

Introduction

I. Study Subject and Main Questions

The public space in Jordan has lately been enjoying an active mobilization of diverse interests. Since the late 1980s, a new sphere of so-called democratization or political relaxation has opened the door for an enormous influx of civil society movements and organizations. Moreover, while new identities with new interests are emerging, such as women's, human rights', and environmental movements, other traditional identities -namely tribal and Islamic- remain active and present a constant challenge to the modernization process taking place in the country. The interaction between these various forms of identities assists in the creation of an active political sphere, wherein the traditional and the modern mobilizations of interests meet, or, as we will soon see even contradict.

In this context, the organizations including civil society in general and the women's movement in particular are believed to carry out a significant project, that of de-traditionalizing and democratizing both state and societal institutions. In fact, women's movements are considered the dynamic component of civil society, and are seen as carrying out the project of de-traditionalizing both state and civil society institutions. This 'de-traditionalization' project includes democratizing and sensitizing the patriarchal aspects of both institutions to gender issues. Moreover, in order to carry out this uneasy project, women's movements have to mobilize several economic, organizational, political, ideological and social resources. In addition, they have to develop and practice various policies and strategies that will enable them to politicize women's interests and issues.

Observers note that contemporary women's actions in Jordan represent a significant shift from what they used to represent in previous stages, namely, the pre-democratizational stage. In fact, demanding legal reforms, seeking the cancellation of certain law articles, influencing state's policies and demanding more representation from women in the local and the national councils are becoming the main themes of discourse and work for women's actions and protests all over the country.

These developments, one might argue, indicate the emergence of a ‘new ‘ women’s movement in Jordan. It is new because for the very first time in the movement’s history, a ‘feminist’ agenda is being carried out. This agenda presents women within new identity contexts and as the focus of their work, especially after a long period of focus on other social categories such as the elderly, refugees, homeless and orphans. Moreover, this new agenda is responsible for bringing to the forefront several new themes, which were earlier taboos in the Jordanian public sphere. In fact, issues like crimes of honor, violence against women, and women in politics are now on the political agenda after so a long time having been hampered by cultural limits and control by a masculine political culture. It is also new because the movement comprises today diverse actors. In fact, several organizations are today mobilizing women’s interests in Jordan. The most important of these organizations are not only independent groups, but also semi-governmental and even royal institutions.

Moreover, these changes and developments were accompanied with diverse national and international happenings that largely explain the developmental extent, direction and intensity. At the national level, factors of significant importance are those related to the political transformation process on the state level, and the internal transformation processes at the societal level, namely those related to changing patterns of men’s and women’s lives. To specify, Jordan began its most recent experiment with democratization under the late King Hussein in 1989 following a series of riots which began in Ma’an South Jordan and extended to country’s other big cities. The riots came as a result to the removal of government subsidies, soon after Jordan got on the IMF structural adjustment program. Under these circumstances the regime chose political liberalization as a means of channeling and reducing the resulting opposition. The initial political openings were quite promising. Diverse civil society organizations and movements began to emerge with a wide range of civil liberties and rights being freely practiced. In fact, unfolding the democratization process at this level revealed two significant changes, namely within accordance to forms and action of collective actors in the Jordanian public space. Observers have mainly noted an active emergence of women’s organizations, as well as an active mobilization of women’s interests. Simultaneously, conservative actors (mainly

islamists and tribal activists) still represent a consequent challenge to changes of modernity and emancipation projects carried out by the women's movement.

Yet, the promising liberalization process, which also included a wide range of opposition, began to gradually face serious challenges in 1994 when Jordan signed a peace treaty with Israel. Moreover, the late King Hussein Died in 1999 and was succeeded by his elder son Abdullah. The ascent of the new king to the throne was accompanied by diverse national, regional and international events, which have also had a negative impact on the development of the genuine democratization process. The outbreak of the second intifada in late September 2000, the September 11, 2001 restraints, and the continuous American threats of a war against Iraq, were the main determinant factors defining the course of further political development in Jordan. In light of these events, diverse political measurements have been undertaken. In June 2001, the parliament was dissolved, elections (normally taking place in November of every fourth year) were postponed, and a series of temporary laws related to state security were put into practice.

