
Praxis Series Paper No. 2

December, 2016

Rod MacLeod



She Parliamentarian

A campaign for women MPs in
Jordan

ABOUT THE AUTHORS



Rod MacLeod joined INTRAC in March 2007 as Programmes Director and became a Principal Consultant in 2011.

Previously he worked with Concern Worldwide in Cambodia, India, Sudan and Haiti, in a range of management positions including three at Country Director level. He also worked at Save the Children Norway as an adviser covering East Africa and the Horn of Africa, and at Y Care International as Director of Programmes, based in London. In addition, he has worked as a freelance consultant based in Uganda. Directly before joining INTRAC he was International

Programmes Director for Progressio (formerly the Catholic Institute for International Relations) based in London.

Rod has supported the British Council's Women Participating in Public Life Programme in seven countries in the Middle East to use an action research approach to promote women's political participation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to the entire She Parliamentarian coalition in Jordan for sharing their experiences of the campaign so openly. The coalition consisted of:

Princess Basma Centre for Women's Research; Women Helping Women Network; Al Thoria Centre for Studies Training and Consultation; Sisterhood is a Global Institute; The Jordanian Hashemite Fund for Human Development; Family Guidance Centre; The Higher Population Council; Jordan National Forum for Women; Jordan National Commission for Women; The Ministry of Parliamentary and Political Affairs; Akeed for Training and Skills; The Information and Research Centre - King Hussein Foundation; King Hussein Bin Talal University; Al Badia Ambassadors for Culture Centre.

Particular thanks are also due to Diala Smadi and Tamara Alkhas of the British Council for all their support.

Copyright © INTRAC 2016

First produced in 2016 in the UK by

INTRAC
Oxbridge Court
Osney Mead
Oxford
OX2 0ES
United Kingdom

Tel: +44 (0)1865 201851

Fax: +44 (0)1865 201852

Email: info@intrac.org

Website: www.intrac.org

Suggested citation: MacLeod, R. 2016. *She Parliamentarian: A campaign for women MPs in Jordan*. Praxis Series Paper No. 2. Oxford: INTRAC.

Pictures on page 1, 4, 7 and 8: © INTRAC 2016

Pictures on page 2, 5, 6, 9 and 12: © British Council Jordan 2016

INTRODUCTION



It was a hot afternoon in Ghour Al Safi town on the 22nd September 2016, close to the lowest point on earth. Everyone leaned towards the television to catch the result they had all been waiting for: ‘Sabah Shuaar – 6,680 votes’. From the outside terrace where we were sitting with the candidate and her male relatives and neighbours, there was applause. There was no such restraint from inside the house. An explosion of noise – cheers, cries and ululations – burst from the room where the women were gathered. Sabah’s elderly mother

emerged to dance with her daughter, tears running down her cheeks. The first ever woman outside the women’s quota in Ghour Al Safi, Karak Governorate had been elected to Jordan’s National Parliament.

This was not just an individual triumph, but also the culmination of a joint civil society effort, which had begun more than two years earlier. That effort involved building coalitions amongst women’s groups in Jordan, and action research to underpin a targeted advocacy campaign. This paper describes what happened through to the outcomes of the 2016 National Election.

BACKGROUND

In Jordan, as well as the wider Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Region, women’s political participation remains at disappointingly low levels. No women leaders have yet emerged in any MENA country, while women government ministers remain small in number and are usually confined to less senior ministries (e.g. social welfare). When it comes to women in national parliaments, while there are variations, most countries in the region are in the lower reaches of the global league table (shown as it was before the 2016 National Election – see Table 1).

HISTORY OF WOMEN MPS IN JORDAN

In Jordan, it was not until 1974 that women obtained the right to vote and run for election. But due to local political circumstances, there were in fact no parliamentary elections in which women could exercise this right until 1989.

Progress was initially slow. In the 1989 election, not one woman out of 12 candidates was successful. The first successful woman (out of only three women candidates), Tujan al-Faysal, won a seat in the 1993 election.

Rank for Women MPs	Country	% Women MPs
1	Rwanda	63.8
40	Tunisia	31.3
=48	UK	29.6
109	Morocco	17.0
=118	Libya	16.0
=124	Egypt	14.9
=143	Jordan	12.0
=180	Lebanon	3.1
=187	Yemen	0

Table 1: Percentage of women MPs.

