

Contents

Introduction	1
I. Study Subject and Main Questions	1
II. Clarifying Terminology	9
Movement's outcomes	11
Women's Movements Organization	11
Women's activists	12
III. Methodology	13
Study Methods and Tools	13
Study population and sample	15
1. A Gender Sensitive Reading in the Interpretation of the Women's Movement within the context of Civil Society and New Social Movements Theories	22
1.1 The analysis of the women's movements within the context of civil society	23
1.2 Social movements in the context of the New social Movements Theory	29
1.3 Women's Movements, Social Movements and Civil Society: Feminist Critique	32
1.4 Feminist analysis of women's movements	37
1.5 Women's Movement and civil society in the contemporary Jordanian debates: a gender sensitive review	41
General discussion	51
2 The Women's movement in Jordan	55
2.1 The Life Cycles	55
2.2 Contemporary Developments	59
2.3 External and Internal factors shaping the contemporary developments of the women's movement	65
2.3.1 Political Developments Since 1989	66
2.3.1.1 The Parliament dissolved and the elections postponed	69
2.3.1.2 The application of temporary laws	70
2.3.1.3 The Campaign of "Jordan First"	72
2.3.1.4 Jordanian women benefiting from the absence of the conservative parliament	74
2.3.2 The International interest in women's issues	77
2.3.2.1 The role of the UN international conferences and conventions	77
2.3.2.2 International Aid and the role of the international agencies	79
2.3.3 Transformation at the societal level	83
General discussion	88
3 Activism of Contemporary women's Movement	91
3.1 Organizational form of women's collective action	92
3.1.1 Directed Organizations	93
3.1.1.1 Governmental Initiatives	93
3.1.1.2 The princess Initiatives	98
3.1.1.2.1 The Jordanian National Committee for Women	103
3.1.1.2.2 Jordanian National Forum for Women (JNFW)	105
3.1.1.2.3 Princess Basma Women's Resource Center (PBWRC)	106
3.1.2 Associational Linkages	108
3.1.2.1 Arab Women Organization (AWO)	108

3.1.2.2 The Business and Professional Women's Club (BPWC)	110
3.1.2.3 The Human Forum for Women's Rights (HFWR)	110
3.1.3 Independent Women's Organizations and Initiatives	112
3.1.3.1 The Jordanian Women Union (JWU)	113
3.1.3.2 The National Campaign to Eliminate Crimes of Honor	115
3.2 Members and activists	120
3.2.1 Socioeconomic characteristics of members and activists of women's organizations	121
3.2.2 Members role in decision-making processes within the context of women's organizations	125
3.2.3 Members of women's organizations evaluating the general organizational Performance	128
3.2.4 Types of Member- and Leader-ships within the Women's Movement	130
3.2.5 Leadership Forms and Conditions	132
General Evaluation	136
Women's movement activists	136
Denied activists: the case of Taujan Faisal	136
Organizational form of Activism	143
4 Women's Interests: Programs and Projects of Women's Organizations	146
4.1 Identifying Women's Interests	146
4.1.1 Women's activists identifying women's interests in Jordan	147
4.1.1.1 Poverty	147
4.1.1.2 Education and Training	149
4.1.1.3 Health, Mother and Child Care	152
4.1.1.4 Legal issues	155
4.1.1.5 Violence against Women	158
4.1.1.6 Political participation, Positions of Power and Decision-Making	161
4.1.1.7 Possible implementation of a Quota system and its impact on women's political participation in Jordan	165
4.2 Projects and the Programs implemented by women's organizations meeting Women's Interests in Jordan	167
4.2.1 Directed Organizations identifying women's interests	167
4.2.1.1 The National Plan of Action for the Advancement of Jordanian Women	168
4.2.1.2 The National Strategy for Women in Jordan (NSWJ)	168
4.2.1.3 The Socioeconomic Plan for the Period (1999-2003)	174
4.2.1.4 The National Information Center for Women (NICW)	174
4.2.2 Projects and programs implemented by independent and associational women's organizations identifying and meeting women's interests	176
General Discussion	183
5 Limitations and problems facing the women's movement in Jordan	188
5.1 The Role of the State	188
5.1.1 Legal Framework of women's action	189
5.1.2 The Role of the Princess	192
5.2 The societal reaction: the role of Islamism and Tribalism	195
5.3 Autonomy question: A movement mobilizing resources or resources mobilizing the movement	208
5.4 Problems related to the general performance of women's organizations and lack of competence	210
General Evaluations	213

Conclusions: The Women’s movement, political transformation and civil society in Jordan	216
II. Two Approaches of emancipating women	224
III. Determinant factors of the movement’s sociopolitical outcomes	226
Final Comments	229
Bibliography	232
Attachments	244

Figures Index

Figure (1): Organizational structure of women's organizations supervised by the princess	102
Figure (2): Organizational structure of women's organizations	126
Figure (3): Women's educational levels	151
Figure (4): Average of Number of Births Per Woman according to their Educational Level	153
Figure (5): Projects implemented by Women's Organizations in Jordan	178

Tables Index

Table (1): Organizations of the Women's Movement	16
Table (2): Study Population and Sample	18
Table (3): Socioeconomic backgrounds of members of women's organization	124
Table (4): Membership type and condition	126
Table (5): Member's evaluation of the organizations	129
Table (6): Impacts of the projects and programs implemented by women's organizations on their members	131
Table (7): Types of Membership within the Women's Movement Organizations	132
Table (8): Socioeconomic characteristics of women's organizational activists	134
Table (9): Female illiteracy Rate (15+), 1979-1998	151
Table (10): Number of Men and Women Candidates in the Parliamentary Elections of 1989, 1993 and 1997	162
Table (11): Number of elected and appointed members of the Jordanian Parliament based on gender during the years 1989, 1993, and 1997	163
Table (12): Projects and programs implemented by Independent and associational women's organizations.	179
Table (13): Two main Approaches for emancipating women in Jordan	183