Despite these semi-negative developments, several achievements were made in women's favor. Achievements at this level included significant reforms in the laws concerning passports, nationality and retirement. Also an amendment to the law was made granting Jordanian women the right to divorce their husbands as long as they abandon any claims for financial compensation, as well as the introduction of the quota system for women in parliament. These empowerment reforms are considered the most significant in the history Jordanian women's rights and are believed to form a basis for an active female involvement in the Jordanian political scene.

At the international level, factors of great significance that are influenced the development of the women's movement, were international aid and an interest in women's issues. In fact, women and women's issues were the subject of diverse International conferences and conventions at the UN. Starting with conferences held specially to discuss and develop plans of action in respectto women's concerns and interests represented by the UN's International Women's Decade (1975-1985), as well as by different women's conferences such as Beijing in 1995.

The UN's involvement in the realm of human rights, citizenship rights and more importantly women's rights are seen as a very important achievement specially with regard to the Third World and the women therein. In point of fact, the international interest in these issues has shaped the development of real plans of actions in many countries, as well as having shaped the form and content of discourses dealing with women's issues. Political rights, citizenship rights, legal rights, and equity rights are but only a few examples. The two main levels of the international and the national reality form the general atmosphere wherein the women's movement performs, as well as affecting the extent and form of the movement's development.

However, despite its great importance, the women's movement in Jordan -with its emerging circumstances, its resources, and struggle- was the subject of only a limited number of studies (Department of Publications and Press,1979; al-Tall, 1989; Nafa', 1999; Brand, 1998; and Hammad, 1999). The studies have focused on diverse factors influencing women's actions and progress in Jordan. A historical overview of the development of the movement in the period of the 1940s until the 1980s was the main emphasis of al-Tall's study and also the study conducted by the National Department of Publications and Press. The role of women's organizations in the process of development was also the focus of the studies conducted by Nafa' and Hammad. Brand (1998) goes a step further by demonstrating the impact of political liberalization on women's lives and actions in Jordan as well as in other Arab countries. Hammad and al-Tall share the same point of view concerning the existence of two forms of women's organizations. For Hammad, the first form is traditional and has accompanied the emergence of the women's public action in Jordan in the early beginnings of the 20th century. The second is relatively modern and is seen as the product of the modernization process at the national level. These two forms do not only exist simultaneously but also compete and oppose one other. Al-Tall sees this distinction from a different perspective. She distinguishes two forms of women's organizations, namely; aristocratic women's organizations, which represent high-class women and are based on charity concepts; and those real organizations that seek the advancement of women such as the Jordanian Women Union. Nafa's study. Also falls within this direction; it however, focuses on women's organizations, which are active in the field of social development and the role these organizations play. She finds out

that the women's organizations are the main active social actors in providing social development and anti poverty programs; also, they are the most active in environmental protection and family planning. She has however, studied all forms of women's organizations without a specific distinction between general organizations and societies which are run by women and those of the women's movement.

However, the fact that these studies are based on a series of ideas and unstable theoretical paradigms is a common point to be cited by critics. In fact, al-Tall bases her study on the Marxist theory, yet she did not pay attention to gender blindness in his theory, or the diverse feminist interpretations, critiques and revisions of his work. Hammad and Nafa' based their studies on the theories of sustainable development, without providing a specific theoretical approach, yet the critique devoted to the theoretical approaches of development as being gender blind was not considered, as were the relatively newly developed Gender And Development (GAD) approaches. Brand who provides a more comprehensive approach associates women's actions and the development of women's organizations with the successes happening on the political level in Jordan, and therefore the general transformation and development processes were reduced to political aspects. This, however, hindered not only most of these studies from bringing about a systematic analysis of the women's movement in Jordan as a "social movement", but also from bringing about a scientific analysis of the outcomes and impact of this movement on the Jordanian public sphere. In fact, they were not able to see the development of the women's movement as an essential part of the societal transformation process. Moreover, the women's movement is not seen as an active driving force of transformation, but rather as a passive receiver of political transformation. The women's movement in this respect is being treated separately from the whole sociopolitical transformation processes taking place in society. In fact, it is viewed as having its own developmental mechanisms, which is separated from the society's general developments. This study, therefore, will try to situate the women's movement in Jordan within the general societal and political developments, and to analyze its role as being a dynamic aspect of civil society, as well as bringing about sociopolitical developments. In this respect, both the internal (such as the political transformation process, societal development, and the changing patterns of women's lives) as well as the external factors (such as the international

interest in women and women's issues) among other resources influencing the sociopolitical outcomes of the women's movement today are to be considered.

