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The Future of the Impact of Gender Policies on the Political Role of the Jordanian Woman in Light of the Announced Programs

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Abstract:

This study addresses the reality and future of the political empowerment of Jordanian women. The two researchers conducted a study of the reality of the Jordanian woman through a group of social, economic and political quantitative indicators. In addition, they applied the approach of content analysis on a group of programs stated by the official, semi- and non-official institutions in Jordan according to four analytical categories including goals, implemented activities, activities expected to be implemented, as well the regulators of these activities. Then, the researchers tried to predict the future of the political of empowerment of women on Jordan through the interactions between four arrays of interacting factors, which are institutional imbalance, social, economic and political factors, post-modernism, external reform projects and feminism. By observing this interaction, the researchers concluded that preservation of the patriarchal structure of Jordanian society through gender-based developmental policies to ameliorate the effects of the influence of the post-modernist and feminist movements.

Keywords: Political empowerment of women, gender, social indicators, economic indicators, political indicators, Jordan, women, post-modernism, feminism

1. Introduction

1.1. The Theoretical Approach to Define the Issue of Women

The idea of discrimination, in the form of giving the man a higher advantage and value over the woman, stems from a number of interacting historical and temporal factors aside from its establishment on two branches of the absolute: religious and biological. These two factors define the ontological image of the person or group of people discriminated against in a mundane position, one that deserves specific roles such as housework as a single space of work as opposed to being involved in public labor. Based on these two branches of the absolute, this image is stems therefore from a more established absolute about the perception of creation and the universe since they both have a common origin. This entails a monistic view of the human being, one that grants superiority to the male.

Several ontological studies were produced in refuting this perspective that originates from a phase in the process of the social reification of the relationship between man and woman, in part by proving primacy of maternal origin as opposed to the paternal, in addition to the fact that the deities of fertility in ancient religions used to be females¹

Studies show that labor, in all of its kinds, social and economic, is the melting pot the move the relationship between man and woman away from discrimination and superiority towards equality. The more women were involved in the various forms of labor², the clearer the structural flaw in the theory of singularity and differentiation of roles of men and women appears, to the extent that Plato calls in his Republic for the sharing of women, an idea that leads to the dismantlement of the concepts of family and household³.

On the other hand, the dualistic ontological view of the universe leads to the presence of two active and equal origins that are in a constant dialectic movement that produces variation within the causality that shapes the coherence of the universe and its scope. This view in turn solves the problem of the relationship between the man and woman in terms of the change in the status of women throughout the different historical phases, as demonstrated in the science of anthropology.

¹Al-SayyedJassim,A., (1986). The Historical Concept of the Question of Women (First Edition). Baghdad, Iraq, p 13-20. See also: Al-Sa'dawiNawal, Rauf Ezzat,Heba, (2000),Women, Religion and Morality,House of Contemporary Thought Publishing (Dar Al-Fikr Al-Mu'aser), Beirut/Damascus, pp. 25-25.

²Ahmad Zahir, Jamal, (n.d.),The Arabian Woman.Dar Al-Kindi for Publishing and Distribution. pp. 171.

³Khabbaz, Hannah (translator), Plato's Republic.Dar Al-Qalam. Beirut, Lebanon, pp. 149-46.

1.2. Concepts and Terminology

1.2.1. The Concept of Public Labor

The reason that drove the researcher to establish the concept of public labor was to clarify what is meant by demanding the promotion of the role of women in that said labor. Public labor comprises of three domains: power, wealth and social status⁴, each of which has a distinct mechanism to achieve it. Power is achieved by practicing authority; wealth is achieved by the ability to produce commodities for every society and social status is achieved by leading a certain pattern of values. Once the researcher applies this theoretical foundation for the concept of public labor on the role of women, he can then conclude that women should acquire the mechanisms for achieving power, wealth and social status. At this point, it becomes clear that women empowerment is determined by the effort the woman spends in acquiring these mechanisms. As such, granting her some of her rights through legislations that have a coercive aspect by the political authority is merely a circumvention of her rights to power, wealth and social status⁵.

It is from here that we arrive at the political role of women for the sake of acquiring the tools to practice authority in order to achieve power as one of the domains of public labor, what is commonly referred to as empowerment and that leads to the necessity of establishing the concept of political development.