Source of Table: *Women in World Parliaments: World Classification as of 1st August 2016*, Inter-Parliamentary Union

She was elected not as part of a women’s quota (which had not yet been introduced), but won one of the three seats reserved for the Circassian minority in Jordan. But she then lost that seat in the 1997 election and the number of women MPs was back down to zero (Abu-Sayd, Gehan, 2002).

In attempt to break this impasse, Jordan became one of the first Arab states to adopt a quota system for women for the 2003 election. An increase in the number of seats in parliament from 80 to 110, helped to make this change – no men lost seats as a result. There are different points of view on quota systems. The case against is that women should be elected solely on the basis of their own merits if they are to gain recognition as equals and that quotas run against democratic principles. Others counter that a quota system, for a transitional period at least, is the only way to overcome the many hurdles that prevent women from being elected to parliament (Al Shalabi, Jamal and Al-Assad, Tareq, 2012).



In any event, during the 2003 election, there were six women elected via the quota. This was the same again in 2007, while the first woman was also elected from outside any quota. The women’s quota was doubled from six to 12 seats for the 2010 election, meaning that the percentage of women MPs reached 10% for the first time (see Table 2). In the 2013 election, immediately prior to the She Parliamentarian campaign, Jordan was ranked as 143rd globally (out of 193 countries) in terms of its percentage of women MPs and three women had been elected in open competition seats. In summary, while there has been significant progress over recent decades, but there remains a long way to go.

Year	Women Candidates	% Women of Total Candidates	Women MPs elected under Quota	Women MPs elected outside Quota	Total No. of Women MPs elected	Total No. of MPs	% Women MPs
1989	12	1.8%	0	0	0	80	0%
1993	3	0.6%	0	1	1	80	1.3%
1997	17	3.3%	0	0	0	80	0
2003	54	7.0%	6	0	6	110	5.5%
2007	199	23.0%	6	1	7	110	6.4%
2010	134	17.5%	12	1	13	120	10.8%
2013	121	16.7%	15	3	18	150	12.0%

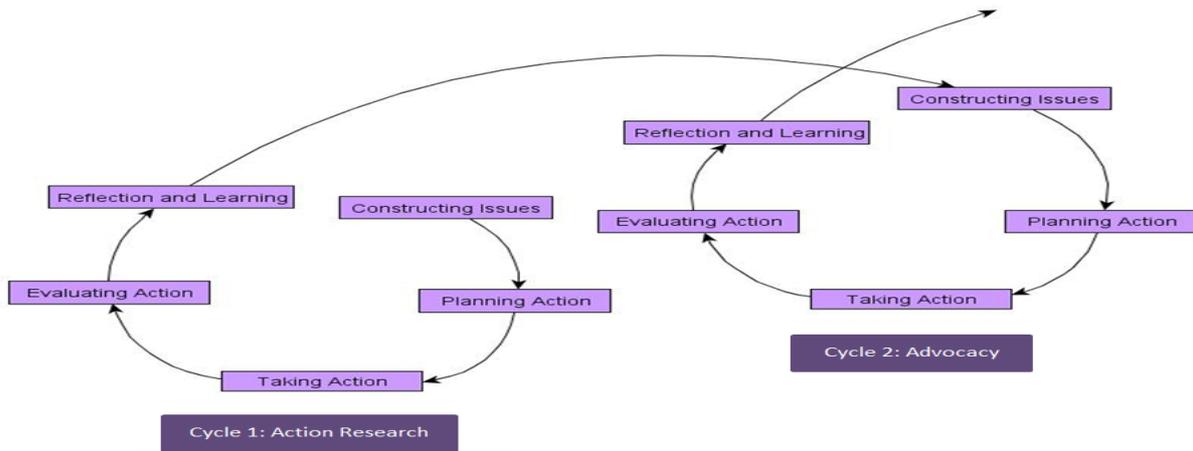
Table 2: Percentage of women candidates and MPs in Jordan.