Therefore, this study departs in several ways from quoted literature. In fact, this study begins by unfolding the impact of internal and external factors on the developmental process of the contemporary women's movement, focusing its impact on forms of activism and mobilized interests. Moreover, while emphasizing the impact of the political transformation, as well as the international interest and funds on the course and function of the women's movement, this study also illustrates the interaction between specific internal and external factors. Indeed we will consider on one hand the impact of national and international transformation processes on the development of the women's movement. On the other hand, the role of the women's movement as an active agent of sociopolitical change in women's favor, will also be given much attention. Moreover, while factors (such as the international interest in women's issues and the UN women's events) were treated as secondary variables in Brand's study, this study will try to explain the development of the women's movement by emphasizing the interaction between national and international factors. However, the new developments in the form of actions, objectives and activism indicate an emergence of a new women's movement in Jordan that has a clearer identity and a right-based work agenda.

Theoretically, however, women's and other forms of social movements, including their emergence, organizational structure, as well as their outcomes have been the main concern for social scientists since the sixties. Over the past four decades, leading scholars reviewed the relevant literature on social movements and have noted the limited amount of systematic research on social movement outcomes (Diani 1997; Giugni 1998, McCarthy, and Zald, 1988; Tarrow1998). Some other scholars observe that, "the field of social movements grew tremendously in the 1970s and the 1980s, but the study of movement outcomes did not...(the result is) that we still know very little about the impact of social movements on social change" (Burstein/ Einwohner/ Hollander 1995:276). Yet, being the subject of civil society theory, particularly in the context of Cohen and Arato's (1995) interpretation of civil society, social movements began to occupy a significant place. Social movements, according to this approach are

the dynamic agents of social and political transformations, and they carry out an essential project of detraditionalizing the state and societal institutions. Cohen and Arato claim, by this interpretation, that they are able to accommodate two main sociological paradigms, normally implied in explaining the emergence and the mobilization of the new social movements; namely, the resource mobilization, and the new social movements paradigm. Through this method, they were able to provide their approach with necessary analytical tools, such as the ability to analyze organizational structures, resources, and mobilized interests. In this respect, the two approaches (the resource mobilization and the new social movements) provide Cohen and Arato's interpretation with the ability to analyze and look at the internal structure of the movement, and the various resources mobilized in meeting the targeted interests. In fact, these two approaches look at organizational forms, financial and the human resources, and answer (in the case of the new social movements approach) questions related to the representational aspects of the newly emerging identities such as women, peace, and environment advocates.

Yet, such resources are insufficient in terms of analyzing the role of social movements concerning sociopolitical change. Cohen and Arato, therefore, add to the financial and human resources, yet a macro-analytical perspective, namely that of the general atmosphere of political transformation, wherein social movements emerge and perform. In this context, they argue that social movements perform "offensive" and "defensive" politics in order to gain more success, to have more influence on policies, or to cause social change. Moreover, this approach comes from a gender sensitive viewpoint. Cohen and Arato give a detailed analysis of the feminist movements in the West and argue that the main project of feminism is the "engendering of state and civil society"; and through their "offensive" politics, they try to politicize women's issues as "politicizing the Private".

In conclusion, it seems that the analytical approach suggested by Cohen and Arato meets our envisioned analysis of the women's movement in Jordan. This comes through analyzing the women's movement within the general context of modernizing processes that are taking place in the country; being at the same time an active driving force in this modernization process. Nonetheless, this analysis will benefit also from

the feminist analysis of the women's movement and the critique they dedicated to both civil society and the social movements paradigms. Such a combination will assist us in meeting the main objective of this study, that is to explore the role of which, the contemporary Jordanian women's movement plays in emancipating women and improving their status.

In this respect diverse variables are to be tested. First, we will analyze the impact of the diverse national and international variables according to the development and performance of the women's movement. Moreover, we will address the forms of contemporary activism within it, as well as the diverse mobilized interests of women. Finally, we will address the various limiting factors and obstacles facing the mobilization of women's interests.

More specifically, we will try to answer the following questions:

First: What is new in the women's movement of Jordan today? Regarding this question, we argue that the women's movement in Jordan presents a new shift in the organizational, thematic, and internal organizational levels, which was not the case before. At the thematic level, we argue that there is a shift towards a feminist agenda. This feminist agenda problematizes new women's issues such as violence against women, women and politics, and legal discrimination against women. Such issues were taboo in the Jordanian public sphere.