1.2.2. The Concept of Political Development

The concept of political development ranges from the nominal definition to the procedural definition. For the nominal definition, there are three schools of political thought and political theory to examine.

- The liberal school: It includes several intellectual variations, but they are all based on an ultimate value of political activity which is that of balance and stability. This value is signified in the methodology of functional and behavioral systems and structures, proposed by David Easton and Gabriel Almond among others, as an essential goal for the process of political development, as well as the rise of human rights and the increasing activity of the feminist and environmental movements under the rise of the postmodern stream, and the inability of the national state to perceive the globalized economic mobility of capital⁶.
- The socialist school: It consists of new intellectual variations such as neo-Marxism, but they are all based on an ultimate value of political activity of revolutionary change to abolish the economic exploitation on the basis of founding the national state or the establishment of power relations between global powers. It is from this aspect that the socialist school views the lack of women empowerment in public labor as means of acquiring the economic power as foundation for practicing political power⁷.
- Islamic school: This school is based on the idea of achieving values which transcend the interest-driven interaction between the powers of the society without looking at the anthropological and historical aspects of the relationship between the man and the woman⁸.

This makes it clear for the researchers that the nominal definition of political development defers depending on its intellectual basis. If defined under the liberal school, it is a process of achieving balance and stability; if defined under the socialist school, it is a process of achieving revolutionary violence for the purpose of abolishing economic exploitation; and if defined under the Islamic school, then it would be the embodiment of absolute values. And this explains the necessity of addressing the procedural definition of the concept of political development.

The procedural concept of political development refers to a set of crises experienced by the political community and need to be resolved: The crisis of legitimacy which indicates that the ruling regime enjoys the support and satisfaction of the masses; and it also refers to the socio-political system's capability of creating and developing the general belief that the existing system and the solutions and policies it produces is suitable for everyone in general; and the identity crisis suggests that lack of a materialized general belief of national homogeneity in group of people; and the participation crisis that indicates a weakness in voluntary activities carried out by members of a society to choose their governments and contribute to policy making either directly or indirectly. Some of the main patterns of participation include: electoral activity, activities of lobbying and influencing government officials and political leaders to influence their decisions on certain issues, and regulatory activity which includes participation of the individual as a member or official in an organization the main purpose of which is to exert influence on the governmental decision-making process such as political parties, interest groups and unions; and the infiltration crisis which indicates a weakness in the government's ability to enforce its laws and policies on all regions of the country; and the crisis of fair distribution economic values and resources; and the crisis of political stability which indicates the government's weakened ability to successfully handle problems facing it and managing the conflicts within the society in a way that enables to keep them under control; and the

⁴Al-Sayyedjassim, Aziz, *The Historical Concept of the Issue of Women*, op. cit., pp. 109.

⁵Abu Rumman, H.(editor), (2000), *Arabic Women and Political Participation*, New Jordan Center for Studies, Amman, Jordan, pp. 25-26. See also: Al-Hourani, H., (1996), *Jordanian Women and Political Action*, New Jordan Center for Studies, Amman, Jordan, pp. 34-35.

⁶Higgot, Richard; Abdel-Rahman, H.; Abdul Hamid, M. (translators), *Political Development Theory*, op. cit. pp. 214.

⁷Yasin, Bu Ali, (1999), *The Three Taboos: A study in religion, gender and class struggle*, Four Treasures Publishing House (Dar Al-Kunouz Al-Arba'a), Beirut, Lebanon, pp.23-25.

⁸Mohamed Arif, Naser, (1981), *Theories of Contemporary Political Development: A critical study compared in light of Islamic cultural perspective*, International Institute of Islamic Thought, Virginia, United States, pp. 191-200. See also: Al-Milad, Z., (2001), *Renewal of Religious Thought on the Issue of Women*, Arab Cultural Center, Casablanca, Morocco, pp. 33-40.

crisis of the organization of authority which indicates a lack of organization of power on a legal and organizational basis, separation of powers and achieving reciprocal control between them⁹.