Sources: Al Shalabi, Jamal and Al-Assad, Tareq, (2012), RASED (2016)

THE WOMEN PARTICIPATING IN PUBLIC LIFE PROJECT

It was against this background that the British Council initiated the Women Participating in Public Life (WPIPL) Project from 2013-16. This had as an overall objective the promotion of “*the active engagement of women in local and national political processes*”. The project was originally implemented in Egypt, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia and the learnings from these North African experiences have been captured in a separate [Praxis Note](#). This document describes what happened in Jordan – one of the three subsequent countries targeted by the project and a particularly interesting example of what is possible.

The distinctive aspect of the adopted approach was that it started with an initial action research cycle¹ before embarking on the advocacy cycle.



The action research and advocacy cycle © Popplewell/ INTRAC 2015

The term action research is used in many ways, but can be broadly understood as a group of research approaches that are highly participatory, making the process of generating knowledge more democratic (Alkhas, T., Alunni, A, Hammad, S and Popplewell, R, 2015). The potential benefits of using the approach in this context are:

- Advocacy work is strengthened by activists having directly lived the research themselves, as opposed to commissioning others or not doing it at all.
- Participants grow and develop in the process – both as individuals and as a team – in a context where capacity is lacking and civil society collaboration can be problematic.
- Advocacy is rooted in evidence, rather than simply asserting a particular position based on prejudice.

¹ Action research cycle by Coghlan and Brannick (2010).

THE ACTION RESEARCH

So much for the theory. What happened in practice? The first step was to select a group of like-minded individuals and organisations to work together on the action research. The British Council (the project manager) took the unusual step of forming this coalition by advertising the project and inviting applications from any interested parties in Jordan. They then selected participants on the basis of set criteria. This somewhat goes against the received wisdom that coalitions should form themselves and not be established by 'outsiders'. To some extent the jury is still out on how durable the Jordan coalition will prove to be, but to date it has performed better than other coalitions in the region that pre-existed or formed on the basis of mutual connections.



In February 2014, this group (which could not yet be called a coalition) met for a workshop facilitated by INTRAC, who provided support and guidance throughout the whole process. As well as being trained in action research, participants analysed the context for women's political participation and the barriers which needed to be overcome to increase the women MPs. They used participatory methods for this including a problem/solution tree and matrix ranking. This resulted in the research question:

To what extent does women's financial independence, awareness and self-confidence affect their participation in parliament?

The underlying assumption was that the three factors mentioned were critical. Understanding them better would enable an appropriate advocacy strategy to be developed.

CARRYING OUT THE ACTION RESEARCH

The larger group at the initial workshop selected a core team to coordinate the research, based on their skill-set, availability and commitment. The study took four representative areas in Jordan: Irbid (north), Amman and Central Badia (central) and Karak (south).

The methodology included:

- A literature review covering both local and international sources.
- Nine individual interviews: with women, who ran in parliamentary elections (2007-13), some successful, some unsuccessful.
- Eight focus group discussions: four with women who ran in elections, but did not win. Another four focus groups comprised women from the local community who had not run for election.
- Two in-depth interviews: with women who ran for election on the national list – one successful, one unsuccessful.



Once the team had carried out the data analysis and written the draft report, they held a verification meeting with 37 participants from relevant governmental and non-governmental institutions.

KEY FINDINGS FROM THE ACTION RESEARCH REPORT

While there were some variations, the action research report showed that the successful and unsuccessful candidates are highly aware of the importance of women's participation in parliamentary life. Similarly they generally showed high levels of self-confidence. The economic independence of a candidate was seen as more significant. With continuing traditional expectations of women's role in the household and the workplace, it can be hard to secure adequate finances to fight an election campaign without independent means or support from others. However, overall the challenges implicit in the research question were not as great as had been expected.

Instead other factors were found to be of greater importance. That most frequently mentioned was the support for a woman candidate from her clan, her husband and her neighbours. A societal culture that favours men over women clearly emerged as a major constraint. Secondly the one-person-one-vote electoral system meant that a choice had to be made on one candidate and under such circumstances, a man normally prevails. Thirdly, there is a lack of supporting entities that promote the participation of women. These factors, taken together with the economic independence issue (which the research confirmed was an important issue) both discourage women from standing and reduce their chances of success when they do stand.



This simplifies the research findings. There were other factors involved, there were variations between regions and there are nuances as reflected in the full action research report². It is not that women's awareness and self-confidence are completely unimportant, just that they were less significant than originally envisaged.