At the organizational level, however, we will also point out that there is a new shift according to the organizational forms i.e. new forms of women's organizations are appearing in the public space lately that are not only independent but also governmental, and semi-governmental. In this respect, we will try to look at the impacts of such shifts; does it lead to more democracy within the internal system of women's organizations, and would it influence their decision-making processes, or not?

Second: What strategies and politics will they apply to pursue their objectives?

Third: To what extent is the women's movement successful in politicizing women's issues, and in what areas? Regarding this, the study examines the extent to which the women's movement in Jordan has succeeded in putting women's issues on the general national political, social, and economic agendas.

Fourth: What are the resources of the women's movement and to what extent do these assist or hinder the movement's success or failure? In this respect, the study will test the impact of diverse variables such as: The royal family's interest in public work, the international interest and financial support, the political environment and the shift towards liberalization, and the sociocultural structures existing in the country.

II. Clarifying Terminology

In this study, we use a number of basic terms, such as women's movement, movement organizations, political transformation, movement's sociopolitical outcomes, non-governmental organizations, and finally practical and strategic women's and gender needs.

In respect to the term '*women's movement*', there are contrasting views as to what a women's movement is. On one hand, there are clearly identifiable women's movements that, like those which mobilized by demanding female suffrage, have a leadership, membership, broader following and a political program. On the other hand, there are now more diffuse forms of political activity, which can also qualify as a movement and are distinct from other forms of solidarity such as those of networks, clubs or groups. The identifiable boundaries are complicated by the fact that networks or clubs sometimes develop into or form a part of social movements (Molyneux). However, it is preferable for us to reserve the term 'movement' for something that involves size and effectiveness rather than small-scale associations, especially if these are few in number and have little overall impact. In this regard, we do agree with Molyneux's comments which state: "To speak of a movement then implies a social or political phenomenon of some significance, that significance being given both by its capacity to effect change in some way or another whether this is expressed in legal, cultural, social or political terms" (Molyneux, 1998:68f).

Yet, there are criteria often used in defining a women's movement. One that is often employed in defining a women's movement is that of commitment to diminishing gender subordination (Wieringa, 1995). A definition based on such criteria can be criticized in that it is feminist oriented; as it excludes many conservative groups, which emphasize traditional gender roles and family values (such as in the case of Jordan Islamist or the state's mobilization of women).

Another criterion that several authors often use is that of autonomy from control by other social groups. Scholars dealing with the women's movement argue in this respect that "from the earliest moment" of women's social movements they should have a place within which to elaborate their own program of action, debate their own goals and tactics, and remain strategy free from outside influence (Razavi 2000). Moreover, underlying feminist concern with organizational structure is the question of authority: more specifically, the question that is engaged "is where does the authority to define women's goals, priorities and actions come from?" (Molyneux, 1998:70). Yet, the issue of autonomy and organizational structure is more complex than it first appears, and is not necessarily linked to organizational goals. In this respect, we agree with Molyneux who argues, "it is often assumed that if collective actions concerning women come from within an autonomous organization, then they must be expressive of women's real gender interest. Yet, this is a problematic assumption, since demonstrating apparently conflicting definitions of interest. They have ranged from self-help activities of various kinds, to protest movement, to those associated with a self-conscious feminism, to ones entailing the abrogation of women's existing rights and envisioning the greater dependence of women on men and commitment to family life" (70).

Consequently, we will follow an expanded definition of the women's movement, namely to what Rowbotham (1992) has referred to as a women's movement"- that is, "women acting together in pursuit of common ends, be they "feminist" or not"(71). In conclusion, the women's movement does not have to have a particular organizational expression as it may also comprise diversity of interests, forms of expansion, and spatial location. It should, however, comprise a substantial majority of women, yet, it must not exclusively be made up of women.

Movement's outcomes

Recent research has identified methodological and theoretical problems in respect to evaluating social movements by using the terms of "Success" and "Failure" (Amenta and Young 1999; Giungi 1998). Therefore, the term "Outcomes" has been developed in order to replace "success" as it shows more capacity in analyzing the social movement's impact on both societal and political levels.