As such, we can conclude that a society that suffers from political underdevelopment requires treatment only if the following indicators were found¹⁰:

- Weakness in political participation in all of its forms.
- Weakness in national integration, meaning the presence of severe ethnic, linguistic or religious demands.
- Absence of reason in decision making.
- Political corruption
- Weakness of public opinion.
- Political instability.

This brings us to discuss women's role in political development which is considered a process that tackles objectives related to treating the crises of legitimacy, participation, identity, infiltration, resource distribution, political stability and the organization of power. The researcher consequently reveals that political development is more comprehensive and broader in terms of goals than the concept of political reform. When discussing the political role of Jordanian women in political development, the researcher takes on the crisis of political development that is related to participation which relates to the electoral and organizational activities and assuming leading political roles in political decision-making institutions.¹¹

This table below outlines how this identification of the political role of women is related to the ways in which the difference paradigms view the position of women:

	The Islamic Paradigm	The Socialist Paradigm	The Classical Liberal Paradigm	The Neo-Liberal Paradigm And The Post-Modernist Stream
The Woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – An embodiment of absolute values that is based on a sexual view related to decency. – The priority of the group over the individual. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Women contributing to the establishment of the revolutionary society. – The priority of the political group over the individual. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The individual in service of the stability of the nation and the state. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The priority of the individual and the dismantlement of the project of the nation and the state.

Table 1

1.2.3. The Problem of the Study

Therefore, the central question in the study become: What is the impact of gender politics on women's political empowerment in light of the institutionally announced programs in Jordan?

This central question then branches into several other questions.

- What are the indicators of the degree of economic empowerment of the Jordanian woman?
- What are the indicators of the degree of socio-political empowerment of the Jordanian woman?
- How much is the availability of an institutional general policies for the political empowerment of Jordanian women through clearly-defined programs?
- What are the main problems and challenges facing the political role of the Jordanian woman in light of the announced programs?
- How does the future of the political empowerment of the Jordanian woman look like?

1.2.4. The Significance of the Study

- Scientific significance: To examine the reality of the institutionally announced women empowerment programs in Jordan and identify their political role in terms of integration, diversity of terms of reference and overlapping of competencies.
- Practical significance: Rationalizing decision-making towards the empowerment of Jordanian women through gradual procedures and unifying the decision-making terms of reference and institutions in order to achieve this.

1.2.5. Study Objectives

- To reveal the reality of the institutionally announced programs for the political empowerment of Jordanian women.
- To identify the political issues and challenges facing Jordanian women in light of the announced programs.
- To learn ways of the political empowerment of Jordanian women through procedural plans.

⁹Wahban, A., (2000), Political Underdevelopment and Political Development Goals, Dar Al-Gadida Publishing House, Alexandria, Egypt, pp. 143-146.

¹⁰Higgot, Richard, Abdel-Rahman, H., Abdul Hamid, M. (translators), Political Development Theory, op. cit., pp. 271.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 271.

1.2.6. Research Methodology

The researcher uses the quantitative approach by knowing the percentages of economic, social and political indicators published by the department of statistics to learn about the status quo of the Jordanian woman based on the interdependence of these three indicators. In addition, the researcher also analyses the content of programs announced by official, semi-official and non-official institutions based on for analytical categories: Goal, implemented activities, anticipated activities and the regulating bodies of these activities in order to identify the main issues and challenges facing the political empowerment of women.

1.2.7. Study Hypotheses

- The multiplicity of official regulators has weakened the political empowerment of Jordanian women.
- The predominance of social activity and its similarity to the activities of official institutions have led to weakening women's political role.
- The restriction of empowerment programs to an elite group of women who reside in the capital have led to poor access to rural areas to empower Jordanian women politically.
- The influence of postmodern discourse on shaping an active political role for the Jordanian woman.

It appears clearly then that the gender movement and gender issues have increased with the rise of neo-liberalism and post-modernism in light of a globalization what weakens the state's ability to seize control over its interactions, consequently creating the global individual in the context of a global civil movement that is not dependent of the national state project. This in turned forced governments around the world to place gender issues at the top of their priorities with the global human rights system.¹²

1.2.8. Current Indicators of Women's Economic, Political and Social Empowerment

The researcher divides these indicators into three sections:

- Economic indicators and these include employment and unemployment rates.
- Social indicators, including education.
- Political indicators and these include membership in trade unions and civil organizations and have access to governmental institutions such as the parliament and the government.

