one. This highlights the need to strengthen gender-sensitivity in the education system in order to reduce society's prejudice and negative attitudes towards women's empowerment.

Structure of the report

The study covers three major topics: first, women and international instruments of human rights; second, Jordan's position in respect of these instruments; and third, how women's legal status has been affected by these instruments. The report also identifies areas of legal concern relevant to the legal status of Jordanian women.

The study also examines the status of women in Jordan in other areas including education, health, economic empowerment and the family. The report recognizes that considerable achievements have been made in terms of improvements in women's status, but nevertheless highlights areas of particular concern in respect of women's health and economic status.

Chapter one serves as an introduction to the political system and political processes in Jordan. The historical background to women's political participation and involvement in the political process is also provided. Chapter two provides a detailed analysis and assessment of women and parliamentary life. The chapter notes that the achievements of women candidates have so far been very modest.

Chapter three examines the reasons behind this limited role of women in the formal parliamentary political process. This analysis in this chapter is informed by the findings from a survey which was carried out specifically for this study. The sample and methodology used in the survey are available in the appendix. The issues identified as contributing to the obstacles facing women's political empowerment include the degree of prejudice expressed by Jordanian society towards women and women's political empowerment. Other issues examined are the impact of the family, tribalism, education and the media on women's political empowerment.

Chapter four sets the foundation for addressing the constraints which have limited women's ability to achieve greater political empowerment. A central concern is how to address the prejudice exhibited by society towards women. Other issues covered include addressing political apathy, which tends to affect women negatively. A recommendation concerning reform of the electoral law to enhance opportunities to increase women's political empowerment is suggested. The chapter also discusses the issue of the skills needed by women to be effective candidates, as well as the relation between these skills and the different target groups.

Chapter five, "The journey ahead", provides specific recommendations for short and longer term interventions to increase women's political empowerment. These can also serve to generate indicators against which to evaluate progress towards gender equity. These recommendations are based on three assumptions: first, the importance of identifying target groups; second, that addressing public perceptions towards women is an important but not sufficient factor related to achieving women's political empowerment. This leads to the third assumption, the need to address issues of direct relevance to political empowerment in general and also to women's political empowerment in particular. The chapter also recommends actions to address weaknesses within the electoral law and the political party system.

Part 1
I.Background

I.1 Human rights declaration

The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights was an embodiment of a long and rich tradition of advocacy for natural rights. The English philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) introduced the concept of natural rights in regard to rights of life and security. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, his compatriot John Locke developed the two major components of human rights heritage, advocating for the right of liberty and the right of property.

The Universal Declaration also drew on the ideas of other philosophers including Jean-Jacques Rousseau as well as on the principles and practices of both the French and the American Revolutions. Indeed, Article One of the Declaration echoed the famous slogan of the French Revolution: "liberty equality and fraternity"'. The article states: "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in spirit of brotherhood."

The influence of the American Revolution and later the American Constitution on the spirit, phrases and institutional aspect of enforcement of rights was very strong indeed. (1) This influence is even more striking and evident in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1976).

However, the Declaration drew also on traditions related to social and economic rights which cannot easily be associated with the American Revolution or the American Constitution. These rights include "the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well being of the individual and their family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services..." (Article 24). These rights are more tuned to the social model and the notion of a "welfare society", than to the American constitutional framework or the practice of the American state.

This comprehensive definition of rights has become a standard definition of UN declarations and conventions on human rights. Not surprisingly, the International Bill of Human Rights, includes, among other instruments, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights as a major component of the Bill.

By any standard, the Declaration was, and still remains, an important benchmark for measuring human freedom and human progress. Yet, an examination of world history since the inception of the Declaration, reveals that there has always been an evident gap between the stated objectives of the Declaration on the one hand, and practice and reality on the other. The problem is primarily related to issues of enforcement.

The Declaration clearly lacks a mechanism for enforcing its declared principles. The Inter -national Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966:1976) represented an improvement but not a solution to the issue of implementation and enforcement. However, the Optional Protocol of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1976) provided such a mechanism. The Protocol created a mechanism to allow individuals who claim they have suffered from human rights abuse or violation to address the Human Rights Committee directly, to address that abuse. However, many countries have so far refused to accede to the Protocol, thereby preventing some citizens from directly addressing the Human Rights Committee.

It is not the intention of the UN that the human rights declarations and conventions should end the debate on human rights, but rather that they constitute instruments and points of reference for that debate. However, unless the issue of enforcement is adequately addressed, the great opportunity these declarations create for ensuring human dignity and rights will be lost unnecessarily.

I.2 Women and human rights declarations and conventions

Both the Declaration of Human Rights (1948) as well as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966:1976) recognize and emphasize equality between men and women.

In its Preamble, the Declaration states: "Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women..."" That emphasis was reinforced in Article 2, Paragraph 1 emphasizing the equal rights of men and women to form a family and to equal rights in marriage. Indeed, nothing in the Declaration indicates legitimacy for any form of discrimination between men and women or that there is any difference in the rights accorded to men and women.

A clearer and stronger emphasis on equality between men and women can be seen in the Covenant. "Rights," states the Preamble of the Covenant, "derive from the inherent dignity of the human person". The language of equality between men and women clearly leaves no room for interpretation of discrimination. Article 2 , Paragraph 1 and Article 3 emphasize that equality, and prohibit any discrimination based on gender. Article 3 asserts: "the states party to the present covenant undertake to ensure the equal rights of men and women to all civil and political rights set forth in the present covenant". Article 26 of the Covenant recognizes equality before the law and prohibits discrimination based on gender.

Both the Declaration and the Covenant recognize the equality of men and women and also prohibit discrimination against women. The question then arises why it was felt necessary to introduce and adopt an international instrument specifically dealing with women, namely, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979:1981). The Preamble to the CEDAW provides part of the reason, with the clause "... concerned, however, that despite these various instruments, extensive discrimination against women continues to exist..."

The gap between the stated principles and ideals expressed in conventions and reality in practice has always been a major concern, not least because it contributes to popular cynicism concerning the effectiveness of such international instruments. Even with good intentions, many declarations are diluted in the process of implementation so that they lose their original intentions. Some conventions and principles also face resistance at various levels of society, which eventually undermines the process of implementation. States which defend their positions on the basis of national sovereignty may be reluctant to implement such principles. As stated earlier, many countries have so far refused to adhere to the Optional Protocol to both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1999:2000). As a result, CEDAW, like other instruments of human rights, may continue to face the problem of weak implementation.

Major Points of CEDAW:

CEDAW, in line with other international instruments on human rights, defines the rights of women comprehensively to include economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights. The articles of CEDAW emphasize these rights, consider how best can they be achieved and prohibit discrimination against women in all these fields.

A major contribution of CEDAW is its recognition of the structural factors which need to be addressed if women's rights are to be respected and their potential is to be realized. Two clauses from the Preamble illustrate the point:

"Convinced that the establishment of the new international economic order based on equality and justice will contribute significantly towards the promotion of equality between men and women ..."

"Aware that a change in the traditional role of men as well as the role of women in society and in the family is needed to achieve full equality between men and women..."

These statements emphasize the need to address the socio-economic as well as the cultural structures of societies in order for true equality to be achieved. For principles to be implemented, the structure of society has to be hospitable. Considering that this is a long term goal rather than a short term objective, particular emphasis is placed on education as a goal as well as an instrument for change.[2]

Finally, the Convention endorsed positive discrimination / affirmative action as a way of addressing women's historical grievances and of reversing the long-held discrimination and prejudice against women. From the Convention's point of view, this is not in conflict with the fundamental principle of equality between men and women.[3]

II. Women and power: The case of Jordan

Introduction:

The main goal of CEDAW is to create the conditions under which women can exercise their right to fulfill their utmost potential as individual human beings. Women's self-fulfillment not only contributes to the well-being of women, but it also benefits society as a whole. No society can achieve sustainable human development without the full and fair utilization of women's potential contribution.

In Jordan, there have been considerable achievements in terms of improvements in women's status, yet more still needs to be done. In this section, key indicators related to the status of women are provided including their demographic profile and their economic, educational, health, family and legal status. The political status is examined in the following chapters. It is to be noted that the literature on the status of women in Jordan is very rich and not all issues can be dealt with here; for more detailed analysis and statistics, end notes and references are provided.[4]

Demographic data for 2002 reveals that women constitute 47.7% of Jordan's total estimated population of 5,329,000; there are 91.2 females to every 100 males of the population. Various reasons are given for this disparity, including patterns of migration and gender differences in mortality rate. The disparity is not constant for all age groups; for the age group 30 - 35, for example, the female population outnumbers the male population. For the purposes of this report, which does not rely on detailed analysis of data, it is assumed that women constitute half the population (48:52).

II.1 Economic empowerment

In terms of economic empowerment, the data indicates that there is a significant disparity between the status of men and women. Two key indicators are used to analyze economic empowerment: the crude activity rate and the refined activity rate.

The crude activity rate representing the percentage of economically active members of society (15+ years old), is calculated by dividing the total number of the active population by the total population. [6] In 2002, the female crude economic rate was 7.7% compared to the male crude economic rate of 39.7%.

The refined activity rate, relating the actual workforce to the number of potential candidates for entering the work force, is considered to be a more accurate representation than the crude activity rate. [7] Using this indicator, women are increasingly active in the labour force; in the period between 1979 and 2002, the female refined activity rate doubled from 6.7% to 12.3%. In 2002, the refined activity rate for females was 12.3% compared to 64.2% for males.

Both of the above indicators reveal under-utilization of women in Jordan's economic development. Other major indicators such as the unequal distribution of property, inequality of opportunity, high level of unemployment and wage discrepancy (unequal pay) confirm this conclusion.

Women are not reaching their full potential for economic activity. This not only deprives the nation of valuable resources which could be harnessed towards development, but also deprives women of the opportunity to have direct access to income, through which they can gain more economic and social empowerment.

Property represents both capital and a means of production. Consequently, any major disparity in property ownership is likely to have a marked effect on the whole notion of empowerment. Those with little or no property at all are certainly at a disadvantage. In Jordan, women as a group are significantly dispossessed in terms of property ownership. Males constitute the majority of Jordan's land and real estate holders: 89.6% compared to just 10.4% females. The situation for agricultural holders is similar, with females representing only 2.7%. Women own only a minor proportion of livestock and poultry holdings. [8]

In terms of employment opportunity, women are also at a disadvantage. In 2002, the unemployment rate among the male population (15+ years) was 14%, while the female unemployment rate was 22%.   It is worth noting that level of education has no positive correlation in terms of reducing the gender unemployment gap. To the contrary, the gender gap in respect of educational level and unemployment has increased from -7.9% overall to -10.1% with the parity index moving from 0.64 to 2.0.[9]

The wage gap between men and women is also evident and occurs in both the private and public sectors of the economy. In 2001, the gender wage index in the public sector was 39.0 and in the private sector 38.0. [10]

II.2 Educational status of women

By any standards,   in the education sector Jordan has made remarkable achievements in terms of the creation of equal opportunities for girls and women. In 2001, Jordan ranked the highest among all Arab countries in terms of the educational component of the human development indicator.[11] In 2002, female students comprised 49% of the total number of 1,436,484 students at school level.   Moreover, in that year the level of female enrollment at primary, secondary and higher levels exceeded the level for their male counterparts. There were 760,000 female students enrolled compared to 720,000 male students - a gender gap of 5% in favour of females. [12]

To a certain extent, the high level of female educational enrollment is a result of government strategies to remove gender barriers to the education of girls. Central to this strategy has been the employment of female teachers. This also provides opportunity for employment for women and creates potential role models for economic and social empowerment. In 2003, among teachers employed in the education sector, the proportion of female employees was significantly higher than that of the active labour force. In 2003, at basic school level the ratio of female to male teachers was 178:100, and at secondary level the ratio was 105:100.[13]

Despite these remarkable achievements, certain disparities between men and women still persist in the education sector. In public universities, females constitute 57% of total student numbers, but only 12% of staff. [15] Of the combined total for both public and private universities, women only represent 18% of the academic staff.[16]

Educational achievement is considered to be successful when it translates into economic and political empowerment. In Jordan, this process has yet to be fully realized. Educational level is associated positively with increased female economic activity rate but without a corresponding increase in the rate of economic opportunities for women (i.e. unemployment disparity). Politically, as will be shown, women are still largely excluded from formal political processes. Gains in educational opportunity for women have yet to be translated into gains in political empowerment.

II.3 Status of women: Health sector

In their report, "Progress of Arab Women" (2004), UNIFEM notes that "health as a capability extends beyond escaping mortality and diseases to encompass aspects of physical, mental, and social well-being." The call is for a "social health model" as well as a broader physical health approach that includes a larger set of health conditions and allows measurement of discomfort, dissatisfaction, and perceived ill- health."[17] This is certainly meaningful and called for as an approach. Unfortunately, in this very brief section, it is only possible to assess the state of women's health in Jordan through an examination of key indicators rather than to provide a comprehensive analysis of women's health and well-being.