However, these were highly interesting outcomes in that they did not just confirm the pre-conceptions of the team. This duly influenced the nature of the advocacy campaign.

² <https://www.britishcouncil.jo/en/programmes/society/women-participating-public-life>

THE ADVOCACY CAMPAIGN



A number of new organisations were brought into the process at this point, who had more experience and expertise in the advocacy arena. This included governmental bodies such as the Jordan National Forum for Women (JNFW) and the Ministry of Political and Parliamentary Affairs as well as NGOs such as the Jordan Hashemite Fund for Human Development (JOHUD). There was a risk that the new actors would bypass the research findings and push advocacy along their preferred lines. However, this was avoided by

continuously emphasising the advantages of using the action research report as the basis for action.

This enlarged group were given a training on advocacy by INTRAC and developed an advocacy strategy. It was at this stage that the coalition came up with the name **She Parliamentarian** for their collective campaign – a simple but effective way to convey what they were all about. Some members later participated in an exposure visit to London (together with others from the Lebanon and Palestine coalitions) to learn from the experiences of organisations working on similar issues in the UK.

The She Parliamentarian campaign was officially launched in Amman in October 2015 with 300 participants including many key public figures and decision makers. It had three main objectives:

- The amendment of legislation to promote women’s participation.
- Developing strategies for change through national allies and coalitions.
- Addressing the social and cultural environment by changing the public’s beliefs and raising their awareness of women’s roles.

The main advocacy activities were implemented in two phases. Following the launch, as much as possible was done before the project officially ended in March 2016. But then in June, a new parliamentary election was announced for 20th September. This was too good an opportunity to miss and fortunately the British Council was able to provide further funding to support additional activities in the period leading up to the vote.

The coalition carried out an impressive range of activities in a relatively short time (see box). These will not all be described in this short paper, apart from a few prominent examples.

SHE PARLIAMENTARIAN ADVOCACY ACTIVITIES

- High profile campaign launch.
- Attempt to amend the electoral law.
- 3,000 university students engaged through interactive plays and open discussions.
- 30 women leaders trained as ‘Ambassadors of Change’.
- Hundreds of community members participated in She Parliamentarian awareness sessions.
- 17 small scale ‘Social Action Projects implemented (e.g. community level plays, awareness sessions, coffee meetings).
- Youth peer-to-peer awareness sessions in 16 governorates.
- 150 published news items.
- 7,000 social media mentions.
- 120 women candidates trained.
- 15 women candidates trained in using social media to promote their campaigns.

ELECTORAL LAW REFORM

She Parliamentarian attempted to have the women's quota increased from 15 to 23 for the 2016 election – one seat reserved for women in each electoral district. Coalition member JNFW spearheaded this campaign with the support of other members. There were meetings with the Head of Parliament and various political parties and the proposal was introduced into parliament with She Parliamentarian present. However, it was turned down in a parliamentary vote. The reason was that many felt that the new election law (see below) would in itself lead to more women being elected, so a further change was not needed. At least, the same number of seats under the women's quota was maintained (15), even as the size of parliament was reduced from 150 to 130 members.

'LET'S TAKE A SIP OF COFFEE'



As indicated above, the Action Research pointed to more engagement with people at the community level to address underlying attitudes. While a number of other organisations were also working to increase women's representation, they mostly worked on the issue at the national level and with candidates. One interesting approach, supported by coalition member JOHUD, was to organise a group of volunteers to engage with people where they were, such as through coffee groups (or at hairdressers or in shopping malls) in the North Hashmi area

of Amman. Ordinary people do not necessarily want to attend a lot of meetings where they will just receive a lecture. But informal gatherings over coffee and dates in people's houses allowed the issue of women's political participation to be raised in a low key fashion as part of general conversation. Trained volunteers deliberately used simple language, sometimes jokes, to convey their message. They referred to women leaders from the past, including examples from the time of the Prophet Muhammad. Particularly effective was the line that everyone knows examples of strong women – mothers, sisters and daughters. They are leaders inside the house. Why can't they be outside? More than 30 sessions were held over and above those originally planned as local people heard about the initiative and invited the volunteers to come to them too. This in turn attracted the media, who came to interview volunteers and the British Council.