Work status	Males	Females
Paid laborer	79.5	92.4
Business owner	8.8	1.9
Self-employed	10.4	4.0
Unpaid family worker	1	1
Unpaid laborer	0.3	0.7
Unemployment (%)	14.3	21.9
Crude participation rate	39.7	7.7

Table 2

Department of Statistics, Jordan in Figures, No. 5 June 2002, P. 11

If the researcher analyzed the data in this table which provides indicators for one of the areas public labor, namely wealth and economic power, it appears that the Jordanian woman achieves higher percentages in the areas "paid laborer", "self-employed", "unpaid laborer", "unemployed" and "crude economic activity rate", and a lower percentage as a business owner. And if we add to that the number of economic productive women between 20-54 years of age which amount to 1 million women; and the percentage of their employment in the government sector which reaches 33%; and the percentage of women in the workforce over 15 years of age which is 16% and the percentage of working women out of the total of working population over 15 years of age which is 14.7%, then we can see clearly the low level of women empowerment in economic work, which in turn reflects on her political role in the participation in both of its electoral and organizational patterns.

¹²Mohamed Arif, N., Development Theory in Post-modernity in Political Development Theory, op. cit., pp. 189-215.

1.2.9. Social Indicators as Shown in the Following Table¹³

Work Status	Males	Females
1. Average age at first marriage	29.3	26.8
2. Total married Jordanian population aged 15 years and more.	49.6	52.4
3. Illiteracy rate for population aged 15 years or older	5.4	15.2
4. Population	2.787.1	2.541.9
5. Educational Status		
a. Illiterate	5.4%	15.2%
b. Below high school	58.6%	49.7%
c. Intermediate diploma	6.7%	10%
d. Bachelor and above	11.7%	6.6%

Table 3

1.2.10. Political Indicators Which Refer to the Participation in Public Life for the Year 2001¹⁴

Work Status	Female Percentage
Participation rate in parliament (senators and deputies)	2.5%
Women's Participation in the judiciary power	1.4%
Women's participation in top-tier jobs	3.2%
The participation rate of women in first-tier jobs	7.4%
Percentage of women's participation in civil society institutions:	
1. Trade unions	21.2%
2. Labor unions	10%
3. NGOs (associations) for the year 2000	2.5%
4. Municipal and rural councils for the year 1999	0.3%

Table 4

The data in the two previous tables therefore reveal the weakness of women's presence and ability to seize political power and receive an opportunity of educational empowerment so she can eventually carry out her political role. Women hardly account for a quarter of the number of doctors, engineers and lawyers registered at the unions. They account for 73% in the Nurses and Midwives Association, 16% at the Jordan Bar Association, 13% at the Jordan Medical Association and 8% at the Engineers Association. In the decision-making institutions, according to the indicators for the year 2003, there are 6 women in the 14th parliament, 7 women in the senate, 3 female ministers and 23 judges.¹⁵

The researcher believes that the mutual influence between social, economic and political indicators is something that must be admitted. The social and economic empowerment of women helps her in achieving political empowerment, especially considering the male percentage of 40% as opposed to 17% females interviewed in the year 1996 who turned down the idea of the woman working outside of her home. This may be due to the traditional social and cultural modes of life¹⁶, which reflects onto here political power where women barely account for 10% of the total founding member of the political parties in Jordan, the percentage of women's participation in the judiciary power which 1.4% and the percentage of female ministers between 1979 and 2001 which is 3%¹⁷.

The society's stance towards women empowerment and involvement in public labor and here activeness in the different forms of public labor was as follows¹⁸

¹³Department of Statistics, Jordan in Figures, No. 5, June 2003, pp. 15.

¹⁴Jordanian National Committee for Jordanian Women' Affairs, Key Indicators, Amman, Jordan (Bulletin).

¹⁵Al-Rai Jordanian Newspaper: Amman, Jordan, 8th of March, 2004, vol. 12222.

¹⁶Jordan Woman, (2002), Mapping the Journey on the Road to Equality, P.16.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 22.