An examination of the health status of women in Jordan reveals a paradox. Average life expectancy at birth is higher for women than for men, (72.4 years compared to 70.6 years).[18] The infant mortality rate is 10.9 % lower for females than for males.[19] Yet, in spite of this, the overall ratio of females to males in the population (48:52) is skewed towards the males. As noted, there are health-related factors which affect the gender population balance.

First, the high rate of maternal mortality reduces life expectancy for females when they reach child-bearing age.[20] Over recent years, Jordan has made significant progress in this respect, reducing maternal mortality to 41 per 100,000 live births.

By itself, however, the maternal mortality rate does not explain the paradox. Another explanation was put forward by UNDP's Arab Human Development Report 2004. Drawing on World Health Organization estimates, the Report argues that the disparity is partly a result of years of life expectancy lost to disease. Women in Jordan lose approximately 11.5 years to disease compared with 8.5 years in the case of men.[22] Other analysts argue that violence against women may also be a contributory factor.[23]

These limitations in terms of women's health status should not obscure the impressive achievements in health development which benefit both the male and female population. Almost the entire population have access to the public goods and services that underpin health and well-being. Recent surveys indicate that 98% of Jordan's population have access to clean water, 99% of pregnant women, 98% of deliveries and 99% of infants are attended by trained personnel.[26]

II.4 Women and the family in Jordan

This section provides a brief introduction to women and the family and considers such issues as female-headed households, women and decision–making within the family unit, women and divorce, and women as victims of violence in the family. In conclusion, the question of whether the family still constitutes a "welfare unit" is raised.

The average size of a Jordanian household decreased from 6.7 persons in 1979 to 5.7 persons in 2002. [27] Despite this decline, the average Jordanian family still remains relatively large. This average does not reflect the variations in family size between Jordanian governorates. [8]

There is a growing number of women taking on additional roles and responsibilities for ensuring the running of the home and the well-being of family members. This is reflected in a significant increase in the number of female-headed households, rising from 9% to 13% between 1979 and 2002, an increase of 43%. [29] This increase has been attributed to a combination of factors including a rise in the level of divorce.

In percentage terms, the divorce rate increased only slightly from 17.5% of total marriages in 1979 to 18.1% in 2002. But using the crude divorce rate (the number of divorces in a certain year per 1,000 of the population) there was an increase from 1.2% in 1980 to 1.7% in 2001. This represents an increase of 42%. In terms of the number of a divorces, the increase was from 2,729 in 1980 to 9,017 in 2001 - an increase of 330%. [31]

The increase in the number of divorces has far-reaching implications for divorced women as the head of the family. It raises the issue of the burden of divorce on women and their families, which require understanding and also the allocation of resources needed to maintain the right of divorced women and their children to be treated with dignity.

More recently, there has been a rise also in the number of *de facto* female-headed households due to increased migration by men in search of employment. In many cases, this leaves the woman having to take full responsibility for the welfare of the family, without the rights of a divorced or widowed women. There has also been a slight increase in the proportion of one-person, female- headed households. [30] If these trends continue, the issue of female-headed households will inevitably become more prominent on the agenda of organizations promoting women's empowerment.

A disturbing manifestation of the abuse of rights is the phenomenon of violence within the family. Women and children are usually the target of such violence and abuse. It is very difficult to make an accurate assessment of the extent of violence within the family in Jordan. It is only recently that such issues have been discussed in public, or that service providers have been able to respond to the needs of victims of family violence. As a result, there are still few reliable mechanisms in place to collect data at the national level.

Data collected through field research at the local level may be more reliable, although it cannot be assumed that findings are applicable across the whole country. One study undertaken in 2002 reports that 7-14% of women in Ma'an governorate said they had suffered some form of abuse.[32] Another study covering Amman, Madaba and Balqa'a refugee camp reports the number of women who contacted a hotline service on abuse was 6,115[33]. However this tells us nothing about the "silent majority" of women who, for a range of social and economic factors feel unable to raise the issue. Nor does it reflect the substantial number of women who do speak out against this violence but simply are not listened to, or are pressured by others to be silent.

Women's influence on decisions concerning expenditure within the family is used as an indicator of women's empowerment. In 1979, 37% of women decided how to spend their earnings. By 2002 the figure had reached 48%.[35] This appears to reflect an increase in women's empowerment.

The family is generally assumed to offer its members affection and an appropriate environment for achieving personal and psychological balance. The family is also assumed to be a unit of burden-sharing, but not necessarily an equal one. More recently, questions are being raised whether the family really does constitute "a welfare unit" for women, a guard against change of fortune and a mechanism for protection in old age. The 2004 Report on Progress of Arab Women believed not. The report's skepticism is based on two observations: first, that many families do not have the means to meet women's welfare needs; secondly, and perhaps more disturbing, was the observation that even when families have the resources they are often unwilling to meet such needs.[36]

II-5 Women and legal status in Jordan

Jordan has signed and ratified all the major instruments of human rights which are designed to ensure legal equality between men and women, and which also prohibit any form of discrimination against women. These instruments include the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (both ratified in 1975) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, which Jordan ratified in 1992.

It must be noted that there is nothing in the Jordan Constitution (1952) that explicitly discriminates against women. There is, however, a demand by women advocates that Article 6 of the constitution be amended to include an explicit prohibition of discrimination based on gender. [37]. Article 6 Paragraph 1 states "Jordanians are equal before the law. No discrimination [is permissible] between rights and duties [on ground] of race, language and religion." No reference to gender is made.

Jordan, however, has yet to accede to and ratify the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966:14976), and the Second Optional Protocol which aims to prohibit the death sentence (1989). Neither is Jordan a signatory to Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (2000). This optional protocol creates a mechanism through which individual women can directly address the Special Committee responsible for overseeing the implementation of the Convention.

Jordan has a Personal Status Law (1976), which is based on Islamic *sharia* law. Thus the principles which guide the law or the spirit of the law are not always compatible with the principle of equality as practiced in many western nations nor with principles of international conventions, most notably that of CEDAW, to which Jordan adheres. In the last few years Jordan has been keen to change and amend these laws to meet the requirement of equality. However, there remain certain incompatibilities between the Personal Status Law and that of CEDAW.

A notable amendment to the Personal Status Law has been made to include the equal rights of both men and women aged 18 and over to enter into marriage without prior parental approval (Article 5, Temporary Law No.82, 2001). Women have also been given the equal right to divorce their husbands: in contrast to the previous law, no consent by the husband is now required. (Article 126, Paragraphs B and G, Temporary Amended Law).

Many sensitive and complex issues concerning the custody of children, inheritance, polygamy and many of the rights of the husband remain unresolved. According to the new amended Personal Status Law, there is an obligation that the wife or wives are notified by the court before a husband is able to enter into a new marriage contract.

The Jordan Citizenship Law (1954) is also controversial in terms of the issue of equality between men and women. Article 3 of the Jordanian Nationality Laws defines a Jordanian as a person "who was born to a father with Jordanian nationality". Article 9 reaffirms the same principle. According to the law, it is the exception rather than the rule which allows Jordanian women the right to give their children Jordanian nationality.

In Jordan, the penal law is a source of debate, particularly in its treatment of what is called "honour killing". According to the amended version to Article 340 of the Penal Code (Temporary Law, No.86, 2001) "honour crime" is no longer considered to be justified. However, those accused of homicides perceived as "honor killing" continue to benefit from mitigating circumstances by invoking Articles 97 and 98 of the Penal Law.

Part 2

Chapter one: Women and political development

1. Historical perspective

For a relatively new state, Jordan has a long history in terms of its constitutional evolution. Jordan's first legislative council was directly elected in 1929, while the country was under the British Mandate. The first elections were according to Jordan's First Basic Law (16 April 1928)[1]. Between 1929-1947 five elections were held.

When Jordan was created, it was a rural society with 95% of the population living in rural areas.[2] Jordanian society was governed by tribal ethics. In 1924, "tribal law" was accepted as a legitimate law and had a similar validity to civic law. [3] It was abolished in 1975.

In the early years, women were excluded from the political process. Equality between men and women was not considered to be a political issue nor was it perceived as a priority during most of this period. Until 1949, the women's movement in Jordan was concerned with improving women's status in terms of health, education and social welfare. No political overtone was evident.[4] During this period, in terms of political participation, there was no significant discrepancy between women's expectations and actual practice.

Remarkable changes took place during the 1950s, of which the most important was the unification of the East and West banks of Jordan in 1950. The unification had two immediate consequences for Jordan. First, it contributed to an acceleration of the process of urbanization which had begun in 1948 with the addition to Jordan territory of new urban centers including Jerusalem. Second, the Palestinian issue became a Jordanian issue with all its ramifications.

The women's movement in Jordan responded with a growth in women's activism and involvement in the Palestinian issue and other pan-Arab causes. There were also evident signs of growing awareness of issues of equality and rights, including political rights. In 1952, Jordanian women activists launched a campaign demanding women's right to participate in local elections.[6] In 1954, the Arab Women's Federation was set up, and at its first meeting, the Federation called for women's right to vote in general elections.[5]

In 1955, women gained the right to vote, but not to stand for election. However, that right was restricted to women with primary education or above, thereby still excluding a large number of women from the right to vote.[7] In 1960, this conditionality was dropped.[8]   In November 1974, women in Jordan were finally accorded the full right to vote and to stand for election. It was not until the 1984 by-election that Jordanian women had the opportunity to exercise that right by voting. At that election there were no female candidates.[9]

For the period between 1974 and 1984, the elected parliament was suspended and replaced by an appointed Consultative Council. Out of the total of 60 members appointed to the council, only three were women. In 1979, this number was increased to five women members. This represents a higher proportion than that which applies under the 2003 quota system.

In 1989, parliamentary life was fully restored in Jordan. Women participated in the election both as voters and candidates, but women candidates did not win any seats.[(10)]

2.Political Structure and Process in Jordan

Jordan's political system is based on the 1952 Constitution and subsequent amendments.[(11)] In a broad sense, the Constitution has many of the features of a liberal, parliamentary form of government. Article 1 of the Constitution states that Jordan's political system is "parliamentary, monarchic and hereditary", in that order . Article 24, paragraph 1 emphasizes that "[the] nation is the source of authority ". Article 25 stipulates that "legislative authority is the prerogative of Parliament and the King". That order of wording has important legal and political ramifications.

In comparative terms, using the notion of the separation of power, Jordan's constitution does not conform easily to either of the major models of governments, namely the British parliamentary system or the American presidential system. The British system makes it a precondition that any cabinet member has to be a member of parliament. The American system, in contrast, explicitly prohibits such joint membership. The Jordanian constitution allows, but does not require, such joint membership. Since 1999, a *de facto* separation between the executive and legislative branch has taken place. However, it is unclear whether this separation will continue in the future.

In theory, parliament can exert significant influence on the shape and composition of the executive branch as well as its program, by using the right to demand a vote of confidence in the whole cabinet or any of its members (Article 53 Jordan Constitution). In July 2005, for example, the Prime Minister designate Dr. Adnan Badran was obliged to reshuffle his cabinet to meet the demands of members of parliament who threatened to vote the government out.

It remains true, nevertheless, that the executive branch holds enormous power which reduces significantly the power of parliament. The executive branch has the power to dissolve parliament. Distribution of power tends to be skewed in favour of the executive branch. It is also to be noted that the King's prerogative to dissolve parliament is based on his position as head of the executive branch but not that of the legislative branch. This prerogative was exercised during the years when parliament was either dissolved or not in session, most notably during 1974-1984. The executive branch in those circumstances became *de facto* the legislative branch (Article 94, Paragraph 1).

Both the Jordan National Charter (1990) and the Jordan First Document (December 2002) put forward suggestions that may lead to overcome these shortcomings. The National Charter argued for the necessity of adhering to the spirit of the Constitution. It called, more significantly, for unification of laws and regulations related to the use of emergency power and to restrict its use. The Jordan First Document underlined the necessity of holding regular elections on time.[(14)]

The adequacy of existing legal guarantees against possible abuse of authority in violation of the Constitution is a matter of debate. Such violation could occur by either or both legislative and executive authorities. The setting up of the High Court (1992) was a significant development in addressing that concern. Interpretation of the Constitution, however, remains the prerogative of the High Council.[15]

3. The Legal and Administrative Framework of Elections

During the period between 1923 and 1986, Jordan had five electoral laws and frequent amendments.[16] The current Electoral Law (2001) is based on the 1986 Electoral Law and subsequent amendments.[17] The 2001 Electoral Law and regulations associated with it were also amended in 2002 and 2003. The most important amendment was the one related to introducing the quota system for women candidates (Article 45).

