

## **Jordanian Women's Political Participation: Legislative Status and Structural Challenges**

**Abeer Bashier Dababneh**

*Assistant Professor, Center for Women's Studies & Faculty of Law  
University of Jordan*

### **Abstract**

Women have played a vital and decisive role through history in the cultural formation and the valuable influence on the social, economic and political development. They have achieved great success in terms of enhancing women's role in all walks of life, thus enacting radical changes in the perception of women and their roles in various and diverse fields, in particular leadership and decision-making, specifically in the last decades, where women were able to chart a new enhanced path through their contribution and success. However, our societies still need to empower women and capitalize on their capabilities and great potentials, especially in light of the political openness in the Arab world which pushes it forward towards new horizons in the field of human rights and political contribution and participation of the citizens, in turn leading to the progress and the achievement of sustainable development on all levels.

In light of these facts, this study, which adopts the method of content analysis of historical and legal documents relevant to the topic of this study, sheds light on opportunities available for women in the field of leadership and decision-making in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The study addresses particularly the main challenges impeding women's advancement, especially the debate over the role of the Provisional Election Law for 2010 in achieving the concepts of citizenship, and equal opportunities for all male and female Jordanians. Women empowerment and their participation in leadership and decision-making is necessary to ensure gender mainstreaming on all levels.

**Keywords:** Women, political participation, Election Law.

### **Introduction**

Recent years have witnessed increased recognition of the important role of women in all walks of life. Recently, there has been much talk about the importance of women's participation in political life. Women's political participation is no longer a domestic issue, but an international one drawing the attention of many institutions and entities in order to achieve the principle of gender equality. Women's exclusion from political life is inherent in history. Women's political experience is barely recalled as opposed to males' experience. This can be justified by the little experience of women in this field as compared to men. Hence, various feminist movements came up with different agendas that contributed to advancing women's right from the private to the public domain. Demands and conferences emerged calling for women's rights, in particular their political rights.

Any effort to trace the feminist movements would reveal a change and development with regard to women's status and role over the various stages, on both the national and international level. First came the United Nations General Assembly Declaration of the Decade of Women (1975 – 1985),

followed by the adoption of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in (1979), the convening of the Nairobi International Conference 1985, the World Summit for Development in Copenhagen (1995), and then the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing (1995). Resolutions of the Beijing conference and the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women dedicated %30 of parliamentary seats for women that the states' governments guarantee to ensure effective and active participation of women in decision-making.

Hence, the importance of the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), as it incorporated women's issues under the United Nations objectives and on top of its priorities. Thus, Women's issues became part of the International Human Rights Law. The convention pointed out the human side of women's right, tackled the particularities of the discrimination issue and addressed it in a comprehensive and thorough manner in order to enact a real and drastic change on women's status and condition. It proposed solutions, set up procedures to be followed by the party states in the convention in their pursue to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women in all fields, that not being the case in the conventions that preceded it, which did not provide for those aspects and only treated one side of women's issues each. The CEDAW convention composes of a preamble and thirty articles emanating from the belief that the International and National Law is an effective tool to achieving social and economic justice, and that gender equality is, to a great extent, related to equality before the law. Articles (1) – (16) constitute basic rules in the convention. They fully state the way to eliminate discrimination against women on all levels, thus are considered the essence of the convention clearly stating the terms and the measures to be taken by the party states in order to achieve equality between women and men (CEDAW Convention, 1979).

The International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) emphasized, under article (7), women's right to participating in the formulation and implementation of government policies, their right to hold public offices and perform all public functions on all government levels, as well as participate in all non – governmental organizations and associations addressing the aspects of public and political life in the country. Article (8) on the other hand, states all party states must take appropriate measures to ensure women are on equal footing with men with no discrimination with regard to the opportunity to represent their governments on the international level and to participate in the work of the international organizations. The Arab Charter for Human Rights, on the other hand, has ensured every citizen's right to political activity and participation in conducting public affairs with no discrimination on ground of race, color, sex, language, religious beliefs, opinion, thought, or origin.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The Arab Charter for Human Rights States the following:

A(3): 1. Each state party to the present charter undertakes to ensure to all individuals subject to its jurisdiction the right to enjoy the rights and freedoms set forth herein, without distinction on grounds of race, color, sex, language, religious belief, opinion, thought, national or social origin, wealth, birth or physical or mental disability.