PEER TO PEER

Changing deeply engrained social attitudes such as women's role in society is not easy, but generally youth tend to be more accepting. A positive way to reach out to young people was through the Peer to Peer initiative supported by coalition member, Women Helping Women Network. Youth facilitators from each area of Jordan received a two day training and then worked with youth groups and became ambassadors for women candidates in their localities. They used discussion forums and interactive theatre to promote their messages. When challenged for more information, the Action Research was a useful resource in support of their case. They could only reach a relatively small number of people in the time available, but there was some multiplier effect as those youth then interacted with others.

"She Parliamentarian campaign is a wonderful world. It encourages our point of view as young women towards women in a beautiful and stronger way: that women MPs are able to serve the country and that they will not let us down".

Sara Taya'a Ghanaimat, Youth Participant in Peer to Peer Awareness Session

THE 2016 JORDAN NATIONAL ELECTION

There was a new system for the 2016 election, which defies simple explanation. But in essence, it did away with the old one-person-one-vote system and introduced block voting for all seats. Voters had a single vote for a multi-member party list in their constituency, and then chose as many candidates as they wanted from that list. This meant that voters did not have to choose between a man and a woman (a choice in which women tended to lose out), but could vote for both. In the run up to the election, there was a spreading realisation that it would be a good idea to have at least one woman on each list. In the end, there were just six lists out of 226 nationwide that had no women candidates and this tendency extended to lists with a more Islamist orientation.



The number of eligible voters was approximately 4.1 million, up from 2.3 million in 2013, due largely to expatriate Jordanians being allowed to vote this time. Around 1.5 million Jordanians went to the polls, a 37% voter turnout. This paper does not cover the wider political ramifications of the elections, such as the broader political context, public disillusionment with politicians, the anti-incumbent tendency and the relative positions of the political parties.

But with respect to the role of women's participation in public life, there were some significant, if not dramatic, gains. In all, 252 women contested the elections (the highest number ever) and they received a total of 266,000 votes, which is a new record for women in Jordanian elections. Most notably, five women were able to compete and win outside the quota system (up from three in the previous parliament), bringing the number of women in the new legislature to 20.

With 20 female MPs, the new Lower House will have the highest number of women in Parliament's history (see Table 3). This represents 15.3% of the 130 member house, which moves Jordan up about 20 places in the global league table for women parliamentarians.

Year	Women Candidates	% Women of Total Candidates	Women MPs elected under Quota	Women MPs elected outside Quota	Total No. of Women MPs Elected	Total No. of MPs	% Women MPs
2013	121	16.7%	15	3	18	150	12.0%
2016	252	20.1%	15	5	20	130	15.3%

Table 3: Number of elected women in 2013 and 2016.

Sources: RASED (2016), Husseini (2016)

Undoubtedly there is still a distance to travel to achieve the underlying aims of She Parliamentarian. Complete equality for women in parliament remains a long way off. But this is the case for many other countries, which started down this road a lot earlier.

IMPACT OF THE SHE PARLIAMENTARIAN CAMPAIGN

It is hard to calculate the impact of the She Parliamentarian campaign precisely. Much of what happened can be attributed to the changes in Jordanian society, the work of women candidates themselves and the roles of other actors in the process. During the campaign, the emphasis was on carrying out an ambitious range of activities across the country, so there was not so much capacity for detailed monitoring and evaluation.

Nevertheless some interesting anecdotal information emerged. For example, one of the volunteers with the Coffee Groups said that on election day, *“we were very happy to see women voting who had engaged in the process”*. With the Peer to Peer project, a volunteer in Jerash related how one woman candidate wanted to withdraw, as she found difficulty in getting the support of a local tribe, since she originally came from another area. They found a suitable list for her and she stood in the election: *“Even she did not win, she beat another man – who said the youth is responsible”*.



These interventions were on a relatively small scale, but it was possible to reach a much larger audience, through the media. She Parliamentarian representatives took part in three television shows, had 7,500 interactions on Facebook and received almost 2 million media mentions. It was an indication of the growing influence of the campaign that on some occasions, the media was reaching out to She Parliamentarian for information, comments and appearances.