According to the 2001 Electoral Law, Jordan is divided into 13 electoral regions, which are equivalent to Jordan's 12 governorates plus the "Bedouin region". The latter includes Bedouin of the north, central and southern parts of Jordan. The 13 electoral regions are divided into 45 constituencies with a total of 110 seats, an increase of 30 seats compared to the 1986 electoral law. The number of seats in the Upper House, which is appointed by the King, was also increased to 55. Among the 110 seats in the Lower House, nine seats are allocated on religion grounds (Christian seats); three seats were allocated on ethnic/ cultural grounds (Chechnians /Circassian); six seats were allocated to women and nine seats were allocated to the "Bedouins" of Jordan.

The size of constituencies varies from a single-seat to four-seats. The winner/s are those who receive the highest votes compared to other candidates. The principle of "winner takes all" and "first past the post" should be read in the plural rather than singular because in many cases there is more than one winner. (Article 45, paragraph A).

According to the quota system, women candidates are ranked according to their share as a percentage of the total votes cast in their respective constituencies. Those with the highest percentage share are declared the winners (Article 45, paragraph C).

According to the Electoral Law, all Jordanians aged 18 and over are entitled to vote in a parliamentary election (Article 3, paragraph 1). That was an improvement on the 1986 law which limited voting to those ages 19 and above. Between 1986 and 1960 the voting age had been restricted to those aged 20 and above.[18] There are certain mental conditions which disqualify a person from voting and also certain criminal offences as limiting factors. Also by law, members of the Jordanian armed forces, security and civil defence are prohibited from voting (Article 3, paragraph B).

Many aspects of Jordanian electoral law are the subject of debate or controversy. Most important perhaps is the on-going debate in Jordan concerning the criteria for delineating constituencies and allocating seats. The issue of the appropriateness of the system of "one person, one vote" currently applied in Jordan is also debated. Other models have been proposed, varying from a system of proportional representation to a "mixed" system with aspects of proportionality and single seat constituencies.

5. Monitoring elections:

The term 'monitoring' is used here to cover voting, candidacy and results of elections to make sure they are conducted properly and according to law.

Anyone who has been disqualified from voting or from standing for election has the right of address to the Court of Appeal, which carries no fees for the applicant. The inclusion of any name on the list of voters, which is prepared by Department of Civil Affairs and Passport, can also be challenged in court. The decision by the electoral special committee to include names on the list of candidates can also be challenged in court of law.[20]

This certainty of appeal and the clear authority of the courts on the issue of the right to vote and the right to stand for election and any possible violation of its applicability, is not particularly clear when it comes to monitoring the act of voting itself nor to challenging the results of a given election. It is those two areas which deserve most attention.

In the case of monitoring the act of voting itself, it is the responsibility of a special committee headed by the Minister of Interior. Other members include the Secretary General of the Ministry of Interior, the Director of Civil Affairs and Passport Department, a High Court judge and the head of the department responsible for elections at the Ministry of Interior. The Secretary of the committee is appointed by the Minister of Interior. [21]

In the case of the committees responsible for monitoring elections in the governorates, the structure is similar to that of the national committee except that the Governor substitutes for the Minister of Interior. It is also to be noted that the judge on the regional committees is nominated by the Minister of Justice. [22]

As far as monitoring elections is concerned, the central problem with such committees is not whether they act in good faith or not, but rather the fact there is no right of appeal to any court. According to the Constitution, challenging the result of a successful candidate can only be submitted to the Lower House itself. [23] However, it requires a two thirds majority vote to nullify a certain result. This has never happened. Whether the existing procedure to nullify the result of an election is the most appropriate compared, for example, to a court of law, is open to debate.

6. Campaigning:

There are many restrictions in the 2001 electoral law concerning the right to campaign.   Of the four articles and 13 paragraphs and sub-paragraphs in the Electoral Law dealing with campaigning, only one article and one paragraph deals with what is permitted; the rest deals with restrictions and inadmissibility. [24] There is a need for a change in the balance between the right of campaigning and the legal restrictions, which characterizes the current law. There are those who comment that this gives the impression that the right to campaign is the exception rather than the rule.

Chapter Two: Women and political development

1. Introduction

Jordanian women voted for the first time in the parliamentary by–election of 1984, but there were no female candidates at that election. In the 1989 general election, 12 women stood as candidates for election, but none received sufficient votes to gain any of the 80 seats. In the 1993 election, three women stood as candidates in the election and one woman (Toujan Faisal) was elected. In 1997, seven women candidates stood for election but none was elected In the 2001 by–election, a women candidate was chosen by members of the Lower House. In the 2003 parliamentary elections, the system changed with the introduction of a quota system which allocated six out of the 110 seats to female candidates. In this election, there were 54 female candidates, but none was elected outside the quota system.

Considering that the number of potential female voters is roughly equal to men this raises issues of concern.   The reasons for this unsatisfactory outcome are examined elsewhere (Chapter 3).   This chapter considers issues related to general indicators of parliamentary election, political parties and women's candidacy, capacities and campaigning and financial resources. The emphasis is on the 2003 parliamentary elections although reference is made to previous elections (i.e. 1989, 1993 and 1997).

2. Voter turnout: general characteristics

The level of public apathy or enthusiasm towards a given election is measured by the percentage of voter turnout. There are three different methods for calculating percentage of voter turnout. One is to compare the number of actual voters in relation to the number of residents of legal voting age. Another is to relate the number of actual voters to those registered on the voting list. The third is to compare the number of voters to those carrying voting cards.

Indicators	1989	1993	1997	2003
Percentage of voters in relation to the residents of legal voting age.	41.1%	45.7%	40.8%	48.1%
Percentage of voters registered on the voting list.	54.5	56.12	44.9	48.1
Percentage of voters in relation to those carrying voting cards.	63.3	68.2	55.7	58.9

Percentage of voter turnout[2].

Adopting the indicator of the percentage of voters in relation to residents of legal voting age, then without exception, Jordanian voters have shown a noticeable degree of apathy towards parliamentary elections. A similar lack of enthusiasm is also evident using the indicator of percentage of voters in relation to those registered on the voting list. It is only when the indicator of the percentage of voters in relation to those carrying voting cards is applied that Jordanian voter turnout begins to look "normal".

It is to be noted, however, that voter turnout varies sometimes significantly from one constituency to another, with urban centers particularly in Amman and Zarqa showing low voter turnout. In the 2003 elections, the lowest voter turnout was in Amman Fifth District with just 32.49%. The Karak Fourth District, in contrast, registered the highest voter turnout with 89.3%.[3] It has been suggested that where tribal and family influences are stronger, then a higher voter turnout is to be expected. The issue of tribal and family influence on parliamentary elections is examined elsewhere (Chapter 3).

3. Female candidates:

Three main indicators are used to assess the performance of female candidates in an election. The first is female voter turnout. In the selected elections, female voter turnout was high and sometimes higher than male voter turnout. The two other indicators are the percentage of female candidates out of the total number of candidates, and the percentage of votes received by female candidates out of the total number of votes. The latter two indicators are important measures of the competitiveness of female candidates as well as the general public support for female candidacy. Against both these indicators, the score for female candidates was very low.

	No .of women candidates	Total no. of candidates	Percentage	No. of votes received by women	Percentage of total votes
1989	12	648	1.8%	20530	1.0%
1993	3	534	0.05%	3933	0.48%
1997	17	561	0.03%	13086	1.6%
2003	54	765	0.07%	36164	0.026%

* Women candidates: Number and votes received.[4].

In the 2003 parliamentary election, female candidates received the lowest percentage of total votes cast since 1989. Even female voters seemed to have turned their backs on female candidates; female candidates received only 0.05% of total female votes. Between 1993 and 2003 the average of female candidates in relation to total number of candidates was also very low, less than 1% of the total. Those two indicators confirm that women in Jordan remain marginalized from parliamentary life.

4. Women candidates and the quota:

There are many justifications for a quota system for women. The quota is assumed to be one method of addressing the issue of prejudice against women and their historical exclusion from formal political processes. It is also assumed that introducing a quota may encourage women to become politically more active and involved. The quota also offers women an opportunity to learn from the experience of participating in public political affairs, from which they might otherwise be excluded. It is also assumed that the quota is a temporary measure, an instrument of affirmative action only to be adopted until it is no longer necessary. In this section, the existence and legitimacy of the quota system is taken as a given.

Jordan introduced the quota system for the first time in 2003 as an amendment to the Electoral Law of 2001 (Article 45, paragraph C). According to this amendment (No.42/2001), six out of 110 seats were allocated to women. According to the law, the female candidates with the highest percentage of votes within their respective constituencies were selected.[5] Based on that calculation, the six women named below were elected to the 2003-2007 parliament.

Candidate		Constituency	Votes received by Candidate	Total Votes	Percentage of total
H.	Massimi	Zarka-1	7133	66208	10.457%
F.	Jamani	Madaba-2	1048	13168	7.958%
N.	Rousan	Irbid-5	1684	27974	6.019%
I.	Khawldeh	Tafyleh-2	365	6903	5.287%
Z.	Shamyleh	Karak-1	1326	25922	5.153%
V.	Saud	Tafyleh-1	1132	22066	5.130%

2003 Election: women MPs through Quota Selection[6].

One candidate, Hayat Al Massimi, with just over 10% of the total votes cast in her constituency, almost won a seat outright, missing out by a margin of just 54 votes (Zarqa Second District).[17] The other five women who were allocated seats under the quota system only received a small percentage of the votes cast in their constituency.

The quota system is a temporary measure introduced in order to ensure that there are female members of parliament in Jordan so that the interests of women are represented. In the longer term, it is clearly preferable that women are elected in open competition. In the 1993 parliamentary elections, in Amman Third district, Toujan Faisal demonstrated that it is possible for a woman to be elected without the quota for women. Given the barriers to the participation of women in political life, her achievement should not be underestimated, but admittedly this has yet to be repeated. The challenge is to identify what can be done to ensure that in the future, female candidates have a real chance of winning seats without mechanisms of affirmative action. The following section examines the relationship between women and political parties.

5. Women, political parties and parliamentary elections

In this short report, it is almost impossible to describe the scene of political parties in Jordan. A key issue is that Jordan has many political parties: in June 2005, there were 33 registered political parties. It is difficult, however, to describe Jordanian politics as 'party politics'. With perhaps a single exception, namely that of the Islamic Front, it is not easy to discern those characteristics commonly associated with party politics. In this respect, it is perhaps more appropriate to speak in terms of "political voices" rather than of parties.

The role of political parties in Jordan's parliamentary elections can be assessed using standard indicators. These include the number of candidates with party affiliation compared to the total number of candidates; the number of seats won by party candidates; and the number of votes received by party candidates out of the total votes. This discussion can then be applied to assess the role of political parties in relation to the performance of female candidates in Jordan.

	No .of candidates with party affiliation	Percentage to total no. of candidates	No. of party candidates who won in election	Percent of total number of seats in parliament
1989	112	17.2%	34	42.5%
1993	50	9.0%	20	25%
1997	50	8.9%	20	25%
2003	64	8.3%	33	30%

* Political Parties and Parliamentary Elections.[8].

Based on the table above, a few observations are worth making. First, the number of party members who stood as candidates was not the same as the number of 'party candidates', because many candidates who were actually registered party members stood for election as 'independent'. This was most notable in the case of the National Constitutional Party, where eight out of 13 candidates who belonged to the party stood for election as independents. Even those who declared their membership to the party did not necessarily campaign as party members.[9]

Candidates with party affiliation were only a small minority of the total number of candidates. In 1989, the percentage of party candidates out of total candidates was 17.2%, in 1993 it had fallen to 9%, then to 8.9% in 1997 and finally to 8.3% in 2003. Thus, with the exception of the Islamic Front candidates, it appears that very few candidates see any real advantage in competing for election through party candidacy .

With the exception of the Islamic Front, there appears to be no positive link between party affiliation and performance in parliamentary elections. In 1989 candidates with party affiliation won 42.5% of seats; they won 25% in both 1993 and 997 and then 30% of the 110 seats in 2003. The Islamic Front candidates won 91.1% of total seats with party affiliation in 1989, and 80% in 1993.   In 2003, the Islamic Front's share of total seats won by candidates with party affiliation fell to 51.5% (17 out of 33 seats). The votes received by the Islamic Front candidates in 2003 constituted 10.2% of total votes compared with less than 2% for other party candidates.[10]

	Total seats won by candidates with party affiliation	Seats won by Islamic Front	Percentage
1989	34	31	91%
1993	20	16	80%
1997	20	Boycotted election	
2003	33	17	51.5%

* Islamic Front Parliamentary Seats.

Aside from Islamic Front members, once elected, winning candidates do not necessarily maintain the party affiliation they stated during the election, but tend to behave independently from party affiliation.   As a result, coalition building or the so-called "blocs" in parliament tend to be based on *ad hoc* arrangements or convenience, with only very loose reference to programs or policy preference.[11]   The term "like-minded" may be more appropriate than party politics.