2. The states parties to the present Charter shall take the requisite measures to guarantee effective equality in the enjoyment of all rights and freedoms enshrined in the present Charter in order to ensure protections against all forms of discrimination based on any of the grounds mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

3. Men and women are equal in respect of human dignity, rights and obligations within the framework of the positive discrimination established in favor of women by the Islamic Shariah, other divine laws and by applicable laws and legal instruments.

A (24): Every Citizen has the right:

1 To freely pursue a political activity.

2. To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

3. To stand for election or choose his representatives in free an impartial elections, in conditions of equality among all citizens that guarantee the free expression of his will.

4. To the opportunity to gain access, on equal footing with others, to public office in his country in accordance with the principle of equality of opportunity.

5. To freely form and join associations with others.

6. To freedom of association and peaceful assembly.

7. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of these rights other than those which are prescribed by law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interest of national security or public safety, public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.

In spite of the above, The Arab women's participation in political life remained below the required level. That applies also to Jordanian women. Although women's political participation constitutes a national duty, part of their citizenship, and a right of theirs, their participation is very low (Al- Naqshabandi, 2003), and this can be attributed to many factors, most importantly: lack of resources available for women, the negative perception of women and lack of belief in their abilities to assume leadership positions, as well as women's level of awareness and realization of their roles, their self confidence and belief in their equal rights with men as citizens (Shetewy and Daghestani, 1994), as confirmed by Article (6) of the Jordanian Constitution of the year 1952 which states: "Jordanians shall be equal before the Law. There shall be no discrimination between them as regards to their rights and duties, on grounds of race, language or religion."

One should mention here the efforts exerted by the Hashemite leadership to emphasize the role of women and the importance of their presence in all fields, especially the political field, through participation in political decision – making. In opening the first regular session of the Fourteenth Parliament in December, 2003, King Abdullah emphasized the importance of Jordanian women's participation in all aspects of the political, social and economic life, pointing out that women's participation in such fields would help achieve comprehensive development "Comprehensive and sustainable development can only be achieved through the active participation and participation of women. Therefore, (Women's quota) was adopted as a preliminary stage towards the realization of women's political participation as an acknowledgement of their efficiency and ability to serve their country and its citizens" (Center for Jordanian Studies, 2011). In spite of the current debate over the constitutionality of this system, it ensures substantive equality represented in equality of representation and results, a matter that may not be achieved through the neutrality of the legal texts, especially in societies of masculine identity. Hence, women's role and their right in political participation is no longer merely a legislative right or a right demonstrated in universal declarations, neither is it exclusive to their function as a lobby in Parliamentary and municipal elections, but as a partner and a real competitor as shown through the increasing number of female candidates in elections and the increasing number of winners on ground of efficiency and equality of opportunities. As Arabs emphasized in the Regional Arab Conference (2006), women's participation in public life is no longer a form of social luxury or a type of spontaneous political march, but a desired necessity imposed by the world competition and is required for political, economic, social and cultural reform programs that our states seek to accomplish. Women's political participation has different dimensions, some of which are international while others are national, in particular those dimensions that are related to the constitutional and legal framework represented particularly by the election law. In addition, there are also those cultural and social dimensions, which all affect women's contribution to and participation in political life, their assumption of leadership positions as well as public offices.

## **Study Objectives**

The study aims at shedding light on an important issue related to the status of the political participation of Jordanian women in view of the crucial role it plays in achieving the concepts of citizenship and equality of opportunities that Jordanian women and men both seek to achieve. Women's empowerment and their effective participation in leadership and decision- making constitute a crucial factor ensuring gender mainstreaming on all levels, which in turn will help achieve women's progress and advancement as well as redefine their role and status in the social structure, a very important issue still preoccupying intellectuals in the world, particularly in light of the contributions to the process of legislative reform in general, and exercising the right to vote and running for representative councils in particular, being a right guaranteed by the constitution and a national duty to contribute to public life. The foregoing being so important, the study will present an analysis of the role of the Jordanian Election Law No. (9) for the year 2010 in the political empowerment of women. The study also aims to investigate the structural challenges and the reasons impeding women's participation in political life.

## **The Significance of the Study**

Active political participation is one pillar of democratic systems that are based on equitable participation of all citizens, women and men in decision – making and speaking on behalf of the nation, one collective person, indivisible (Al-Khatib, 2004). Hence, the importance of this study, analyzing the basic issues and concepts that may contribute to enhancing full citizenship of women in a manner that helps change relations between the state and the citizen, expand political field, and advance the democratic transformation in the region that is based on women's contributions and participation in the social and economic growth and development of the country. Additionally, this study is distinguished through its inclusiveness. It provides analytic examination of the societal, cultural and legal dimensions, in particular the provisional Jordanian election Law No. (9) for the year 2010 for its undeniable role in achieving the concepts of citizenship and equality of opportunities sought by all Jordanian women and men.