The term "Success" implies the attainment of specific widely shared goals, however, the goals of most social movements are contested by participants and observers. Goals also change over the course of a movement. Studying outcomes avoids these problems and allows scholars to focus on unintended and negative consequences as well as on success (53). Therefore this study will focus on outcomes rather than success. We however, understand outcomes in their institutional term (Institutional Outcomes). i.e. The changes that social movements are seeking in institutions and can take a variety of forms such as: (1) Gaining access to the decision making process, (2) altering the institution's goals and priorities, (3) securing favorable policies, (4) and shifting the distribution of the institutional resources to benefit the movement's constituents (Burstein et al. 1995; Schumaker 1975.).

Overall, a focus on institutional outcomes has a methodological advantage because in many cases these outcomes are more easily measured than cultural, societal attitudes, and psychological outcomes. Sociopolitical outcomes, moreover, provide an important indicator of the results of social movement in the lives of women.

Women's Movements Organization

Women in general are active in many fields of social work. This, however, does not mean that all the organizations they form can be accounted as women's movement organizations. It is, therefore very essential to distinguish between the two terms "women's organizations" or (NGO's) and "women's movement organization"(WMO).

The term NGO is very general; it defines groups by what they are not, rather than by what they are. It refers to all kinds of action which is not governmental. Women's nongovernmental organizations take many forms, as they can be elderly, disabled care, development oriented, etc. Yet, the women's movement organization is an NGO that represents the believers in a collective action that seeks social or political change in women's favor. It represents the social movement's objectives, as it is one of the social movements resources. While NGOs are very general, SMOs are theme oriented. Women's movement organizations, for instance, focus on women's issues, whereas women's organizations (NGOs) can be dedicated to other categories in the society. Therefore, for this study a women's movement organization should: 1) Seek gender equality, eradication of discrimination against women, and/or influencing state policies in women's favor; 2) have ideological and financial autonomy; 3) be run by women and be mostly comprised of women.

Women's activists

We have argued at the beginning of our introduction that there is a significant shift within regard to women's actions in Jordan. We have also stated that there is a noticeable emergence of a feminist agenda in Jordan. Yet, in this study we prefer the use of the term 'Activists' to refer to women active in the field of women's issues, and not the term 'feminist' for two main reasons. First, many interviewed women have rejected the label 'Feminist'. Feminists – in their view- are being portrayed in the national discourses as: men hating, aggressive, westernized women (or tools of western projects), and most likely obsessed with sex in terms of seeking sexual liberty (which is widely viewed as being immoral and anti-Arab-Islamic in terms of norms and traditions). Secondly, in Jordan not all women activists are elected ones, or have had a long history of struggle against patriarchy. In fact, some of the interviewed women were appointed by the princess as heads of women's organizations. These women, however, rejected the term feminist, because they have looked at their form of activism as doing a "Job" and not as reflecting an internal belief in women's liberation

or in advancement projects¹ (for instance the case of Amal Sabbagh who is the head of the Jordanian National Commission for Women).

III. Methodology

Several social movement researchers have stressed some methodological problems, which have been preventing social scientists from systematically analyzing social movements. The most important problems are; the consequences of actions in social movements, the problems of causal attribution, goal adaptation, interrelated effect, and the problem of unintended effects and perverse effects (Rucht 1992; Guingi 1994; Gurr 1980), these are but a few examples. Charles Tilly (1996) believes that the impact of social movement are very often indirect, unintended, and sometimes even in contradiction to their goals. According to Tilly, Analysis should take into consideration three sets of variables: “1. all movement claims, 2. all effects of movement’s actions, and 3. all effects of outside events and actions”. In addition, others have warned us about the danger of restricting our attention to the political side of new social movements, as they might have identity-related goals that do not necessarily require political targets (Melucci 1996). One more classic methodological problem that we may add, as it concerns this specific study, is applying theoretical frameworks that have been developed in the north to cases in the south without paying attention to the different social, economic, and political developmental processes on both sides (the north and the south).

Study Methods and Tools

This study is a descriptive one aimed at analyzing the women’s movement in Jordan in terms of its resources and outcomes. Provided that only these organizations that are identified as WMOs (i.e. those targeting women and women’s issues, being run by women, and have been established in the period of time 1974- 2000). Moreover, this study is limited to the women’s organizations active in the city of Amman for different reasons: First, despite the fact that many women’s organizations have main

¹ personal interview with Amal Sabbagh in April 2001.

centers and branches throughout Jordan; most of their active headquarters are in the city of Amman; secondly, Amman, as being the capital of Jordan, is the center of the main political, and cultural activities of both state institutions and civil society organizations; and thirdly, the women's scene is very active in the city of Amman, for many different reasons such as the centralization politics of different states, and most women's activists come from or live in Amman.