5.1 *Female candidates, party politics and the 2003 parliamentary election.*

There is no clear data concerning the number of women in Jordan who belong to or 'sympathize' with political parties.   Based on the survey carried out for this study, 2% of respondents identified themselves as belonging to a political party.[12]   Another 12% of respondents expressed "sympathy" with a particular political party. This figure corresponds with the percentage of votes received by candidates affiliated to political parties in the 2003 parliamentary election.

Jordanian women have been founding members of all political parties in Jordan except one political party which had no women founding member.[13] In relative terms, however, women remain a minority in Jordan political parties. For example, out of a total number of 3,785 people registered as founding members of political parties, only 304 (8%) were women.[14]

The absence of any correlation between female candidacy in any given parliamentary election and affiliation to party politics is almost self-evident. In the 1989 and 1993 parliamentary elections, women ran for election as independent candidates. In 1997, of the 17 female candidates only one woman stood as affiliated to a party. In the 2003 parliamentary elections, three out of the 54 female candidates stood for election as party candidates.[15] All three of these candidates belonged to Islamic parties. Hayat Al-Massimi was the Islamic Front candidate and won a seat under the quota system. The other two candidates, Jalila Al-Smadi and Nawal Fauri, belonged to the Islamic Centrist Party, but were not allocated seats under the quota sytem.[16]

6. Campaigning

Under the classic models of democracy and elections, for a parliamentary campaign to have any real meaning, two conditions should be met. First, the campaign should be based on the politics of a party, rather than on an individual campaign. A party has a clear platform, a program and policy statements. Second, in spite of the separation of power (i.e. between the legislative branch and the executive branch) there must be features of a parliamentary campaign: candidates campaign on behalf of their individual constituency. But defending the interests of the constituency requires consensus building, which is where party politics plays a role. The equally important business of initiating or debating legislation, is ultimately about broad policy options and programs. Party politics is therefore an intrinsic part of the legislative process.

Electorates can also judge the performance of their representatives in terms of their success or failure in implementing their electoral program. For a campaign to be meaningful, it has to have an element of credibility, characterized by an ability or realistic willingness to carry out declared promises. Otherwise the campaign process is more of a public relations exercise or even, in extreme cases a circus, rather than a declaration of policy statement or program.

The absence of conventional party politics as a feature of Jordanian parliamentary elections limits the value of campaigning. The overwhelming number of candidates run for election as independent candidates. By definition, therefore, their campaign statements tend to be personal statements rather than policy statements. Nor do they present credible potential legislative proposals and as a result, their effectiveness cannot easily be verified or judged. The electorate is therefore required to take them on face value and usually, as this study demonstrates, the electorate are rather indifferent. Even the Islamic Front has repeatedly run its campaign under the banner "*Islam is the solution*" yet the question remains how to verify such a statement.[17]

Analysis of the 1997 campaign reveals that candidates took a stand on 23 political issues, 32 economic issues and 9 issues related to women.[18] In the 2003 parliamentary elections, one candidate listed 28 various issues of concern.[19] These figures may reveal public concern, but do not necessarily predict the future conduct of any candidate. Campaigns may be interpreted as mechanisms to publicize issues in the expectation that the repetition of a certain statement, may lead to it becoming part of the broader national agenda. For example, the Jordanian National Forum for Women and the Canada Fund ran a campaign on behalf of women candidates under the banner of "w*henever a woman wins, the nation wins*[20]"

It has to be recognized, however, that the campaign process is not the sole determinant of whether a candidate wins or loses.

6.1 *Campaign and Resources:*

With or without a campaign, no one can run for election without resources. A typical Jordanian parliamentary campaign includes not only familiar tools such as advertisements, pamphlets, posters and a meeting place, but also the provision of meals and other benefits for supporters of candidates.[21] In fact the latter may be the most commonly used tool in a campaign.

By one estimate, in 1997 the cost of a parliamentary campaign to the candidate was in the range of JD5,000 -50,000.[22] Even the minimum cost of JD5,000 was twice the average annual income in Jordan at that time. In 2003, the estimated minimum cost had risen to JD7,000, a sum that represented three times the average income.   This is clearly a considerable sum to invest in a process where the outcome is so uncertain.

For women, there is the added risk connected with the gender obstacles that they will face. To meet such costs, female candidates used their own savings, and some received help from their family, while others had to go into debt.[23] It is surprising, then, that so many women stood as candidates for election.

Chapter three: Obstacles women face

1. Introduction

The analysis in chapter 3 and chapter 4 is mainly based on the findings of a survey conducted specifically for this study. The main purpose of the survey was to understand whether Jordanian society harbors prejudice against women in general and in particular against female politicians and potential female candidates in elections. The survey also aimed to identify those factors which either limit or increase women's opportunities for more political empowerment.

3.1 Is Jordanian society prejudiced against women?

The survey investigated whether respondents perceive women and men as "equal in principle". The majority of respondents (61%) considered that women and men are not equal in principle, while 5.9% of respondents were undecided. What is particularly worth noting is that women appear more likely to respond in the negative than men (62.% of female compared to 60% of male respondents).[Table3.1] This is particularly disturbing since it appears that the notion that men and women are unequal has been internalized by women themselves.

It is sometimes assumed that those who have had more experience of education will tend to have a positive attitude towards equality between men and women. This survey did not reveal a strong correlation in this respect: 63% of respondents from illiterate up to high school level thought men and women were unequal, compared with 60.3% of those with university degree or higher. [Table3.2]

It is to be expected that the general perception of inequality should also be revealed when examining attitudes towards society's image of women. On average 38% of respondents considered that society's attitude towards women is 'positive'; 27% considered it to be 'negative'; 23%, thought it was 'neutral'. [Table 3.3]

Those who thought that society's attitude towards women is either 'positive' or 'neutral' also had in common an acceptance of existing social values. It might be inferred that they will perceive less necessity for society to change itself. These two categories ('positive' and 'neutral') combined represented 66.2% of total respondents, which is slightly higher than those who did not believe men and women were equal in principle.

However, there was a noticeable difference between male and female respondents in terms of their perception of society's attitude towards women. Among female respondents, 30.7% thought society's attitude towards women is 'positive' compared to 45.2% for male respondents. 32% of female respondents thought society's attitude towards women is 'negative' compared with 22% of male respondents. 25% of female respondents thought society's attitude toward women was 'neutral' compared to 21% of male respondents.

It can be inferred that women are more aware than men of the limitations society places on their potential, and thus their desire for change is stronger. This is one positive tendency which can be capitalized on. [Table 3.4]

There are two observations which can be made in relation to the age factor and society's perceived attitude towards women. The older group (42+) were significantly more likely to perceive society's attitude towards women as being 'positive' (46.4% compared to 38% across all age groups). This group was also the least likely to think that society's attitude towards women is 'neutral' (16.6% compared to the average of 23%). In contrast, a large proportion of the younger age group (18-25) considered society's attitude to be 'neutral' (29.7%). The older age group tend to be most satisfied with society's attitude towards women and thus are the least eager for change.

A similar, or possibly stronger, sentiment is observed among the least educated of the group. For example 54.5% of the category 'illiterate or with school certificate' thought society's attitude towards women is positive, compared to the average of 38%. They were similar to the older age group, in that they were also least likely to see no reason for society to change itself. [Table 3.5]

The most extreme form of prejudice against women is expressed in the unlawful practice referred to as "honor killing". On average 60% of respondents considered honor killing as unjustifiable - a clear expression of rejection of such behavior. However, a significant minority (27%) of respondents thought honor killing was justified. 16% respondents were undecided on the issue. [Table 3.6]

Men were more likely than women to believe that honour killing is justified: 36% of men compared to 18% of women. More female respondents were 'undecided' than men on this issue (20% compared to 11.6%). The fact that so many people - men and women - appear to endorse such a fundamental abuse of human rights is an issue of extreme concern. [Table3.7]

Age affects attitudes towards honor killings. 31.2% of the older age group of respondents thought honor killing was 'justifiable' compared to 22.6% of the younger age group respondents. The other age groups fell into the average category around 27%. [Table 3.8]

Education is a mitigating but not a determining factor. 36% of respondents in the category illiterate or with high school endorsed honor killing compared to 23% of university degree holders or above. However, the assumption that receipt of higher education reduces the likelihood of prejudice towards women was not proven: 30% of Ph.D holders considered that honor killing is justifiable, compared to the overall average of 27% . The survey therefore appears to indicate that education has had only a limited and modest impact on attitudes concerning such abuse of rights.

It is often suggested that negative attitudes towards women are a result of textbooks that fail to present positive images of women. However, this survey does not find this to be the case: 77% of respondents thought the image of women in text books was positive. 71% of male respondents agreed. 83% of female respondents thought the image of women in text books was positive. [Table 3.9]

3.2 Public attitudes towards women's political empowerment.

In this section, public attitudes towards women's political empowerment are examined. The survey reveals that in Jordan, public attitude reveals a clear prejudice against the political empowerment of women. This sentiment is shared by female respondents, although their prejudice is not as clear-cut as that of men.

When asked who was more suited to high public position, men or women, 60% of respondents replied that such jobs are more suited to men. There was a clear difference between the responses of men and women: 71% of male respondents thought high public positions are more suited to men, compared with 49% of female respondents. [Table 3.10]

Faced with a choice between two candidates with equal qualifications, a man and a woman, 72% of respondents stated that they would choose the male candidate. Men showed most bias in this respect: 86% would choose the male candidate compared to 58% of female respondents. [Table 3.11]

The job of "member of parliament" was considered to be more suited to men than to women: 67% of respondents adopted this position. Again, men were more biased in favour of their own sex: 77% of male respondents considered men to be more suited to the post of member of parliament compared to 58% of female respondents. [Table 3.12]

When asked whether the post of prime minister was more suitable for a man or a woman, 69% of respondents considered the post to be a man's prerogative. Again there was a gender difference: 81% of male respondents compared to 58% of females considered the post more suited to a man. [Table 3.13]

In terms of the comparative suitability of men and women for the post of judge, 85% of respondents considered that the post of judge was more suited to a man. Again there was a gender difference, with 93% of male respondents stating that the post was more suited to a man, compared to 78% of female respondents. [Table 3.14]

In response to the question whether they would object to being a member of a political party headed by a woman, 43% said they would object, with a breakdown of 54% for male respondents compared to 33% for females.   It is interesting to note that the majority of women (63%) had no such objection. [Table 3.15]

The above findings demonstrate that significant   obstacles face any woman who may wish to exercise her right to stand for election. To a large extent, this may explain the weak performance of women candidates in various parliamentary elections so far.

3.3 Literacy, family and tribalism : influences on voting behavior

This section examines the factors which determine the voting behavior of the Jordanian electorate. It considers the role and influence of tribalism, the family and education on voting behavior. The preliminary working assumption is that the pattern of voting behavior tends to place women at a disadvantage and therefore serves as a further obstacle facing women searching for greater political empowerment.

The study reveals the relative importance of key variables in terms of determining voting behavior when choosing parliamentary candidates. The factors identified as important are family and tribal considerations (36%); the qualifications and personality of the candidate (34%); the candidate's program (18%); religious factors (6.7%) 'other factors' (3.5%) and political party affiliation (1.9 %). [Table 3.16]

Based on such findings one can make the following general observations. First, Jordanian parliamentary elections are significantly influenced by family and tribal considerations. Second, parliamentary elections tend to have weak program basis. Even when a candidate is chosen on the basis of factors other than tribal or family basis, it is the candidate's personality and qualifications which matter more than the candidate's program. Respondents clearly consider a candidate's political party affiliations to be relatively unimportant.

Female voters tend to be less influenced by tribal considerations than male voters (23% compared to 27%) Family considerations influence female voting behavior marginally (but not significantly) more than their male counterparts (12% compared to 10%). However, women are more likely than men to be influenced by a candidate's personality and qualifications (39% compared to 29%). There is no significant difference between male and female respondents in relation to the influence of a candidate's program (20% among male respondents compared to 17% among female respondents).

Level of education tends to influence voting behavior in two ways. First, respondents from the lower educational level (illiterate to high school) were more likely to choose a candidate based on their tribal base (45% compared to an average of 25%). Second, those from the higher educational level (university degree and above) are more likely to choose a candidate on the basis of the personality and qualifications of the candidates (39%). Educational level does not appear to influence choice of candidates based on program or party basis. These responses confirm the hypothesis that there exists only a narrow focus when choosing candidates in any given election, with the emphasis on the individual's family and personality, rather than their program or policies. [Table 3.17]

Age has an impact on voting behavior but is not as influential as might be expected. The younger group (18-25) tend to be less influenced by tribal considerations when choosing a candidate (19% compared with 25% average). They were more likely to be influenced by family considerations (19% compared to 11% average). [Table 3.18] The findings of the survey indicate that the older age groups are more likely than younger groups to consider religion as an important factor when choosing a candidate.