## **The Development of Jordanian Women's Political Participation Status**

Jordanian Feminist Activity adopting specific political agendas began in the early fifties of the twentieth century through the Awakening League established in 1952 to act on calling for Jordanian women's right to vote and run for elections. That was the start of the independent feminist thought with the existence of different national organizations; each had special objectives and perceptions that each believed would be appropriate for the formation of a nucleus feminist umbrella in the Jordanian society. That stage also represented the beginning of the democratic experience in the Jordanian society and the outset of the call for equality, respect for the opinion and the other opinion in the society. However, the League was dissolved then (Naffa3 2002).

Later, the Federation of Arab Women was founded by one of the first female lawyers in Jordan, Professor Emily Bsharat in 1954. This feminist agenda Federation has submitted a petition to the Jordanian Cabinet calling for granting women their political rights to vote and run for the Jordanian House of representatives elections. In response to that, and in 1955 the Cabinet issued a resolution to approve the elections draft, by virtue of which educated women were granted the right to vote but not to candidacy. However, The isolation of the political structure at that stage of Jordan's Political life did not positively help create the proper opportunity for women's participation in the public life, which led to Jordanian women's exclusion from political engagement for decades. Political participation prior to independence was exclusive to men, since the foundation of the Emirate of Transjordan in 1921. Things did not change much after the Independence, especially in the 60s and 70s of the last century. Women remained deprived of their political and legal rights to vote and candidacy to Parliamentary Elections until 1974. In the framework of the United Nations preparations to the Declaration of the decade of women, His late King Hussein Bin Talal, and in line with the Jordanian feminist movement, granted the Jordanian women the right to vote and to candidacy, thus viewing women on equal grounds as men (Attia, 2003). Hence, the amendment of the Jordanian election law to grant women the right to vote and candidacy. Accordingly, article (2) was amended so that the word constituent would include all Jordanians, males and females, to whom the general regulatory terms of voting apply. However, due to the political situations that negatively affected the openness of the political structure in the Kingdom, that right was not exercised until 1989.

In 1989, 12 women ran for the House of Representatives elections. However, none of them won. In 1993, there were 3 female candidates and only one of them won on basis of the quota system for minorities. In 1997, no woman won. And in 2003, 6 seats were allocated for women by the quota system in accordance with the provisional law No. (11) that came to amend the election law No. (34) of the year 2001 (Jardaneh, 2003). In 2007, on the other hand, 6 women won by virtue of the quota seats dedicated for women and one woman through competition. The number of women who won in

the House of Representatives number 16 for the year 2010 13 women with Mrs. Reem Badran the third constituency seat in Amman and got the highest number of votes in her constituency.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of the disagreement of the various intellectual streams regarding mechanisms to advance women, they all agree that enhancing women's political participation and ensuring her presence in decision-making positions is one basic factor supporting the development process. On that account, Jordan's reform policies have adopted strategies to advance women, thus being the first country regionally to take equality and democracy a methodology for its policies and be a model for many countries in the region (Al-Miqdad, 2006). In spite of the positive results of those government policies – the last of which was the amendment of the Election Law – as mentioned previously- by introducing the quota system, the frequent results of the House of Representatives all indicate the Jordanian woman still have low representation level in decision-making positions, in particular in cases of competition. This can be attributed to the lack of awareness and consideration on the part of the male social structure of the needs and rights of gender in general, and woman in particular in terms of political participation as first-class citizens.

As for women's representation in The Senate, it witnessed a qualitative jump represented in raising the number of the Senate female members to (9), a percentage of % 15 in the year 2010, and thus Jordan occupied rank 5 on the level of the Arabic countries in terms of the number of women in the Parliament.

As for participation in the municipal councils, women were granted the right to voting and candidacy in 1982. However, they only practiced this right in 1994. In response to the demands of the Jordanian feminist movement and with an initiative by Her Royal Highness Princess Basma Bint Talal, 99 ladies were appointed for the different municipal councils in the Kingdom in 1995. In the wake of this successful experience, through which women were able to prove their abilities to practice public work, there has been a reasonable increase in the number of female candidates for these councils with 43 female candidates for the municipal councils elections in 1999, (8) of which won. (25) other female candidates were appointed in the different municipal councils in the Kingdom governorates (United Nations development Fund for Women, 2007). Later, %20 of the municipal councils seats were allocated for women. In 2010, the Jordanian House of Representatives raised that percentage of the (quota) seats for municipal councils to %25.