“It’s a successful campaign. Young people volunteered to support me and support my campaign by conducting discussions about my election programme. They supported me on the social media, after attending and awareness session by the She Parliamentarian campaign”.

Maram Al Heisa, Elected MP under Women’s Quota, Madaba Governorate

She Parliamentarian trained three out of the five women candidates who were successful who won in the open competition seats including Safa Shuaar from Karak Governorate (see case study on next page). Another five of the candidates who won via the women’s quota took part in Active Citizens initiative supported under the WPIPL project, including Wafaa Bani Mustafa from Jerash.

Naturally, the She Parliamentarian Campaign cannot take all the credit for these achievements. It was one important player in a complex situation in which there were many other players and factors as can be summarised by the following diagram.



She Parliamentarian campaign activities and outcomes.

CASE STUDY: SABAH SHUAAR MP

Sabah Shuaar is a university lecturer and a mother of six children. She is from Karak Governorate, a traditional area bordering the Dead Sea, which has never previously returned a woman MP in an open competition election. But Sabah has strong views about her area (which is considered one of the most marginalised) and country that she wants to represent on the national stage. Prior to 2016, she had stood in three general elections, but with disappointing results, getting only around 300 votes each time.



With a strong background in community volunteering (including the British Council's Active Citizens project), she had taken these defeats in her stride: *"the blow that does not burden you makes you stronger"*. Nevertheless she was not sure about standing in the 2016 National Election. Without the support of her community, it seemed hard to imagine that the result would be any different this time.

Randa Saryrah is a trainer with the Jordan Hashemite Fund for Development (JOHUD), one of the members of the She Parliamentarian campaign. Coming from the same region she combined strong views about the need for greater women's representation with a good understanding of the local context. Together they developed a plan to succeed. From one of the project advocacy workshops, Randa knew the importance of identifying the key obstacles blocking the way of a desired change and finding appropriate strategies to overcome them.

The key in this case was to win over the influential community leaders. They developed the most compelling arguments to persuade them. This involved pointing out that previous male MPs from the area had proved ineffective. Once elected they left the area and soon forgot about the needs of local people. Another argument was framed in terms of regional pride. Their area was seen by others in Jordan as backwards; if they elected a woman this would challenge such perceptions. A group of supporters put on a play highlighting issues facing women in the area. In the end Sabah's persistence paid off – the community leaders agreed it was time to give her a chance.

Even with the support of local leaders, it was still a challenge to win people over at the community level. Some searching questions were asked: Who sent you? Do you have a hidden agenda? There were even some hostile phone calls.

But using a summary of findings from the Action Research, and employing various ways of communicating such as role plays and mobilising on a house-to-house basis as well as holding community meetings, they started to make progress. Sabah developed a platform based on priority local issues: dealing with a factory closure and getting companies based in the area to invest more.

The initially doubtful community leaders came to meetings themselves to persuade others. JOHUD's support also helped in that it has a good reputation across the Kingdom. Throughout the process, Sabah kept motivated by repeating the mantra: *"I can do it. I can do it. I can do it"*.

And so she could. In the 20th September 2016 national poll, she was duly elected – not as part of the women's quota but in open competition with male candidates. She felt that this makes her stronger in parliament: *"I will be head to head with men"*. Her message to other women is unequivocal: *"Women are stronger than men, because they can survive in tough circumstances, can be pregnant many times and raise children. The woman is capable of fighting and standing. Do not hesitate to go for it"*.

LESSONS LEARNED

There are numerous lessons to be learned from this whole process – both positive and negative. Five of the most significant are:

a) Action Research can add value: the distinctive part of this approach was carrying out an action research project before commencing the advocacy. Undoubtedly advocacy could have been done with new action research. But the action research had a significant influence on advocacy strategy in pointing towards the need to more community engagement, particularly addressing cultural and religious concerns. It also provided a focus and solid content on which subsequent activities could be based. While people are often moved by more emotional arguments, having the research evidence bolstered the case for greater women's representation with greater credibility.