These findings may help inform the debate about strategies to support women who choose to stand for parliamentary election. There are certain openings that women may find encouraging, but the overall structure of society and voting behavior tends to be to women's disadvantage. The most obvious disadvantage is that of tribalism. Tribalism as a basis of voting is clearly not in favour of female candidates. The importance of 'family' on choice of candidate is also likely to strengthen existing trends rather than to encourage new and different bases for choosing candidates.

Even when personal qualification is taken into account, women's chances of competing against male candidates remain rather weak. As shown earlier, if faced with a choice between a male and a female candidate with similar qualifications, 72% of respondents would chose the male candidate.

But there are some positive opportunities. When asked to choose between a female candidate with better and higher qualifications than a male candidate, 63% of respondents stated they would choose the qualified female candidate. [Table 3.19]

The relative lack of importance of either the program or party politics as the basis for choosing a candidate reduces the scope for women to be able to overcome the gender obstacles to their entry into political life. Research into voting behavior elsewhere (i.e. outside the context of Jordan) indicates that in situations where voters tend to choose candidates on the basis of their political party, or their program, then a female candidates who adopts a strong program or affiliates to a strong party will have the opportunity to overcome some of the gender barriers to election. Whether or when this could occur in the context of Jordan, and what else can be done are discussed in the final two chapters.

3.4 Media as an obstacle to the political empowerment of women

In order to make a reasonable assessment of the potential role of the media in enhancing women's political empowerment, it is necessary to consider three basic indicators: first, women's access to the media as active contributors (i.e. access to jobs associated with media, most notably in journalism); second, the role of the media in an electoral campaign and finally the relation between the media and political parties.

In 2003, of the total of 543 registered members of the Journalist Association, only 89 (16%) were women.[1] Among official media outlets, female personnel occupied two out of six managerial posts at Jordan Radio and TV authority, one out of 10 managerial posts at the Department of Publications and Press.[3] Of the 114 personnel working for the Jordan News Agency (Petra) only 17 were women.[4]

In 2003, out of the total of 230 journalists working for Arabic daily newspapers, 35 (15.2%) were women - a similar ratio to the one at the Journalist Association. At the English daily newspaper, the Jordan Times, 14 of the 37 journalists were women. This percentage, 38%, is considerably higher than that which is found at the Journalist Association. It is perhaps relevant to note that the Editor of the Jordan Times is a woman.

In terms of the weekly newspapers, 19% were women (36 out of a total of 189).[5] In percentage terms therefore, women journalists had better representation in the weekly newspapers than in the Arabic dailies. However, in 2003, four of the 19 weekly newspapers did not employ any female journalists or writers.[6]

The combined total of female working journalists in relation to the total number of working journalists including all daily and weekly papers was 85 out of 356 (24%). This compares to 16% share of total registered journalists. The fact that the ratio of employed to registered journalists is more favorable for women than men could be interpreted as potentially supportive of women's economic and political empowerment.

When considering the role of the media in relation to campaigning, two issues need to be considered. The first is the image of women in general and the candidates in particular, and whether the media portrays women positively or negatively. The second concerns women's access to the media during their campaign.

The study reveals that 47% of respondents think the media presents a positive image of women's political participation, 39% thought they present a negative image, and 14% of respondents were undecided. There were marginal differences between male and female respondents: 49% of male respondents thought the media presented a positive image compared to 45% of females. 36% of male respondents thought it was negative compared to 41% of female respondents. [Table 3.20]

Regardless of gender issues, the sheer number of candidates in a parliamentary election (765 in 2003) places a structural limitation on potential access to the media for candidates. The absence of a party base for elections makes it almost impossible for any media outlet to provide access to so many candidates. In practice, the media tends to be characterized by its absence from the campaign process rather than by its presence - whether positive or negative. In the case of Jordan TV or Radio their role tended to be confined to analysis of election results and to the occasional interview with individual candidates. The daily newspapers tended to respond to the election in the week before the vote, offering a very general assessment, with the occasional detour into a particular issue raised during the election, but this could hardly be considered as campaigning.

There were very few advertisements in the daily newspapers. The use of TV as a channel for campaigning advertisements was almost non-existent.[7] In this context, it is hardly surprising then that the most common forms of campaigning were leaflets, posters, visits and taking part in debates.

Among the recognized functions of political parties, one valuable role is that they can provide their candidates with media coverage especially through exposure in those newspapers which are affiliated to the party. In a sense, this relation between the affiliated media and the party helps to finance their campaign by reducing the cost of coverage. In Jordan, for a number of reasons, this tends not to occur. At the beginning of 1995 there were 17 daily and weekly newspapers affiliated to political parties. By the end of the year, 12 had ceased publication. In 2003 only one daily was listed in the Media Guide as being affiliated to a particular political party.

The above factors create a situation where the role of the media is not as important in the election process as could be. The combination of a large number of political parties and many candidates combined with the limited number of media outlets means that it is extremely difficult for any candidates to benefit from coverage during the campaign process. The situation for women is likely to be even more challenging.

Chapter four: Strategies to overcome obstacles

1. Introduction

This chapter attempts to identify the most appropriate strategies that will help overcome the obstacles to the political empowerment of women in Jordan.   For these strategies to succeed, they must take into account the context which has been identified in the preceding analysis. To summarize the main conclusions of these chapters: The legal status for Jordanian women has improved over the years, but more needs to be done. Particular aspects of the Personal Status Law, the Citizenship Law and the Penal Law are still to be addressed to ensure that women are accorded the rights laid out in international conventions ratified by Jordan. Women are still disadvantaged in terms of economic empowerment. The political process in Jordan does not provide an enabling environment in which women can exercise their rights to participate fully in political life.

In Jordan, the majority of people hold relatively entrenched views concerning appropriate (and inappropriate) roles for women and for men, based on the 'traditional' gendered division of labour. Politics and positions of high office still tend to be viewed as the domain of men, rather than women. This perception is shared by both men and women.   Under these conditions, the opportunity for women to enter the political process of parliamentary elections, to stand as candidates and then gain sufficient votes to be elected are very slim indeed.

To address the issue of women's political empowerment, both short and longer term responses are required.   One short-term strategy currently under debate is to address existing prejudice by increasing the quota for women in parliament in order to move towards something approaching parity. This issue is dealt with later in this chapter and in the concluding chapter.

The other response is to perceive women's political empowerment as a continuous process rather than a succession of separate and isolated acts. By definition, the idea of process assumes that achieving empowerment is a long-term objective. This process, by definition will involve society as a whole as well as the sub-groups within society. The areas which need to be addressed as part of this longer term strategy include addressing the issue of society's general attitude towards women, dealing with political apathy which affects all candidates, addressing those laws or regulations which create systemic barriers, and finally, looking closely at the specific skills that women may need in order to overcome the obstacles that currently hinder them from acting effectively as candidates and campaigners.

2. How to address society's prejudice towards women?

Any strategy to influence public attitudes towards women will have to recognise that age and educational background are important factors in shaping such attitudes and will have to disaggregate 'society' or 'women' into sub-groups and to adapt approaches to meet different needs and expectations.

Chapter three examined various indicators in order to assess public attitudes towards women. There were variations, but on the whole it was not possible to see the significance of gender, education and age in terms of its influence on general public attitudes. An additional approach is to concentrate on future trends and possibilities, to see how such variables influence the public's attitude concerning women's political empowerment. A key indicator is the degree of resistance to change. Without such an assessment it is difficult to understand how the family, the media and the educational system may influence future outcomes. The advantage of looking at future trends, possibilities and choices is simply that it frees the mind from some of the prevailing constraints, and in so doing may help reveal future possibilities for women's empowerment.

In the survey, the sample were asked to consider possible changes to the existing systems, that might enhance political empowerment for women. They were asked whether it would be reasonable to increase the quota, or to change the electoral law to offer women candidates an increased chance to compete and win without the quota. They were also asked whether it would be appropriate to allocate a certain number of cabinet posts or positions of judge for women.

In terms of the quota, 33% of respondents were not aware that such a system existed. This is one area where education and the media can play a role, by informing the public about political choices and bridging the knowledge gap. [Table 4.1] When asked their view on increasing the quota level, 41% were in favour, 10% were unsure and 49% objected to any increase. [Table 4.2] But a variation between male and female respondents was evident: 51% of females were in favor of the increase, whilst 61% of males were against it.

Two preliminary conclusions are in order: first, that women are more likely to be in favour of affirmative action that might improve their status in terms of political empowerment. Second, that women as a whole represent a 'natural' target group. Whatever role may be played by media or education, it should encourage and strengthen these already existing positive trends.

Level of education had some bearing on attitude to increasing the quota. Only 18% from the category with a lower level of education (high school and below) were in favour of a increase in the quota compared to 37% of those with a higher level of education. However, if one accepts the commonly-held assumption that education should promote equal rights, then it is disturbing that the majority of university-educated people still object to increasing the quota for women. [Table 4.3]

Age also played a role in influencing opinions concerning an increase in the quota. Among the youngest group, 47% were supportive of an increase while 38% objected to such an increase. Across all age groups, the younger group was the only one to have a majority in favor of increase in the quota. [Table 4.4]

Here again targeting the younger age groups makes sense. Not only do they express a willingness to create more equal opportunities for women to have a fair chance in elections, but it is also the young who are the majority of the population. Even a small percentage change in favour of women's empowerment will deliver a large number in terms of actual voters. Media support and a sensitive educational system can also make a great difference by capitalizing on already existing potential. Education is also a key in targeting younger groups through the school system, at an age when they are more open to new ideas. Gender-sensitive education can make a considerable difference.

A similar trend among youth was also evident in response to a question concerning attitudes to changes in the electoral law that would remove some of the barriers to the election of female candidates. 50% objected to any change, while 40% were in favor. Again, a gender division was evident. 49% of female respondents were in favor of change compared to only 33% of males. 36% of female respondents objected to changing the law and 14% were undecided. [Table 4.5] In theory, the group of 'undecided' can be persuaded through education and media to make up their mind in favor of a positive change.

There was also a positive correlation between level of education and support for changing the electoral law. Only 18% of the category with school certificate or less supported that change compared with 37% of diploma holders and 44% of those with university education or higher. [Table 4.6]

Age was also a factor influencing opinions on this issue. The youngest group tended to be in favor of changes to the system with 49% support compared with 41% overall average. This was also the only age group with a greater number of respondents in favor of change than those who objected to change (49% :44%) [Table 4.7]

These findings have implications in terms of assessing the potential role of the media, the family and education in terms of changing negative attitudes towards women, and increasing women's political empowerment.

• There are sub-groups who can be considered as "natural" supporters of women's political empowerment. These groups include women themselves and younger people.

• On most issues, there is a group of 'undecided' who are a natural target. It can be assumed that they will be easier to sway in favour of women's empowerment than those who take positions against it. If they can be drawn into the ranks of the 'decided and in favour', then this will help create a significant and sustainable majority for change. Perhaps this is the most significant target group where sensitive education and media can make great deal of difference.

• Young people can be true catalysts for change. At the same time, it was also this age group that was the most likely to considered the 'family' as a main influence on their voting behavior. Here perhaps lies the paradox. The young group is the most eager and willing for change, yet equally, the most vulnerable to the influence of older generation who may encourage them to adopt views the are detrimental to women's empowerment.

• The process of changing attitudes is not likely to take place through imposition, but has to involve people so they feel they 'own' their opinions. The most central function of a meaningful educational system and media is to engage with specific target groups as well as society at large. This is an area where education and the media can play a major role in directing that change and guarding against inappropriate influence from those segments among the older groups in society who are less sympathetic to women's empowerment.

3. Addressing political apathy.

Addressing political apathy is a necessary component of any strategy to promote women's political empowerment. Without active political participation (other than merely voting in elections), there can be no chance of forming party politics. Party politics is the most likely forum through which women candidates will be judged on merit and for their contribution in formulating party programs and agendas.

Meaningful political participation is more likely to make voters aware of their own contribution to the political process and the value of their votes. Such awareness is likely to influence voting in the direction of the quality of candidates and their programs. The latter two considerations are likely to serve qualified women candidates more than any other considerations (family / tribal basis).