As for participation in the executive power, the Jordanian women had no share in the governments that were formed prior to 1989. And although women enjoyed better participation after resuming parliamentary life in 1989, this participation remains below the desired level. The first feminist participation in the Jordanian governments dates back to 1979, when Mrs. En'aam al Mufti was appointed Minister of Social development. As for the judicial power, the first female judge was appointed in 1995. Women's participation in the judicial system in 2001 constituted a percentage of %1.4. In 2003, the number of female judges increased to (23) (United Nations development Fund for Women, 2007). Nowadays, the number of women in the judicial system is 110 (The Jordanian Women National Report, 2011).

With regard to political parties, it is likely that women's party activity began in the 50s of the last century along with the fight and call for the political and social rights of women. In fact, in spite of the multiplicity of Jordanian parties nowadays and in spite of their various agendas, there is almost no presence for women in leadership positions. Women's issue is not mentioned in their announced programs (Al-Quds Center, 2007).

---

<sup>2</sup> The number of seats allocated for women by virtue of the Jordanian Election Law for the year 2010 were raised to 12 seats divided among the various governorates in the Kingdom.

## **The Role of the Jordanian Election Law in Enhancing Women's Political Participation**

The constitution of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan establishes and emphasizes the basic principles of governing by stipulating all Jordanian men and women are equal before the law with regard to rights and responsibilities and discrimination is prohibited on basis of race, language or religion, article (6/1).

Article 22/23 ensures equality of opportunities and gives every Jordanian the right to be appointed to public offices, stipulating appointment to public offices, whether permanent or temporary shall be made on basis of merit and qualifications. According to this article, work shall be the right of every citizen. In this framework, The Jordanian National Charter of 1990 also emphasizes equality between men and women and highlights the importance of women's role in building the society "Jordanian men and women are equal before the law".

Hence, one feels a harmony between the national legislative system and the international principles with regard to women's role in public life on basis of equality. For instance, the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), endorsed by the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in 1991, obliges states to ensure women's rights and non-discrimination and assures legal guarantees exceeds the theoretical frame to the implementation one by asking the party states to grant women equality with men before the law, eligibility similar to that of men, and equal opportunities to practice this eligibility. With regard to political rights, the convention stresses the necessity of granting women the right to vote and to candidacy, as well as the right to public offices and government representation on the International level. Additionally, the Convention pointed out the concept of positive discrimination in the political field, binding party states with a legal duty of providing real opportunities to secure women's access to decision- making positions. An example of this would be the "women quota" or the allocation of a number of seats for women in the House of Representatives to break the kind of prevailing stereotype demonstrated through unfamiliarity of women's presence in parliaments due to the endocentric social structure, which completely disregards all requirements of gender mainstreaming.

The belief in the necessity of women's access to the Parliament "the legislative power" is a dedication to a democratic thought aiming at achieving the concepts of justice and equity, but also a necessity to take women's practical and strategic needs into account in order to achieve the requirements of economic and social development, which would not be achieved without taking the necessary measures to develop and amend the legislation and regulations governing women's conditions, both on the family or societal level by virtue of the causal interaction between law and the development, as law is one of the most important instruments of enacting social change.

Within this context came the frequent amendments to the Jordanian Election Law, and recently the provisional Election Law of 2010 was issued pursuant to the Royal trends to hold the parliamentary elections in the fourth quarter of the that Jordanian men and women be able to practice their right to vote and candidacy.

The discussion and analysis of the Election Law stems from our realization of the fact that election is a pillar of the various democratic regimes, being the key means of the circulation of the political power and a right for citizens to be secured by the state, which shall take all necessary measures to prevent any breach to that right so that individuals will be able to perform their roles as active citizens in the fair and equal political decision- making process, where the election law is considered a an important legislation governing political life and political practice and a basic pillar of democracy that is based on freedom, justice, equality, transparency and real representation of all categories of people, regardless of race, language, religion or sex. This constitutional principle is the pillar of the Jordanian state (as mentioned above) and is considered a basic guarantee of social and political stability and comprehensive advancement of the state and its citizens.

The Jordanian government pointed out the this law is to express the citizens' will to choose their representatives, and the procedures are to be considerate to the International and local standards in

terms of impartiality, transparency, and the necessity to achieve a real existence and guarantee a real partnership of women in decision – making on the Jordanian arena.