In this context, certain quantitative as well as qualitative methods have been used for the analysis of the structure and its sociopolitical outcomes in the Jordanian women's movement at two main levels, that are organizational and individual. At the organizational level, the research design is based on the case study method, which enables us to give a detailed description of the organizational story of the contemporary women's movement in Jordan, the very details of the beginnings, the establishment circumstances as well as the current situation. At the individual level, namely the level of the organizations' activists and members, a semi-structured interviews have been conducted.

The semi-structured interviews were based on a self-administrating questionnaire. This means that the interview's questions were planned and standardized in advance, while pre-coded categories were used for responses to cover perspectives like: social economic backgrounds of members and activists of the women's movement, reasons for joining the movement, expectations from the movement, and how they evaluate the movement today.

In regard to the reliability and the validity of the study tool (the questionnaire), the Face-reliability method has been applied. The study questionnaire was introduced to a group in controllers (experts), who have experience in empirical studies as well as knowledge in the study area. Some changes have been adopted following the controllers' comments and viewpoints. In addition, a sample of 20 members of women's organizations has been introduced to the study questionnaire. According to their comments some changes have been adopted, and not understandable or unclear questions were developed and modified.

Study population and sample

Statistics dealing with the number of women's organizations active in Jordan is- due to several factors- confusing. In fact, several institutions such as the General Federation of Social Charities in Jordan, The New Jordan Research Center, and the previous literature and studies on the issue of the women's movement, provide contradictory numbers in this respect. Of poorer quality are those statistics provided by women's organizations with respect to the membership size. To deal with these problems, the fieldwork was planned to take place in Amman in three main phases. The first phase, aimed at mapping out the field by speaking to several people, scholars and women's activists, took place in March 2000 and took around one month. By the end of this phase, we were able to draw a general map of female activism in Jordan, as well as the various forms of organizations. At the end of the first visit in the field we had to deal with the diverse data that was collected from previously mentioned sources. The data collected during this phase were very significant, yet raised many questions of which explanations were required.

In the first place, we had to clarify at an early stage the issue of how many women's organizations are actually active in Amman. According to some sources, there are 48 women's organizations in Amman (New Jordan Center 1999; Hammad 1999); according to others, women's organizations do not exceed the 32 (Nafa' 1998, General Federation of Societies and Charities, 2000).

This contradiction was, as one might argue, due to the unclear distinction between women's organizations that are active in female related issues and run by women, and the small societies and charities, that are also run by women yet are active in fields of social services and charity. Therefore, we had to develop 'at an early stage' a general criterion of what constitutes a 'Women's Movement Organization'. The previously provided terminology assisted our work in this respect. consequently, the women's organizations provided by these resources were classified according to their membership, and their target group(s). A 'Women's Movements Organization' must mainly consist of women, and must target women in the first place; eliminating their oppression, and/or assisting their emancipation and the advancement of their status at

legal, social, and political levels². According to this, only nine women's organization in Jordan fit this criteria (See Table (1)). The nine organizations were then a subject of analysis in terms of internal structure, projects and resources. The studied women's organizations were: The Jordanian Women Union; The General Federation of Jordanian Women; The Jordanian National Commission for Women; The National Forum for Women's Committees in Jordan; The Human Forum for Women's Rights; Arab Women Society; The Professional and Businesswomen Club; Princess Basma Center for Women's Issues, and the non-institutionalized National Campaign to Eliminate Honor Crimes. Despite the fact that the National Campaign to Eliminate Honor Crimes includes men within this group it still falls under the main initiative which can be accounted as being under the women's movement.

Table (1): Organizations of the Women's Movement

Organization	Establishment Year
Jordanian Women Union.	1983
General Federation of Jordanian Women.	1985
Jordanian National commission for women.	1993
Jordanian National Forum for Women.	1991
The human forum for women's rights.	1995
Arab women society.	1970
Professional and businesswomen club.	1976
Princess Basma for Women's Issues.	1996
The National Campaign to Eliminate Honor Crimes in Jordan	1998
Sum	9

As mentioned earlier, the data collected during this first phase has raised questions in relation to the large membership size of women's organizations. We were suspicious as some women's organizations provided us with very large numbers in reference to the number of their members. The National Forum for Women's Committees in Jordan for instance provide the number 27,000 in reference to its membership size. The membership size raised questions concerning the types of membership actually represented within these numbers.