The findings of this survey reveal that there is a degree of political apathy which can not be ignored. Only 11% of respondents stated that they considered politics to be the business of 'ordinary people'. In fact, 82.6% of respondents considered politics to be the business of a 'small group' and 'government'. It is of note that only 6% of respondents associated politics with parliament. [Table 4.8]

Apathy can be a product of an attitude that "it is not my business or concern". But apathy can also result from a perception of insignificance in terms of the ability to influence the decision-making process. Asked to what degree they considered their own behavior to have any influence on political life, only 3.5% of respondents perceived they had a "great deal of impact". 69% thought they had "little or no influence at all". Female respondents were more likely than male respondents to consider their own influence as limited. [Table 4.9]

If these findings are correct, this leads to the disturbing possibility that "don't bother" and "who cares?" are inevitable consequences of the perception of lack of inclusion in political processes. These attitudes are not likely to be conducive to the political empowerment of women. In this context it has to be acknowledged that the role of the media, the family and education is rather limited. The mere act of repeating slogans concerning self-worth without translating that worth into meaningful influence is unlikely to make a difference. Creating meaningful party politics is a necessary albeit insufficient condition to create a change. The question of when and how the creation of party politics will be achieved is still open for debate.[1]

4.Changing electoral law:

The major recognized weakness of Jordan's electoral law is that it tends to increase the influence of tribalism and family considerations, thus undermining the process of choosing candidates on the basis of merit or a meaningful program.[2] It is clear that when tribalism and family are the main criteria for choosing candidates, this will tend to be disadvantageous for female candidates. For these social barriers to women's political empowerment to be reduced will require changes in the electoral law. The particular form of that change is a matter for public debate; the process of debate itself will play a meaningful role since it raises issues concerning the rights of all people to representation in democratic processes, and the most effective and the negotiation of acceptable mechanisms to achieve this desired aim.

5. Acquiring Skills:

Women who wish to engage actively in political processes and to stand for election need a variety of skills that they can deploy in the current conditions, and also new skills that will equip them to deal with future circumstances when conditions may be more conducive to women's political empowerment. This section examines the kind of skills women need to acquire and how such skills can be used to limit, mitigate and hopefully to eliminate the conditions which prevent them from achieving their potential. This will include addressing negative attitudes and changing the electoral law to remove the barriers to women's empowerment. At the same time, these skills should be used to strengthen existing positive trends and to encourage the 'undecided' groups to be part of that positive direction. The ultimate goal of acquiring skills is to make women more effective as campaigners and as politicians.

5.1 Campaign and Resources:

Skills are tools to achieve specific objectives or goals. Thus, whatever skills women might have, they should be directed towards specific issues and clearly defined target groups. Some of these issues can be of a general nature and therefore relevant to a whole group. For example, changing negative attitudes towards women is an issue of general concern where the target group can be society at large. Campaigns to bring about a change in the electoral law may require a different target group for example parliament as an institution and also the individual members within it. If the aim is to increase the quota ceiling, then appropriate target groups might be the young electorate, the "undecided" group and parliament itself. It will also require lobbying of government as the institution with the legal authority to introduce any change in the quota system.

Identifying issues and target groups helps avoid wasting resources on the wrong target. It also allows campaigners to recognise that a specific strategy or appeal may suit a given target group but not another. In other words, it is an agenda-sensitive strategy. Each target group can be more influenced by a certain agenda than the other. A campaigner with limited resources might decide to ignore a particular target group when the possibility of changing their mind is very slim, and to concentrate on those sub-groups that appear more open to change.

A relevant consideration in terms of identifying issues and target groups is that of the focus of 'gender'. An important aspect of campaigning includes a review of the potential opportunity of creating a coalition of interested parties, and if so, the challenge of selection of the most likely members of such a coalition. A key question arises as to whether is more effective to address the issues of direct relevance to women as 'gender issues' or whether to promote it differently, for example as an issue of social exclusion on the basis of poverty / social class rather than as a gender issue. The choice of focus will have implications on the strategy of campaigning, target groups, tools to advocate and ultimately the likelihood of success or failure.

5.2 Campaigning, Advocacy and Lobbying:

A clearer understanding of issues and target groups helps determine the nature of campaigning, advocacy and lobbying. A key choice is the identification of the most appropriate methods to communicate effectively with certain target groups. Leaving aside individual merits and "natural" communication skills, it is assumed here that most of the skills relevant to the above activities can be acquired, and certain skills can be sharpened, providing the individual has the desire and an aptitude to learn.

Campaigning, lobbying and advocacy have certain characteristics in common. First, they involve communicating an issue to a certain group . Second, they represent an attempt to influence or initiate a particular response to an issue on behalf of certain group. Campaigners, lobbyists and advocates tend to stand on a dividing line, either for or against a certain issue or cause.

Effective articulation of issues is central to advocacy, and requires consideration not only of the language to be used but also of the images that will convey the message and bring about the desired response. Consideration of such issues also helps the advocate (and potential candidate) decide where they stand on particular issues.

Various tools are available to help advance a certain position. Their effectiveness can not also be judged in abstract but only with reference to specific issues and distinct target groups. Typical tools adopted in advocacy campaigns include direct personal and face–to–face communication. Others include media outlets such as press, TV, radio and, increasingly, the use of internet and mobile phones for sending messages and e-mails.

5.3 Fund-Raising:

Whatever one does in politics, financial resources are always needed. There is currently a suggestion to draft a new Law of Political Parties that will include a clause making it possible to allocate state funds for political parties meeting certain criteria. This is a welcome trend, but it is as yet unclear when and how such law can be implemented.

Women are clearly at a particular disadvantage in terms of their access to resources for political activities. As noted in the introductory chapters, women are significantly disadvantaged in terms of economic empowerment. They have less access to income from employment or access to capital or property from which to derive revenue. Barriers to social and economic empowerment mean that few women have money in their own right, and most are therefore dependent on obtaining agreement from males in their family if they are to mobilise funds.

Various approaches to address this gender gap in terms of access to funds have been suggested. There have been advocates for a special fund with the specific aim of providing funds for women candidates. However, it is recognized that it would be complex and challenging to gain agreement concerning the status of such a body and to identify reliable sources of funding. Others have considered a potential role for the private sector in providing sufficient fund for women candidates possible through offering tax incentives.

Whatever new mechanisms emerge, there will still be an essential need for women to acquire the core skills of advocacy and lobbying to address issues of funding.

Concluding Remarks:

This chapter considered some of the key issues that will have to be addressed by women to overcome obstacles that constrain their attempt to increase their political empowerment. These issues included society's prejudice against women, political apathy and the current electoral law. The analysis was based on the assumption that the roles of the family, eduction and the media are considered as part of that process and not as separate issues.

The section on acquiring skills should be read partly as background material for this section, where identifying relevant target groups was an essential part of that process.

Chapter five: The journey ahead

   This rather brief chapter addresses the issue of the future, and the path towards gender equity in terms of women's political empowerment. It provides a number of possible indicators that can be used to assess the extent to which this process is on track.   These indicators reflect the key issues raised earlier: the analysis of the status of women in Jordan, the constraining factors women encounter in pursuit of their potential and the factors and tools which can be used to overcome such limitations. Both short-term and long term success indicators are identified, using an arbitrary distinction in which short-term refers to five years or under. It also has to be stated that there will inevitably be some overlap between objectives and therefore of indicators. For example, encouraging more young people and in particular young women to be actively involved in politics is both a short term and long term objective.

5.1.1 Short term objectives:

   Repeal those laws and practices which are in contradiction with Jordan's adherence to international conventions related to women rights and equality between men and women including penal law, citizenship law and personal status law.

   Increase the number of women in parliament by increasing the level of the quota. The appropriate percentage of this increase is debatable but it can realistically be expected that an increase in women seats in parliament is both feasible and recommendable as a short-term measure.

   Encourage political parties to introduce a quota system when selecting women candidates to run for election. Despite their limited impact, political parties can be useful in setting up the principle that the role of women has to be integral to any party politics. It also helps create the image of women as party candidates rather than individual candidates.

   Increase political participation in terms of involvement in party politics as well as various civil society organizations. Less than 2% of respondents chose their candidates on party political grounds. Yet 23% respondents were members of civil society organizations including labour associations and non-profit organizations and therefore may be more aware of the importance of the role of policy in decision-making bodies that play a representative role. This is a very useful target group to reduce political apathy.

   Change the electoral law and related regulations, particularly in terms of delineation of constituencies and rules related to campaigning.

   Change the political parties law to encourage movement towards policy-based party politics.

   Set up a special fund for the purpose of supporting women candidates. The initiative can be taken by UNIFEM.

Strengthen special programs to provide interested women with the necessary skills needed for advocacy and campaigning. UNIFEM can take such initiative.

Increase the utilization of modern media channels, most notably the internet, to reach out to women and other potential partners.

Encourage women with potential, qualifications and credibility to run for election.

5.1.2 Long term objectives:

• Change public attitudes towards women so that their equal rights are respected. The indicators used in chapter three provide points of reference against which to evaluate progress towards equality of opportunity in the political processes.

• Achieve a significant increase in the number of women active in formal political processes. Appropriate indicators could include the number of seats in parliament, the presence of political parties with active involvement of women and the number of female cabinet ministers.

• Develop gender-sensitive education that demonstrably leads to a change in attitudes and the promotion of equal rights for women and men.

• Promote the selection of candidates based on 'objective' criteria such as the program and the qualifications and experience of candidates rather than any other personalistic considerations.

• Create a stronger role for the media to become a central tool in communicating the political agenda based on interaction and feedback among the major political players.

Obviously, many of these longer-term objectives may appear unlikely in the current conditions, but the pursuit of gender equity is a long term process if Jordan is to achieve its aspirations for development.

Notes And References:

Background:

(1) See articles 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 of the Declaration.

(2) See articles 5 and 10.

(3) Articles 3 and 4.

(4) UNIFEM, Report on the Status of Jordanian women (2004); Jordan Ministry of Planning, Jordan :Report on Human Development (2004); Ministry of Planning and UN, The Millennium Development Goals: Jordan Report 2004 (2004).
Data gathered by the Department of Statistics which mostly available on the internet is also valuable source on the status of women.

(5) UNIFEM, Report on the Status of Jordanian Women (2004), p.1.

(6) Ibid, p.25.

(7) Ibid, p.27.

(8) Ibid, p.3 and pp.43-45.

(9) Ibid, p.39 and p.41.

(10) Ibid, p.36 and p.37.

(11) Ministry of Planning , Jordan; National Human Development Report (2004), p.17.

(12) Ibid, p.172.

(13) Department of Statistics, Jordan in Numbers 2003, No.6   (May 2004).

(14) Ibid.
(15) Al-Rai daily, 7 July 2005.
(16) Department of Statistics , Jordan in Numbers….
(17) Unifem, Progress of Arab Women 2004, (2004), p.51.
(18) Department of Statistics, Jordan in Numbers 2003, No.6, May 2004.
(19) Unifem, Progress of Arab Women 2004, p.42 figure 103.
(20) This is the position taken by Unifem, Ibid, p.43.
(21) Ministry of Planning and the UN, The millennium Development Goals: Jordan Report 2004 (2004), p.35.
(22) UNDP, Arab Human Development Report 2004 (2005), p.95.
(23) Unifem, Report on the status of Jordanian Women 2004, Chapter4.
(24) f.n.20, p.28.
(25) Ibid, p.29.
(26) Figures based on WHO, Amman Office, 9 July 2005,
www.emro.who.int/jordan/health indicators/htm.
(27) Unifem, Report on the Status of Jordanian women 2004 p.11.

(28) Ibid, p.11.

(29) Ibid, p12.

(30) Ibid.

(31) Ibid, p.14.

(32) Ibid, p.73.

(33) Ibid, p.68.

(34) Calculation is based on relative weight of Amman, Madaba and Baqa or 42% of the population .

(35) Unifem, Report on the Status of Jordanian women 2004, p.49.

(36) Unifem, Progress of Arab Women 2004, pp.176-177.

(37) Ministry of planning and the UN, The Millennium Development Goals: Jordan Report 2004, p.25.

Chapter 1:

(1) Suleiman Musa, Emirate of Trans-Jordan : Its Formation and Evolution during A quarter of century 1921-1946 (Amman, 1990),p.196 (In Arabic).

(2) Shabib Abu Jabir, Jordan Society (Amman, 1974), p.40 (In Arabic).

(3) Suhir Al-Tal, Introduction Concerning Women Issue and Women Movement in Jordan (Beirut, 1985), p.22 (In Arabic).

(4) In 1944 women's social solidarity society was established. In 1945 the society of the Jordanian Women's Federation was formed. The two organizations were merged in1949. See Abla Amawi, Against All Odds: Jordanian Women, Elections and Political Empowerment (Konar Adenauer Foundation , Amman , 2001), pp.27-28.

(5) Suhir Al – Tal, Not no. 3, p.127.

(6) Women and Political Activity, Special file, International Institute for Solidarity with women, Amman (no date), p.3.

(7) Hifa Al-Jamal , Jordanian Women and Political Activity (Dar Sindibad Publisher, Amman 1996), p.14 (In Arabic).

(8) Buthaynah Jirdaneh, 'Women and Parliamentary Life' Special issue, workshop organized by Business and professional Club, no date, quoted in Abeer Tahboob, Jordanian women Political Participation in the 90's, Master thesis, University of Jordan, 2003, p.81 (In Arabic).