¹⁸Al-Tal, S.; Hammad, W., Jordanian Women and Participation in Political Work and Decision-Making Positions in Women and Political Participation (Collective Work), pp. 217.

Social Activities for Women	Highly Active	Ineffective
In government	17.2%	9%
In parliament	22.2%	10%
Diplomatic corps	5.3%	11.6%
Municipal and rural councils	12.6%	11.3%
Trade union activity	8.4%	10.3%
General unions	11.8%	9%
Political parties	4.1%	12.8%
Economic activity	12.3%	8.7%

Table 5

It appears from the previous table that the confidence in women's activeness is centered on roles that are socially approved for women, and it decreases notably for general role of political nature. As such, the researcher may then conclude that: the progress achieved in women involvement in political activities or those of a political nature such the ministry, the parliament and local councils was done against the backdrop of a political decision-making coming from above and at the highest level, and not as a result of widespread public pressure by the women's movement institutions and organizations or the different pressure groups such as political parties or trade unions¹⁹.

Consequently, it appears to the researcher that the problem with enabling the woman to carry out her political role in exercising political authority is due to a structural flaw in the nature of the patriarchal society that came as a result of a long-term historical activity that featured changes in roles and power relations. For that, women's emancipation and empowerment are one step in the process of deconstructing the patriarchal structure of society. According to Hisham Sharaby,

The movement for women's emancipation will necessarily become the main part of the freedom of social, cultural thought; and that the women's movement was the spark that would set the novel patriarchal society from the inside.²⁰

At this point, the researcher is compelled to touch upon the feminist approach to deconstructing and solving the issue of development in Arab societies, including the Jordanian society, where the patriarchal family produces a child who is meek and submissive to his master; and to his father, not just through the father's actual authority in the family, which a dictatorial authority, but also by forces of morality, religion and law produced by the patriarchal society²¹.

How can this feminist approach as it is show in development literature and women studies in tandem with the rise of post-modernism and the globalization of social and cultural relations lead to the deconstruction of the patriarchal society without pass through the system of the national state as an authoritarian structure that seeks to achieve its own interests and privileges? And what are theoretical constituents and basics of this approach on the way to total transformation of the structure of relations in the three areas of power, wealth and social status? The researcher leaves this to the future outlook of women's political role.

2. Civil Organizations Involved in the Issue of Women

The researcher addresses this topic in order to shed light on the institutional imbalance as one factor of the ineffectiveness of women empowerment policies and support of gender issues by analyzing the content of the official and non-official women's institutions according to for categories:

- Analysis of goals.
- Analysis of implemented activities.
- Analysis of anticipated activities.
- Regulating bodies.

Name of Organization	Date Established	Goals	Activities Implemented in 1999	Activities Anticipated in 2000	Regulating Bodies
The Jordanian National Commission for Women	1992	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Improve women's social status and strengthen its significance. – Increase and develop the status of women in 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Study laws and legislations related to women and proposing amendments thereto. – Update the national strategy for women in Jordan. – Integrate women's issues into the 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Complete the updating of the National Strategy for Women. – Prepare for the special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations Beijing +5. – Follow-up with the 	Semi-governmental

¹⁹Hammad, Waleed, (1999), Jordanian Women's Organizations and Sustainable Development. New Jordan Center for Studies. Amman, Jordan, pp. 33-34.

²⁰Sharabi, Hisham, (1988), Patriarchy and Underdevelopment of Arab Society (1st edition), Arabic Unity Studies Center, Beirut, Lebanon, p 174.

²¹Yasin, BuAli, The Three Taboos, op. cit., pp. 93.