Generally speaking, problems related to a lack of accuracy with respect to membership size is common among most women's organizations. The fieldwork at this level has pointed out that most women's organizations still keep names of

² See attachment (1).

members who have already given up their membership, stopped paying the annual fees, are not attending the meetings, as well as who are not taking part in the projects and programs made available by the organization. Moreover, many of the provided addresses and telephone numbers of the listed members are not correct or even valid anymore. This means that the membership database lacks modification and requires being brought up to date. This lack of correctness and actualization of databases could be explained through the fact that these organizations keep these (no longer members) names and information in order to claim a wide base of popularity, which indeed influences the position of power of the organization, as well as increasing national and international financial support. Taking these problems into consideration, a probable sample of members and activists, which would lead to a possible generalization of the study results, was not possible.

In this context, a two-step approach have been applied. First, the study population was reduced from (8488)- the number which was provided by women's organizations and refer to the size of their members in Amman - to the number of (2620). This new number includes only those (Active) members who pay the annual fees, attend meetings, and participate in projects and programs provided by the organization. Secondly, from the new number a sample has been selected, including members who in addition to being active, have a correct address or telephone number, and are willing to cooperate with the researcher and answer the questions raised in the questionnaire. Hence, a so-called purposive sample has been selected at this level. The sample comprises 5% of the study population, and include 122 members and activists belonging to the organizations targeted by this study. Table (2) shows the distribution of the study population and sample.

The sample was calculated as follows:

- 1) Total number of members as provided by the women's organizations = 8488
- 2) Active members calculated according to the criteria of ; a) paying annual fees; b) attending regular meetings, c) participating in activities. Total number of Active Members then = 2620. It equals 30,9 % from the total number of members provided above.

3) The sample size needed for the purposes of this study is 5%. The 5% out of the total number of the Active Members = 131.

$$2620 \times 0.05 = 131$$

4) Upon this a sample of 122 members were selected with regard to their distribution in the organizations. In addition nine activists of the women's organizations were selected. For this purpose the director of each organization was asked to answer the questionnaire prepared for the purposes of studying and analyzing their socio-economic backgrounds.

Table (2): Study Population and Sample

Organization	Membership size		Active Members		Members Sample		Activists Sample
		%	Nr	%	Nr	%	Nr
Jordanian Women Union.	3000		950	36	43	35	1
General Federation of Jordanian Women.	0*		0	0	0	0	1
Jordanian National Committee for Women.	0*		0	0	0	0	1
Jordanian National Forum for Women	5000		1516	58	72	59	1
The Human Forum for Women's Rights.	58		27	1	1	1	1
Arab Women Society.	216		65	3	3	3	1
Professional and Businesswomen Club.	157		62	2	2	2	1
Princess Basma Center for Women's Issues.	0*		0	0	0	0	1
9	8488	100	2620	100	122	100	9
Welling and Available/ Active Members	2620	30,9	2620		131		5 %

** These organizations are no member-based one, they rather have other small societies as members, or they consist of designated committee.*

In order to collect detailed data at both the organizational and membership levels, the preparations for a second phase of fieldwork got underway in the year 2001. A two months field-visit to Amman was planned in order to collect more detailed information for the case studies, carry out interviews, and apply the questionnaires. The second visit was carried out between March 20. - May 20. 2001.

In respect to the case studies, they were used as a method in order to give a detailed analysis of some selected women's organizations in terms of their; structure, decision making process, objectives and programs, politics and strategies, and their outcomes. For this purpose, several documents that were provided by the organizations were considered. Moreover, several visits to organizations were arranged. Through these

visits, a considerable amount of time was spent in centers and conference halls listening to discussion, as well as by attending informal and formal meetings. Several observations (discovered by attending such meetings) contradicted with the written data provided by these organizations. Such contradictions assisted us later in drawing a picture of reality of what is really going on inside women's organizations.