(9) Abla Amawi, op.cit, p.29.

(10) Kamel S.Abu Jaber and Schirin H.Fathi, 'The 1989 Jordanian Parliamentary Elections', Orient, Vol.1, No.31 (March 1990), p.80.

(11) Between 1954-1984 nine amendments were introduced to Jordan's constitution. These amendments were either incorporated or replaced articles of the 1952 Constitution. The Jordanian Constitution (Lower House. Printing Materials, 1989), pp.71-119.

(12) Jordanian National Charter (Military Printing House, Amman, 1990), Section 11: State of law of political pluralism, p.29.

(13) Ibid, p.31.

(14) Jordan First Document (2002) available on www.jordan.jo. See section on suggested recommendations, paragraph1.

(15) Article 122 of the Constitution . The high council is composed of speaker of the upper

house, president of the council; three other members of the Upper House and Five judges, Article 57 of the constitution.

(16) Jamal Al-Khatib, 'Jordan Electoral Law' Summary of workshop, 14 June 2005, p.2 (Konrad Adenauer and Al-Qudus Center).

(17) Including 1988, 1989, 1993, 1997 and 2001 amendments. See Ibid, p.3.

(18) Walid Abdulhay, 'Jordan's electoral system', Al-Risalah, No.1 (January 2005), p.9. (In Arabic).

(19) Election of 2007: Towards Modern Electoral Law, (Proceedings of a conference organized and published by Konarad Adenauer and Al-Qudus Center), Amman (2005), (In Arabic).

(20) Relevant articles are 5 and 13 and paragraphs and sub paragraphs linked to the two articles. Jordan Electoral Law (no.34 /2001) and its Amendments (Public security Printing House).

(21) Jordan Electoral Law 2001, article 23.

(22) Article 24 Paragraph1.

(23) Jordan Constitution, article 71.

(24) Electoral Law, article 17; 18; 19 and 20 all deal with campaigning.

Chapter Two:

(1) In 2003 parliamentary election number of women voters were 713,614 thousand compared to 655,512 thousand male voters. Al-Rai, 19 June 2003, No.11963, p.51.

(2) Source: Hani Hourani (et.al), Who's who in the Jordanian Parliament 2003-2007 (Friedrich Ebert Stifung and Al-Urbun Al-Jadid Research Center, 2004), p.197.

(3) Ibid, p.196.

(4) Source: Jordan Ministry of Interior , 2003 Parliamentary Election, Special report, 22 June 2003, Al-Rai, 18 June 2003; Al-Ghad, 6 May 2005, special report , p.19; Walid Hammad 'Jordanian Women and 1997 Parliamentary Election', in Studies in Jordanian Parliamentary Election of 1997(In Arabic), Hani Hourani (et.al ed.), Al-Urdun AL-Judid Center, Amman, 2001), pp.347-350.

(5)   Number of votes received by women candidate

$$\frac{\text{Number of votes received by women candidate}}{\text{Total votes (relevant constituency)}} \times 100\%$$

(6) Source: Ministry of Interior, 2003 Parliamentary Election, 22 June 2003, p.54.

(7) Salama Al-Ghwiri who won the second seat allocated to Zarqa second district received 7184 votes compared to Mrs. Musiami who received 7133 votes. Ministry of Interior , 2003 Parliamentary Election (22 June 2003), p33.

(8) Based on: Al-Rai, 8 September 2004; Al-Urdun Al-Jadid Research Center, 1989 Parliamentary. Elections: Facts and Figures (1993). P.25. Hani Hourani, current map of Jordan political parties, Al-Rai 8 September 2004, p.52.

(9) 'Parliamentary Election of 2003', Issues of Civil Society , Special Issue, No.15, 2004) p.20.

(10) This figure excludes two percentage points of votes received by "independents" See: Ibid p.29.

(11) For Composition of various "blocs" in Jordanian current parliament 2003- See Amin

Mshaqbeh, Jordanian 14th Parliament 2003-2007: An Analytical Study (Al-Qudus Center, September 2004), pp.31-34 (In Arabic).

(12) Special report in Al-Rai daily put the figure at 0.6 percent. See Al-Rai, 24 June 2004, p.2.
(13) Arab, Jordanian New Dawn Party.
(14) Data based on Ministry of Interior , 2005.
(15) Abla Amawi , Against All Odds… op cit, p.65.
(16) "2003 Parliamentary election" in Civil Society, no.15 (2004) (Al-Urdun Al-Jadid Center), pp. 30-31.
(17) Islamic Front campaigning on behalf of its candidates placed an advertisement in daily paper read as follow "yes and for ever Islam is the solution", Al –Rai, 15 June 2003.
(18) Based on a study by Helmi Sari, 'Content Analysis of programs of 1997 Parliamentary Election', in Study in the 1997 Parliamentary Election (Al-Urdun Al-Jadid Center, 2002) , pp.72-84 (In Arabic).
(19) Al-Rai, 16 June 2003, No. 11960.
(20) Al-Rai, 16 June 2003, No.11960.
(21) Abla Amawi, Against All Odds.., p.83.
(22) Walid Hamad, 'Jordanian Women and the 1997 parliamentary election', in Study in the 1997 Parliamentary Election (2002), p.359.
(23) Ibid.

Chapter Three:

(1) Ministry Of Information, Department of Press and Publication, Media Guide (2003), pp.48-58 (in Arabic).
(2) Ibid , p.12.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid, pp.13-17.
(5) Ibid, pp.30-40.
(6) These include Al-Bilad ; Al-Hadath; al-Mehwar and Al-Mithaq weeklies.
(7) Walid Hamad, 'Jordanian Women in the 1997 Parliamentary election', in Studies in Jordanian 1997 Parliamentary Election (Al-Urdun Al-Jadid Center, 2002), p.360.
(8) Jamil Al-Nemri, Press and Democracy (Al-Urdun Al-Jadid, 1995), pp.37-38. (in Arabic).

Chapter Four:

(1) For a discussion on party politics in Jordan See: Towards A New Draft law for Jordanian Political Parties (proceedings of workshop, Al-Qudus center for Political Studies, 2004), (In Arabic). See also Political Parties in the Arab World (Proceedings of a conference , Al-Qudus Center, 2004), (In Arabic).
(2) 2007 Parliamentary Election: Towards Modern Electoral Law (Proceeding of a conference , Al- Qudus Center for Political Studies, 2005), (In Arabic).

Appendex

1. Survey: Methodology

  The total number of 316 questionnaires were distributed across Jordan during the period between 15-18 May 2005. At least 8 questionnaires were distributed to the smallest regions (Aqaba; Tafileh; Maan and Ajloun) to ensure variables such as gender (M/F) as well as age groups [4 different age groups] were represented.

 Quota sampling with reference to a predetermined itinerary was used as sampling selection method. All regions of Jordan totaling 12 regions were covered. Rural/ urban division was also taken into account. Weight of regions was based on 2002 census.

Region	No. of questionaires	Percent
Aqaba	8	2.5
Tafileh	8	2.5
Maan	8	2.5
Karak	14	4.4
Amman	107	34.0
Ajloun	8	2.5
Balqa	15	4.7
Irbid	55	17.5
Zarqa	49	15.6
Mafraq	18	5.7
Jerash	12	3.8
Madaba	12	3.8
Total	**314**	**100%**

Distribution of questionaire according to age was also based on 2002 census.

Age	No. of questionaires	Percent
18-25	76	24.2
26-33	69	21.9
34-41	55	17.5
42+	114	36.3
Total	314	100%

Gender was considered to be roughly similar. 158 questionaires were filled by men (50.3 percent) and 156 questionaires were filled by women respondents (49.6 percent).

Methods used were based on frequencies and percent chi-square test.

No predetermined method was used to relate educational background. It was pure random. The result was that people with university degree or higher were over represented. In contrast, the segment of the population with no education or low educational level (i.e school level) was under-represented.

Educational Background	No. of questionaires	Percent
Illiterate – School Level	11	3.5
Diploma holder	100	31.8
University Level / higher	162	51.5
Total	314	100%

2. Questionnaire:

The survey is divided into three sections: First, general defining characteristics; public attitude towards women and finally women and political empowerment.

Section 1 : General Features:

Q1: What comes to your mind upon hearing the word politics?
Q2: Politics is associated with:

     2.1   2.2   2.3   2.4   2.5   2.6   2.7

Q3: What is your main interest?

     3.1   3.2   3.3   3.4   3.5   3.6

Q4: Which of the following groups you identify politics with:

     4.1   4.2   4.3   4.4   4.5

Q5: Do you consider voting in parliamentary elections to be:

     5.1   5.2   5.3   5.4   5.5

Q6: Do you intend to vote in the coming parliamentary election?

     6.1   6.2   6.3

Q7: To what degree does parliament affect political life?

     7.1   7.2   7.3   7.4   7.5

Q8: How important is your influence on political life?

     8.1   8.2   8.3   8.4   8.5

Q9: Did you vote in 2003 parliamentary election?

     9.1   9.2

Q10: Which of the following was most important in choosing your candidates?

     10.1   10.2 [A; B; C ; D ; E; F]   10.3   10.4
     10.5   10.6   10.7   10.8

Q11: On what basis are you going to choose your next candidate:

     11.1   11.2   11.3   11.4   11.5   11.6   11.7

Section 2: Public Attitudes Towards Women:

Q2-1: What comes to your mind first when you hear the word women?

     2-1-1   2-1-2   2-1-3   2-1-4   2-1-5

Q2-2: Do you consider high – status occupation to be:

     2-2-1   2-2-2   2-2-3   2-2-4

Q2-3: What in your opinion is the main role of women in society?

     2-3-1   2-3-2   2-3-3   2-3-4   2-3-5

Q2-4: Do you consider society's attitude towards women to be?

     2-4-1   2-4-2   2-4-3   2-4-4

Q2-5: Do you consider that m en and women are equal in principle?

     2-5-1   2-5-2   2-5-3

Q2-6: Do you consider "honor crimes" to be justified ?

  2-6-1   2-6-2   2-6-3

Q2-7: Is the image of women in textbooks?

  2-7-1   2-7-2   2-7-3

Section 3: Women and political empowerment.

Q3-1: Do you consider the role of women in current political life?

  3-1-1   3-1-2   3-1-3   3-1-4   3-1-5

Q3-2: In case a women and men parliamentary candidates were equally qualified , whom would you choose as your MP?

  3-2-1   3-2-2   3-2-3

Q3-3: If a women candidate were more qualified than man candidate , whom would you choose as your MP?

  3-3-1   3-3-2   3-3-3

Q3-4: Do you think that the profession of MP is more suitable to men than women?

  3-4-1   3-4-2   3-4-3

Q3-5: Do you think the profession of minister is suitable to men more than women?

  3-5-1   3-5-2   3-5-3

Q3-6: Do you consider profession of a judge to suit men more than women ?

  3-6-1   3-6-2   3-6-3

Q3-7: Do you object to a woman to be head of the political party that you belong to ?

  3-7-1   3-7-2   3-7-3

Q3-8: Are you aware there is quota for women in parliament, whereby women candidates are allocated six seats in parliament?

  3-8-1   3-8-2

Q3-9: Do you support increasing that quota ?

  3-9-1   3-9-2   3-9-3

Q3-10: If your answer is yes, would you like to increase that quota up to:

  3-10-1   3-10-2   3-10-3

Q3-11: Do you approve changing the electoral law to allow women greater political participation?

  3-11-1   3-11-2   3-11-3

Q3-12: Do you support giving women a certain number of seats as judges?

  3-12-1   3-12-2   3-12-3

Q3-13: Are you in favor of giving women "quota" at the cabinet?

  3-13-1   3-13-2   3-13-3

Q3-14: Do you support giving women quota in political parties?

  3-14-1   3-14-2   3-14-3

Q3-15: Does the media give a positive image of women political participation?

  3-15-1   3-15-2   3-15-3

Q3-16: Do you belong to any political party?

  3-16-1   3-16-2

Q3-17: Do you sympathize with any political party ?

       3-17-1   3-17-2

Q3-18: Do you belong to any civil society organization (charitable organizations; trade unions;

professional associations..)?

       3-18-1   3-18-2

Q3-19: Do you support any civil society organization?

       3-19-1   3-19-2

Personal Information:

Age: ....

Gender: ....

Education: ....

Residence: ....

Income: ....

3. Tables:

Table 3-1

Gender	Yes	No	Undecided	Total
M	55(35%)	94 (60.2)	7 (4.4)	156 (100%)
F	48 (30.9)	97 (62.5)	10 (6.4)	155 (100%)
Total	**103 (33.1)**	**191 (61.4)**	**17 (5.4)**	**311 (100%)**

Are men and women equal in principle?