		<p>economic life.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strengthen women's legal status. - Achieve the widest possible participation of women in political life. 	<p>economic and social development plan of 1999-2003.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Prepare Jordan's second report on the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. - Prepare a report on the implementation of the Beijing action plan +5. 	<p>implementation of the Economic and Social Development Plan 1999-2003.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Study proposals to amend laws that are unfair to women. 	
General Federation of Jordanian Women	1981	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Train and rehabilitate of women at the national level. - Integrate women and enable them to contribute effectively to the development process. - Coordinate and cooperate with all women institutions and associations. - Represent women in the women federations and conferences. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Electoral and training kitchen. - Al-Khansa' Center for Training and Production (sewing, knitting, beauty). - Women information unit. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Awareness, Education and Community Participation Development Program. - The Program for Training and Developmental Preparation. - Poverty Reduction Lending Unit for Women Program. - Facilitative Information Unit Program for Women in Development. 	The Ministry of Social Development
The University of Jordan Student Union	1974	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To organize and unify women's efforts to defend their gains and rights. - To address any form of discrimination against women. - To strive towards women integration in local community development. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Training courses in traditional fields such as sewing. - Legal and Social Counseling Center for Women. - Phone counseling line. - Child Parliament Project. - Violence Against Women Center project. - The administrative development of centers and branches. - Documentation and information center on women and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Project for studying and administrative development of branches and centers. - Information documentation center project. - Child Parliament Project. - Public Library Project. - Women Housing Project. 	Ministry of Interior

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To overcome the legislative, economic, social and cultural obstacles. - To enable women to participate in family planning activities. - To activate the role of women in promoting Jordan's independence and establish a democratic approach. - To contribute to the building of civil society institutions. - Traditional, legal, political and cultural literacy. - To support Palestinian and Arab women and show solidarity with the women of the world. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> public library project. - Women's Productive Services Project: Training, Financing, Women Housing Project. 		
Jordanian National Forum of Women's Committees	1995	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The advancement of women through education and training in all fields including the implementation of the national strategy for women in Jordan. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sensitization and training programs for the municipal elections of candidates and campaign organizations. - Mid-level leadership programs and management skills development programs. - Forest Management Project. - Literacy program. - Raising awareness of the axes of the national strategy. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Landfill project in the Balqa governorate. - Na'our Environmental Project. - Literacy Project. - Poultry farming project. - Senior leadership training project. 	Ministry of Interior

The human Forum Association for Women's Rights.	1995	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Workshop on critical thinking and communication skills. - Workshop on concepts and advantages of reproductive health. - Workshop on violence against women. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Procedures for studies on the rights of women and their families. - Organizing courses to raise awareness of women's legal rights. - Establishing the Legal Counseling Center for Women. - Participation in meetings and conferences. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Following up on the activities carried out. 	Social Development
Jordan Forum for Business and Professional Women	1976	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To upgrade the performance of Jordanian women in various professions and the businesses. - Encourage women to shoulder their responsibilities in society. - To raise the status of Jordanian women in economic, political and social life. - Close collaboration among voluntary and women agencies. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The eighth conference of the club. - Lectures on privatization and the European monetary unit. - Symposiums on the future oversight of corporate control and lifting the penal protection of networks and electronic commerce. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Seminars, conferences, workshops and training. - Legal Consulting Center. - Information and Documentation Center. - Center for Women's Projects. 	The Ministry of Youth
Young Muslim Women Association	1972	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work to raise the level of women. - Work to establish a branch in the Arab world. - Open vocational training centers. - Establishing homes for the 	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establishing a candle-making unit. - Curriculum development project at the Center for Special Education. 	The Ministry of Social Development

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – immigrants. – Provide care and employment for people with disability. 			
Arab Women's Association in Jordan	1970	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Combating illiteracy among women and raising their level of literacy. – Providing assistance to the population of the Occupied Territories. – Providing assistance to the community. – Establishing productive and training projects. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Popular communication project. – Project on how to start a project. – A series of seminars. – The recycling project. – Implementation of the food-for-work project. – Family planning services. – Defending women's rights. – Participation in the World March of Women. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Follow up with the implementation of projects. 	The Ministry of Social Development

Table 6: Civil Organizations Involved in the Women Field²²

The Table Was Prepared By the Researchers

If the researchers apply the standards of institutional analysis which include: Adaptation, complexity, independence and coherence²³ on the organizations working in women affairs according to the goals, activities implemented, activities anticipated and the regulating body, then we would find that the degree of independence in these civil associations is rather low since they belong to multiple regulating bodies. Five of these organizations follow the Ministry of Social Development, and they are: The General Federation of Jordanian Women, the Human Forum for Women's Rights, the Young Muslim Women Association and the Arab Women Association under the code number 63 for the year 1966; whereas the Jordanian Women Union, the Jordanian National Commission for Women, the Jordan Forum for Business and Professional Women to the Ministries of Interior and Youth. There is also a semi-governmental association which is the Jordanian National Commission for Women, and it has communications with the government ministries (executive power). Having multiple regulating body may limit the policies of these civil organizations to the mental and legal terms of reference of three government structures: The Ministry of Social Development, the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Youth.