b) The coalition was key: coalitions are not common or easy in Jordan, but working together made a real difference. The method of recruiting members (through open advertising) was unusual, but interestingly the coalition worked better than in most other countries where they had been hand-picked from previous contacts. It brought in a range of organisations and each member could contribute on the basis of their strengths: in research, community outreach and knowledge of how the political system operates. This first group proved the most committed, largely because they had invested so much time to get the research done, they wanted to see it bear fruit. The new members for the advocacy phase certainly brought a lot extra in terms of advocacy experience and contacts. In retrospect, it would have been preferable to



have involved them at an earlier point. That way, they could have been more engaged with the research as it progressed, not just receiving the results at the end. This would have engendered greater ownership of the research findings and would also have started to build relationships across the whole coalition from the outset.

c) Advocacy strategies need to be flexible: the approach needed to change in the light of circumstances. This is not a new insight, but this experience reconfirmed its importance. The advocacy strategy had to be framed in the light of the somewhat surprising research findings. The new election law provided an opportunity to influence the quota system – ultimately unsuccessful but certainly worth attempting. The announcement of the new election provided an opportunity to put the research to good use at the right time – to 'catch the wave'. The fact that the coalition was already set up and primed enabled it to swing into action, building on the first phase experience.

d) Multiple projects around the same objective enhances the impact: the action research/advocacy intervention combined with other British Council initiatives under the broader WPIPL banner, such as the local Active Citizens projects. All of these had the same overall objective of strengthening women's public participation. The different activities meshed and increased the overall impact. Women who participated in Active Citizens projects then stood for election, bolstered by advocacy work built on the action research findings. Stronger monitoring and evaluation would help make a more accurate estimate of which worked best and why, which could be used to improve future campaigns.

e) An engaged Project Manager makes a real difference: while this was the product of a collaboration between many people and organisations, having strong coordinating figure behind the scenes helped keep things focused and moving. The British Council role in this case was a key factor in what could be achieved. At the same time, this raises the question of what will happen in the future with the coalition (whose work has only just begun) unless the Project Manager continues to play that role.

CONCLUSION

The 2016 National Election represented a small but significant step down the road towards greater women's political participation in Jordan. But there remains a long way to go to achieve full equality. *"This is not something that one election can solve"*, said Asma Khader, a former Government Minister quoted in the Guardian, prescribing a *"long process of activism"* and greater *"involvement of women in public and political life"*.



This requires that the She Parliamentarian coalition – individually and collectively – builds on the work they have done so far. They have shown how evidence can be used to shape advocacy. They have piloted approaches at the community level and with candidates, which need to be assessed, revised and multiplied over the coming elections to achieve even greater success.

There is every reason to be optimistic. As Safar Momani, another new MP elected in an open competition seat in Ajloun Governorate said: *"Women have proven their ability. This is evident. It will change over time"*.

REFERENCES

- Abu-Sayd, Gehan (2002), In Search of Political Power – Women in Parliament in Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon
- Al Shalabi, Jamal and Al-Assad, Tareq (2012), Political Participation of Jordanian Women, *Égypte/Monde arabe*, Troisième série, 9/2012
- Alkhas, T; Alunni, A; Hammad, S and Popplewell, R (2015), Empowering Women in Public and Political Life. Internal working paper.
- Cuthbert, Olivia (2016), Women Gain Ground in Jordan Election despite yawning Gender Gap, *The Guardian*.
- El Khateib, Hayam; El Fayez, Ghada; Balkar, Arwa; Zeidan, Alaa; Younis, Reham; Al Aboushy, Nahla; El Abady, Taghreed; El Din Taher, Salah (2015), Impact of Women’s Economic Independence, Awareness and Self-Confidence upon Enhancing Women’s Participation in Parliament
- Husseini, Rana (2016), Women’s Rights Groups Hesitant to Celebrate Election Results, *Jordan Times*, 22nd September 2016
- Inter-Parliamentary Union (2016), Women in World Parliaments: World Classification as of 1st August 2016
- Jordan Times (2016), Results of 2016 Parliamentary Elections, 23rd September 2016
- MacLeod, Rod (2015), From Action Research to Advocacy: Promoting Women’s Political Participation in North Africa, Praxis Note, INTRAC
- RASED (Al-Hayat Center for Civil Society Development) (2016), RASED’s Study on Women Attitudes towards Jordan’s 2016 Parliamentary Elections



INTRAC is a company limited
by guarantee No.2663769,
Registered in England;
Registered Charity No.
1016676