Table 3-2

Level of education	Yes	No	Undecided	Total
0	4(36.3)	7 (63.6)	-	11 (100%)
1	27 (27.5)	62 (63.2)	9 (9.1)	98 (100%)
2	72 (35.6)	122 (60.3)	8 (3.9)	202 (100%)
Total	**103 (33.1)**	**191 (61.4)**	**17 (5.4)**	**311 (100%)**

Level of education and equality between men and women

0- Illiterate and school educated..

1- Diploma holder.

2- University students / holder of university degree or higher.

Table 3-3

Gender	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Don't know	Total
M	71(45.2)	35(22.2)	33(21.0)	18(1.4)	**157(100%)**
F	48(30.7)	50(32.0)	39(25.0)	19(12.1)	**156(100%)**
Total	**119 (38.0)**	**85(27.1)**	**72 (23.0)**	**37 (11.8)**	**313 (100%)**

Attitude of Society Towards Women?

Table 3-4

Age	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Don't know	Total
18-25 [1]	24(32.4)	19(25.6)	22(29.7)	9(12.1)	**74(100%)**
26-33 [2]	21(30.4)	20(28.9)	19(27.5)	9(13.0)	**69(100%)**
34-41 [3]	21(38.1)	13(23.6)	12(21.8)	9(16.3)	**55(100%)**
42+	53(46.4)	32(28.0)	19(61.6)	10(8.7)	**114(100%)**
Total	**119 (38.0)**	**84(26.9)**	**72 (23.0)**	**37 (11.8)**	**312 (100%)**

Age and attitude of society towards women ?

Table 3-5

Educational level	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Don't know	Total
0	6(54.5)	3(27.2)	2 (18.1)	-	**11(100%)**
1	33(33.0)	28(28.0)	20(20.0)	19(19.0)	**100(100%)**
2	80(39.6)	54(26.7)	50(24.7)	18(8.9)	**202(100%)**
Total	**119 (38.0)**	**85(27.1)**	**72 (23.0)**	**37 (11.8)**	**313 (100%)**

Level of education and attitude of society towards women.

Table 3-6

Gender	Yes	No	Don't know	Total
M	56(35.6)	83(52.8)	18(11.6)	**157**
F	28 (18.1)	94(61.0)	32(20.0)	**154**
Total	**84 (27.0)**	**177(56.9)**	**50(16.0)**	**311**

5 Do you consider honor crime justified?
6 Attitudes towards honor killing.

Table 3-7

Age	Yes	No	Don't know	Total
1	17(22.6)	48(64.0)	10(13.3)	**75(100%)**
2	18(26.0)	36(52.2)	15(21.7)	**69(100%)**
3	14(25.9)	32(59.2)	8(14.8)	**54(100%)**
4	35(31.2)	60(53.5)	17(15.1)	**112(100%)**
Total	**84 (27.0)**	**176(56.7)**	**50 (16.1)**	**310(100%)**

Age and attitude towards honor killing.

Table 3-8

Level of education	Yes	No	Don't know	Total
0	4(36.3)	4(36.3)	3(27.2)	**11(100%)**
1	34(34.6)	48(48.9)	16(16.3)	**98(100%)**
2	46(22.7)	125(61.8)	31(15.3)	**202(100%)**
Total	**48 (27.0)**	**177(56.9)**	**50(16.0)**	**311(100%)**

Education and attitude towards honor killing.

Table 3-9

Gender	Positive	Negative	Don't know	Total
M	110(70.5)	25(16.2)	21(13. 4)	**156(100%)**
F	96(62.7)	25(16.3)	32(20.9)	**153(100%)**
Total	**206(66.6)**	**50(16.0)**	**53(17)**	**309(100%)**

Image of women in Textbooks.

Table 3-10

Gender	Suited men more	Suited women more	Suited men and women	Don't Know	Total
M	111(71.1)	2(1.2)	40(25.4)	3(1.9)	**156(100%)**
F	76(48.7)	3(1.9)	70(46.1)	5(3.2)	**156(100%)**
Total	**187(59.9)**	**5 (1.6)**	**112(35.8)**	**8(2.5)**	**312(100%)**

Attitude Towards High Public Office..

Table 3-11

Gender	Male candidate	Female candidate	Don't Know	Total
M	135(85.5)	13(8.2)	10(6.3)	**158(100%)**
F	90(58.0)	43(27.7)	22(14.1)	**155(100%)**
Total	**225(71.8)**	**56(17.8)**	**32(10.2)**	**313(100%)**

Choosing between male and female candidate under the assumption of similar qualifications.

Table 3-12

Gender	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
M	121(76.5)	30(18.9)	7(4. 4)	**158(100%)**
F	90(57.6)	48(30.7)	18(11.5)	**156(100%)**
Total	**211(67.1)**	**78(24.8)**	**25(7.9)**	**314(100%)**

Being MP is a man's Job

Table 3-13

Gender	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
M	128(81.0)	27(17.0)	3(1.8)	**158(100%)**
F	90(57.6)	51(32.6)	15(9.6)	**156(100%)**
Total	**218(69.4)**	**78(24.8)**	**18(5.7)**	**314(100%)**

Being Minister is a man's Job.

Table 3-14

Gender	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
M	147(93.0)	10(6.3)	1(0.6)	**158(100%)**
F	121(77.5)	21(13.4)	14(8.9)	**156(100%)**
Total	**268(85.3)**	**31(9.8)**	**15(4.7)**	**314(100%)**

Being Judge is a man's Job.

Table 3-15

Gender	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
M	84(53.8)	66(42.3)	6(3.8)	**156(100%)**
F	51(32.9)	97(62.5)	7(4.5)	**155(100%)**
Total	**135(43.4)**	**163(52.4)**	**13(4.1)**	**311(100%)**

Do you object for Women to be party leader.

Table 3-16

Gender	1	2	1+2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
M	16 (10.2)	42 (26.4)	58 (37.1)	45 (28.8)	31 (19.0)	4 (2.5)	13 (8.3)	5 (3.2)	**156(100%)**
F	15 (11.7)	35 (22.8)	53 (34.6)	60 (39.2)	24 (15.6)	2 (1.3)	8 (5.2)	6 (3.9)	**155(100%)**
Total	34 (11.0)	77 (24.9)	111 (35.9)	105 (33.9)	55 (17.7)	6 (1.9)	21 (6.7)	11 (3.5)	**309(100%)**

Factors that determine electorate choice of candidate
1. Family consideration.
2. Tribal consideration.
3. Qualification of candidate.
4. Program of candidate.
5. Party consideration.
6. Religeous reasons.
7. Others.

Table 3-17

Level of education	1	2	1+2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
0	-	5 (45.5)	5 (45.5)	3 (27.2)	1 (9.0)	-	2 (18.0)	-	**11(100%)**
1	13 (13.2)	34 (34.6)	47 (47.9)	24 (24.4)	16 (16.3)	2 (2.0)	6 (6.0)	3 (3.0)	**155(100%)**
2	21 (10.5)	38 (19.0)	59 (29.5)	78 (39.0)	38 (19.0)	4 (2.0)	13 (6.5)	8 (4.0)	**155(100%)**
Total	**34 (11.0)**	**77 (24.9)**	**111 (35.9)**	**105 (33.9)**	**55 (17.7)**	**6 (1.9)**	**21 (6.7)**	**11 (3.5)**	**309(100%)**

Level of education and choice of candidates

Table 3-18

Age	1	2	1+2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
1	14 (19.1)	14 (19.1)	28 (38.2)	25 (34.2)	13 (17.0)	1 (1.3)	2 (2.7)	4 (5.4)	**73(100%)**
2	4 (5.9)	17 (25.3)	21 (31.2)	25 (37.3)	13 (19.4)	2 (2.9)	3 (4.4)	3 (4.4)	**67(100%)**
3	7 (12.7)	14 (25.4)	21 (38.1)	19 (34.5)	8 (14.5)	-	5 (9.0)	2 (3.6)	**55(100%)**
4	9 (7.9)	31 (27.4)	40 (35.3)	36 (31.8)	21 (18.5)	3 (2.6)	11 (9.7)	2 (1.7)	**113(100%)**
Total	**34 (11.0)**	**76 (24.6)**	**110 (35.7)**	**105 (34.0)**	**55 (17.8)**	**6 (1.9)**	**21 (6.8)**	**11 (3.5)**	**308(100%)**

Age and choice of candidates

Table 3-19

Gender	Men candidate	Women candidate	Don't know	Total
M	60(37.9)	88(55.6)	10(6.3)	**158(100%)**
F	24(15.3)	110(70.5)	8(5.1)	**156(100%)**
Total	**98(31.2)**	**198(63.0)**	**18(5.7)**	**314(100%)**

Choosing between women candidate with superior qualification and man candidate less qualified

Table 3-20

Gender	Positive	Negative	Don't know	Total
M	78(49.0)	58(36.0)	23(14.0)	**159(100%)**
F	70(45.0)	64(41.0)	22(14.0)	**156(100%)**
Total	**148(46.9)**	**122(38.7)**	**45(14.2)**	**315(100%)**

Image of women in the Media

Table 4-1

Gender	Yes	No	Total
M	128(82.0)	28(17.9)	**156(100%)**
F	111(71.6)	44(28.3)	**155(100%)**
Total	**239(76.8)**	**72(23.1)**	**311(100%)**

Knowledge of the Quota System

Table 4-2

Gender	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
M	49(31.2))	96(61.1)	12(7.6)	**157(100%)**
F	78(50.3)	56(36.1)	21(13.5))	**155(100%)**
Total	**127(40.7)**	**152(48.7)**	**33(10.5)**	**312(100%)**

Attitudes Towards Increasing Quota for women

Table 4-3

Level of education	Yes	No	Don't know	Total
0	2(18.0)	9(81.8)	-	**11(100%)**
1	38(38.3)	48(48.0)	13(13.0)	**99(100%)**
2	80(37.0)	95(47.0)	20(9.9)	**202(100%)**
Total	**127(40.0)**	**152(48.0)**	**33(10.0)**	**312(100%)**

Level of education and attitudes towards Increasing quota for women

Table 4-4

Age group	Yes	No	Don't know	Total
1	36(47.0)	29(38.0)	11(14.0)	**76(100%)**
2	28(41.0)	29(42)	11(16.0)	**68(100%)**
3	19(35.0)	31(57.0)	4(7.4)	**54(100%)**
4	44(38.0)	62(54.0)	7(6.1)	**113(100%)**
Total	**127(40.0)**	**151(48.0)**	**33(10.0)**	**311(100%)**

Age and attitudes towards increasing quota for women

Table 4-5

Gender	Yes	No	Don't know	Total
M	51(32.6)	99(63.4)	6(3.8)	**156(100%)**
F	76(49.0)	57(36.0)	22(14.0)	**155(100%)**
Total	**127(40.8)**	**156(50.0)**	**28(9.0)**	**311(100%)**

Attitudes Towards Changing electoral law

Table 4-6

Level of education	Yes	No	Don't know	Total
0	2(18.0)	9(81.0)	-	**11(100%)**
1	36(35.0)	53(54.0)	9(9.0)	**98(100%)**
2	89(44.0)	94(46.5)	17(8.4)	**202(100%)**
Total	**127(40.8)**	**156(50.0)**	**28(9.0)**	**311(100%)**

Level of education and attitudes towards changing electoral law

Table 4-7

Age group	Yes	No	Don't know	Total
1	37(48.6)	34(44.0)	5(6.5)	**76(100%)**
2	27(39.7)	30(44.0)	11(16.0)	**68(100%)**
3	19(35.0)	29(53.0)	6(11.0)	**54(100%)**
4	44(39.0)	62(55.0)	6(5.0)	**112(100%)**
Total	**127(40.8)**	**156(50.0)**	**28(9.0)**	**310(100%)**

Age and attitudes towards changing law.

Table 4-8

Gender	Ordinary people	Government	Certain group 'elite' activity	Parliament	Other	Total
M	18(11.2)	75(46.8)	55(34.3)	12(7.5)	-	**160(100%)**
F	17(11.3)	65(43.3)	60(40.0)	8(5.3)	-	**150(100%)**
Total	**35(11.0)**	**140(45.6)**	**115(35.4)**	**20(6.4)**	**-**	**310(100%)**

Domain of Politics and group Association

Table 4-9

Gender	Very important[1]	Important[2]	Limited influence[3]	No influence[4]	3+4	Don't know	Total
M	8[5.0]	30[19.0]	42[26.7]	59[37.5]	101 [64.3]	18 [11.4]	157 [100%]
F	3[1.9]	20[12.9]	52[33.5]	61[39.3]	113 [72.9]	19 [12.2]	155 (100%)
Total	11[3.5]	50(16.0)	94(30.0)	120(38.4)	214 [68.5]	37 [11.8]	312 [100%]

Perception of Influence on political life