As for the complexity of the functions and roles of these civil institutions, it is noted that the package of objectives and activities implemented and expected to be implemented is limited to primary support services such as health, employment and training workshops, making similarity a reality for all these institutions working in women's affairs and lack of specialization in empowering women both politically and economically. The National Committee for Women's Affairs and the Women's and Business Women's Association have tended to do so. This diversity in civil organizations working in women's affairs, the absence of specialization in jobs and the similarity of objectives and activities lead to the dispersion of the feminist movement; and the creation of a state of polarization between them hinders unification under one women's organization characterized by complexity and cohesion, independence and adaptation, in addition to the elitism of women's work in Jordan as a means of entering the circle of political elite government, to moved it away from investing in women's efforts in the far and rural areas. We conclude from all this that women's civil organizations have failed to form effective pressure groups for women's political empowerment.

Hence the researcher arrives to build three matrices following the three variables that influence women's political empowerment, and they are as follows.

²²Al-Hourani, Hani; Abu Rumman, Hussein (Editor), Directory of Civil Society Organizations in Jordan. Al-Jadid Center for Studies, Amman, Jordan, pp. 277-302.

²³Bani Hassan, A. (1989), Modernization and Political Stability in Jordan (1st edition), Arab House for Distribution and Publishing (Al-Bayt Al Arabi), Amman, Jordan, pp. 35.

2.1. *The Matrix of Institutional Imbalance Represented in the Following Indicators*²⁴:

- Similarities of functions and roles of organizations working in women's affairs.
- The emergence of a polarization between the weak independence of regulating bodies and utilizing them as tools for implementing government policies.
- The elitism leadership in women's civic organizations and the lack of participation of women in rural areas.

2.2. *The Matrix of Socio-Economic and Political Factors, and it Includes the Following Indicators Published*²⁵

- Poor presence of women in decision-making positions.
- The weak empowerment of women represented by their existence as productive forces of commodities.
- Determine their social role based on both types of the absolute: the religious and the biological.
- Stereotyping the socio-economic role of women in the media.

2.3. *The Matrix of the Effect of Post-Modernism and External Rehabilitation Projects*²⁶

- Increasing the degree of horizontal links between the people of the world.
- The need for democratic political reform as a mandatory requirement for the durability of the nation state.
- Giving the individual and his/her rights higher priority over the interest of the nation-state (neo-liberalism).
- Denouncing all rational or moral types of the absolute.

These matrices influence each other within the intellectual premises and standpoints of feminist approach as an approach for development what which the researcher raising several questions regarding its premises, goals and tools. Thus, it may be considered as a fourth matrix.

2.4. *The Feminist Approach Matrix as a Preamble for Political Development*

- The arguments and premises of this approach are based on the post-modernist and globalization.
- This approach views the nation-state as a patriarchal system of varying degrees of paternity.
- The individual is considered the main unit of analysis instead of the state and religion.
- Considering human rights (including women's rights) as the actual program of dismantling communities and patriarchal authorities.
- Shifting away from the international economy to the global economy, from an economy between nation-states to a global economy that supersedes the state and negates its influence.
- The inability of any paradigm to define the world and its transformations objectively, and thus lose the theoretical credibility on which modernity was based.
- The permeability of neo-liberal ideas the global civil society organizations in order to supersede the concepts of the nation state and sovereignty; and this is what paved the way for the movements of women, human rights, democracy and the environment, as well conferences such the Earth Summit in Argentina and the Summit for Family Affairs and Population in Cairo.
- Moving away from establishing authority in all its forms.
- Considering ethnic or religious pluralism as an international affair is subject to regulation and activation in accordance with the principle of humanitarian intervention:
 - The economy is built outside the state (privatization) and centralized market.
 - Everything is relative and is subject to context, and there are no shared human characteristics.