The questionnaire was used as a tool for collecting data concerning the socio-economic background of activists and members in the movement's organizations. For this purpose, we selected 'a purposive sample' of the 122 members and activists in women's organizations who were the subject of the questionnaire, which examines many variables such as their socioeconomic background, reasons for joining the organizations, and their evaluation of the organization...etc³. Questions were planned and standardized in advance, pre-coded categories were used for responses to cover perspectives like: social economic backgrounds, reasons for joining the movement, expectations from the movement, and how they evaluate the movement today. However, questionnaires were also used as a supporting tool in terms of the organization's analysis. A questionnaire was developed to examine the organization as a study unit, and seeks to declare and analyze many variables such as the year of establishment, the organization's financial resources, programs, beneficiaries ...etc⁴. The data collected by the questionnaire was translated into English and processed with the SPSS (Special Program for Social Science) into the computer. The results were presented in tables as frequencies, as well as in charts.

The interviews examined the general attitudes of female activists, their evaluation of the movement, and their definitions of women's interests, and/or needs. Interviews in this study were semi-structured i.e. specific questions were planned and asked to all activists, standardized, and have been analyzed within specific categories. The interviews took place in the various headquarters of the different organizations. Most of the interviews were carried out in the course of one meeting only. The actual length of these meetings varied slightly (between one and half to two hours), depending on several factors such as the interviewee's history and range of involvement in women's

³ See study questionnaire number (2) attachment (3).

⁴ See study questionnaire number (1) attachments (2).

action. The interviews, as well as the questionnaires, were first tape-recorded and then translated from Arabic. While I carried out the various interviews with the 10 women's activists, two other research assistants assisted in conducting the questionnaires. The two research assistants each holds a Masters degree in sociology and have had a good background in collecting quantitative data through questionnaires. A third field visit was carried out in December 2002. The main aim of this one-month visit was to collect incomplete data, and to update the data collected in previous phases.

IV. Organization of the Study

This study splits up into five main chapters. Chapter one of this study discusses the theoretical framework, which explain the emergence of new social movements in general, as well as women's movements in particular in both social and political science contexts. In sociology 'New social movements' and the 'Resource Mobilization' are the current paradigms used in explaining the emergence of the so-called "New Social Movements" (women's, ecologists, and peace movements). Moreover, both paradigms are based on the assumption that classic theories have been used to explain social movements and are now inadequate to explain the emergence and characteristics of many new social movements. These two main paradigms were accommodated under the civil society main approach developed by Cohen and Arato (1995). Cohen and Arato define civil society, as it comprises associations (especially voluntary associations), social movements, and other forms of public communication.

However, since this study focuses on a women's movement, the theory used to frame it should then at least be sensitive to gender, as well as gender issues. Therefore, the above paradigms are being presented from a gender sensitive lens by providing a feminist critique of them. Moreover, in order to apply all this to the case of the women's movement in Jordan, it is noteworthy to situate this movement within the general Arab and Jordanian discourses of civil society and social movements. Therefore, the second part of chapter one (the theoretical framework) deals with the

Arab and Jordanian interpretation of civil society. Again, this interpretation was presented through a gender lens, which aims at clarifying the gender blind spots.

Chapter two, provides the general historical development of women's organizations and actions in Jordan. In this chapter, the different developmental phases of the women's movement are analyzed within the general context of the state-society developmental process. Moreover, this chapter demonstrates the impact of the diverse internal and external factors in women's organizations and the development of women's actions; namely the impact of the political transformations, the economic crisis, the changing pattern of women's lives and the international interest in women's issues.

Chapter three, views the diverse forms of activism of the women's movement in Jordan. In other words, this chapter answers the question of who identifies women's interests in Jordan. Namely, the chapter describes and analyzes the directed governmental organizations; the associational linkages (or those organizations which seek alliances with national or international allies); and the independent forms of organizations. Case studies of each form were also provided in order to cover female activism in Jordan. After defining what authorities identify as women's interests in Jordan, it is then important to understand what interests they identify as the main priorities of Jordanian women. Therefore chapter four deals with the various interests and priorities identified by women's activists and met by the various programs and projects implemented by women's organizations.

Chapter five, deals with the general limitations and obstacles facing women's organizations and actions in Jordan. These obstacles were demonstrated and analyzed under some sub-titles; namely the role of the state hindrance of women's action (through the laws framing women's and civil society actions); the culture of gender (that is being mainly determined through Tribalism and Islamism); and finally some internal and structural problems such as Autonomy. Finally, the study ends with a general discussion of the women's movement, civil society and political transformation in Jordan and tries to draw a general developmental prospective of the interrelations between the state and civil society.