The Provisional Election Law of the year 2010 composed of several points, of which:

1. Dividing the Kingdom into a number of constituencies and each constituency shall be allocated one parliamentary seat and each citizen on whom the terms apply shall have one vote.
2. Broadening women's representation by multiplying the seat allocated for women from 6 to 12 seats at the level of the Kingdom, the governorates, and the three municipal constituencies so that no more than one woman wins in each governorate or municipal constituency.
3. Re-forming electoral committees so that a senior judge be the vice – chairman of the electoral committee and the role would not be exclusive to government, as an enactment of the judicial role in the electoral process.
4. Considering the number of registered voters in some areas of the Kingdom by adding 4 electoral seats in the governorates of Amman, Zarqa and Irbid.
5. Highlighting punishments for some electoral crimes, in particular the crime of exploiting money to manipulate the free will of the voters.
6. Setting up a clear mechanism for the voting of the illiterates and taking legal action against violators.

Hence, the Provisional election Law of 2010 is a positive step in many aspects, like for instance considering the population density; increasing audit and enacting punishment against anyone who attempts to manipulate the free will of the voters, in particular with regard to “political money”. With regard to women, raising the number of seats allocated for women quota reflects a tendency to extend women's representation in the Jordanian House of Deputies pursuant to the demands of the Jordanian feminist movement who has always called for increasing women's representation and re-considering the mechanism of counting winners through quota. In this context, the law increased seats allocated for women to 12 seats, selecting the top 12 female candidates with the highest percentage of votes in proportion to the number of constituency votes, provided that the representation in any governorate or the three closed constituencies (Bedouins) not exceed one woman.

On the other hand, what can be taken against the new law is that it created 15 electoral units (12 governorates and three closed constituencies for Bedouin) while it allocated 12 seats for women quota, with no more than one quota seat for each governorate or constituency, which might lead to underrepresentation of some electoral constituencies – with three as maximum – (The seventh Annual Report of the national Center for Human Rights, 2010 – 2011).

Furthermore, the new law continued to adopt the “one vote” mechanism, which might not help women gain access to the House of Deputies on a Competition basis, especially with clannish style prevailing over the elections, and political money playing an undeniable role in it. In both cases, women are the weaker link. It should be emphasized also that within the one vote law does not help guarantee political parties access to the Jordanian Parliament, and that would undermine the capabilities of the parties and restricts available opportunities for them.

Despite the political reforms and changes that the country witnessed over the last two decades, political opportunities available for women are still limited, and women's participation in political life is bound by the conditions of the society in which they live. In spite of the government's adoption of the so called “positive discrimination” represented in the women quota, the relative absence of Jordanian women's participation in political life is not merely due to political obstacles, but also to structural and cultural ones which prevent the achievement of equality between men and women, of which: social obstacles; for societies in general, and the Arab societies in particular, are affected by the social- cultural heritage which with time turned into an ideology that formed cultural patterns restricting women to specific typical roles excluding women's participation to the private domain driving women away of the public domain, in particular decision-making positions. Al- Othman

(2011), addressing the political participation of Jordanian women, refers to the role of the phenomenon of the patriarchal power in the societies in the appearance of social inequality on basis of gender, which in turn has negative impacts on individuals opportunities to education and work, and thus on achieving an appropriate level of living. Al-Othman stresses the fact that women, as a group, have fewer opportunities to access resources – power, income, wealth and social status.

As for economic obstacles, women are particularly affected by this factor as they generally lack material resources that enable them to spend on their electoral campaigns. With regard to the political obstacles on the other hand, women have always been affected as is the case with men with the openness and closeness of the political structure over the Jordanian history. The Jordanian feminist movements has witnessed a clear retraction in activities calling for women's right to exercise political work and decision making in a time where the martial law was enacted in the Kingdom, that time preceding transference into democracy as a basis for establishing the rules of good governance in the Jordanian state.

In conclusion, we must re-emphasize our awareness of the limited political participation of the Jordanian women in the political organizations and the public life, as well as in decision making positions, a matter that can be attributed to multiple reasons, as mentioned above- as the masculine or endocentric culture inherent in the social structure and poor distribution of resources. Furthermore, we should emphasize here the necessity to re-examine the one vote law, which impedes women's access to the Jordanian House of Deputies. In other words, what is required and the situation is to return to the open lists system or the broad proportional representation to give real popular legitimacy to the Parliament and to consider women's participation as part of this popular legitimacy, thus achieving the concept of women's mainstreaming into the political democratic process, at the same time emphasizing the support of raising the percentage of women's quota representation in parliamentary assemblies so that this provisional positive discrimination may contribute to transfer our societies from the stage gender neutrality to a more sensitive stage to the needs of both men and women, while confirming the fact that men and women are essential and equal partners who enjoy the same rights and shoulder the same obligations and responsibilities in a clear and integrated manner pursuant to the Jordanian constitutional principles.