The feminist stream emerged out of the post-modernist stream in that the individual is both the means and the ends as opposed to being the means for interest of the nation-state or absolute values that transcend the universe. Therefore, its main premise is that the increase in women's political and economic empowerment leads to deconstructing the structure of the predominant the world's patriarchal systems and their policies and intellectual schemes to create globalized individualist power relations.

And in analyzing the influence of these four matrices: the institutional imbalance matrix, the socio-economic factors matrix, the post-modernist stream matrix and external reform projects; and the feminist approach matrix as a preamble for developing the political systems on gender-policies for women's political empowerment as show in the two following diagrams.

²⁴The researcher arrived at these indicators to analyze the objectives, activities and regulating bodies of women's organizations. For more information please refer to: Hammad, Walid (1999), *Women's Organizations and Sustainable Development*, op. cit.

²⁵These indicators were reached depending on the indicators and statistics of the Department of Statistics, publications of the National Committee for Women's Affairs: national strategy of Jordanian women; draft themes for the year 2001, pp 1-34.

²⁶The indicators of this matrix were assembled from:

- Hatem, M., (2001), How the Gulf War Changed the AAUG's Discourse on Arab Nationalism and Gender Politics, *Middle East Journal*, vol. 2, pp.278-295.
- Fernea, Elizabeth, (2000), The Challenges for Middle Eastern Women in the 21st Century, *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 54, No. 2, pp.186-193.
- Clark, A., et al. (1998), The Sovereign Limits of Global Civil Society: A Comparison of NGO Participation in UN World Conferences on the Environment, Human Rights, and Women, *World Politics*, vol. 51, no. 1, pp.3,34.

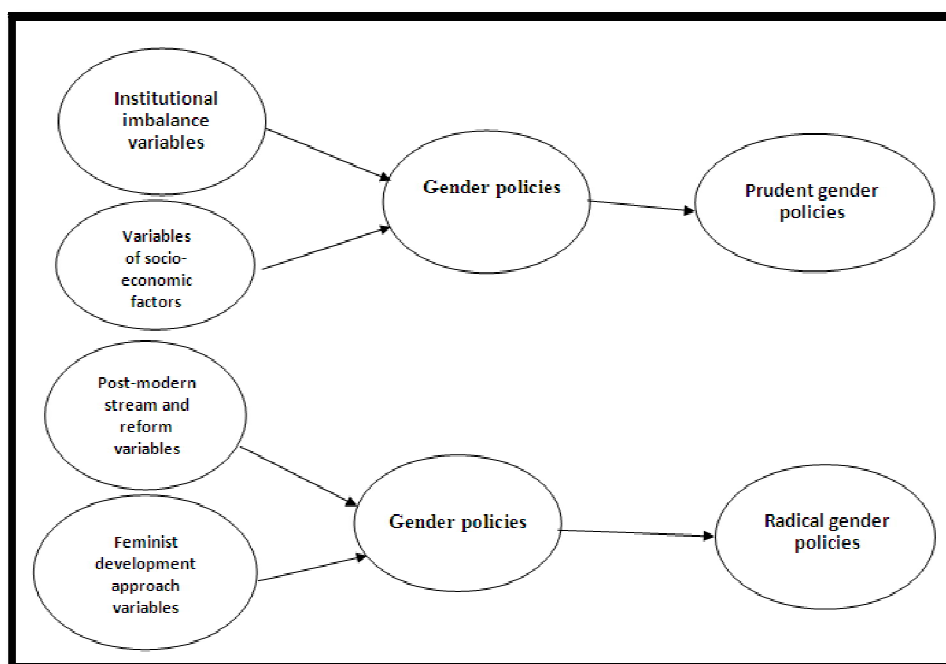


Figure 1

From the results of interaction between the two previous diagrams, we notice that the impact of gender policies as one of the functions of the Jordanian political system, which strives to sustain stability and balance, is to find balanced programs and gender policies in the economic, media, social and political fields in order to preserve the patriarchal structure of the Jordanian society so as to neutralize the negative effects of the internal and external constraining factors through development policies that preserve balance within the political system.

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