In conclusion, one can say that women's right to political participation and engagement is based on the possibility of overcoming the various structural and cultural obstacles. Hence, it is necessary to take practical and effective measures to enable Jordanian women to participate effectively in political life and contribute to decision – making through adopting and implementing the following recommendations:

1. Emphasizing the need to develop a national action plan to activate women's rights and empower them politically.
2. The need to work towards reviewing the Jordanian Election Law and amend it in a way that ensures women's ability to overcome the obstacles facing the process of their political empowerment.
3. Activating the role of the civil society organizations in supporting Jordanian women's political participation and engagement.
4. Raising The Jordanian society awareness of the concepts of human rights and women's rights in particular, and linking that awareness to the development and its outputs.
5. Providing the necessary financial support to enable women to prepare organized electoral campaigns.
6. Continuously reviewing and developing school curricula that would enhance the concepts of partnership, leadership and citizenship to all male and female students.
7. Developing clear strategies and taking the necessary measures to achieve gender mainstreaming in a manner that would guarantee gender equality in all institutions of the society.



8. Supporting the conduct of necessary qualitative studies to identify institutional obstacles that impede women's access to decision – making and leadership positions and devising instruments to overcome those obstacles.
9. Enacting the role of media to effectively address the field of women's right.

## **References**

- [1] Al-Attiat Ibtisam (2003), *The Jordanian Feminist Movement, Activity, Discourse, Strategies*, A Thesis, Berlin University.
- [2] Al – Khatib, Nouman, (2004), *The Mediator in Political Systems and Constitutional Law*, The Culture House for Publishing and Distribution, Second Edition, Amman, Jordan.
- [3] Al- Miqdad, Mohammed (2006), *Women and Political Participation in Jordan: Analytic and Statistical Study in Light of the Parliamentary Election Results for the Year 2003*, Al- Manarah Magazine, Volume 2, number.
- [4] Al- Naqshabandi, Bariaa (2003), *The Principle of Citizenship “A Theoretical Introduction to Gender Studies”*, *The Status of Jordanian Women*, Human and Social Sciences Studies, Volume 30, Number 2.
- [5] Al-Othman Hussein, *Obstacles to Jordanian Women's Political Participation: A Sociological Perspective*, on the website [www.women.jo](http://www.women.jo)
- [6] Al-Quds Center for Political Studies (2007), *A study of Women's Role in Political Parties in Jordan*, Amman.
- [7] Arab Regional Conference (2006), *Women's Participation in Arab Parliaments*, Amman, the Constitutional Commercial Printing Press.
- [8] Emily Naffaa', *Parliamentary Elections and My Personal Experience*, Worksheet submitted to the support of the Jordanian Woman, Amman, 2002, p.3.
- [9] Jardanah, Buthayna (2003), *Women and Political Work*, A worksheet Submitted to the Conference to Support Women in Parliamentary Elections, Jordan.
- [10] Shetewy, Moussa and Daghestani, Amal (1994), *The Jordanian Woman and Political Participation*, Center of Strategic Studies, University of Jordan, Amman
- [11] *The Arab Charter for Human Rights*, (2004).
- [12] The Center of Jordanian Studies (2001), *Women Quota in the Jordanian Electoral System from the Point of View of Jordanian Women*, Publications of Human and Social Sciences, Volume 27, No. C1, Yarmouk University, Irbid.
- [13] *The Constitution of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, 1952*, Published in Gazette No. (1093) on 01/08/1952.
- [14] *The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women*, (1979).
- [15] *The Jordanian Election Law No. (9) For the year 2010*.
- [16] *The Jordanian Women National Report*, (2011), Jordanian National Commission for Women.
- [17] *The Seventh Annual Report of the National Center of Human Rights*, Amman, (2010 – 2011).
- [18] United Nations Development Fund for Women, (2007), *The Jordanian women's participation in Political Life: Analytic Study of the Performance of Women Parliamentarians In the Fourteenth House of Deputies in 2003*, The National Printing Press, Jordan.