# The Status of Jordanian Women and Obstacles of their Access to High Political and Administrative Posts: an Exploratory Study

# Abdulmajeed Ali A-Azaam \*

#### **Abstract**

This survey study aims at highlighting the actual status of Jordanian women in order to uncover the most important obstacles to their access to high political and administrative posts as well as senior decision-making positions. The study aims also to provide solutions to overcome these obstacles, hence enhancing the political and social participation of women, which is very important in achieving comprehensive and successful development.

For the purpose of this study, an analytical descriptive method, statistical tools and simple calculations were used such as percentages, frequencies, arithmetic mean and standard deviation.

To collect the data, a questionnaire was designed and distributed to a national random sample (1500=N) representative of all categories of the Jordanian society.

The main hypothesis of the study is that: Jordanians' trends in general are negative towards Jordanian women's economic, social, political, legislative, organizational and subjective statuses.

One of the most important findings of the study is that the sample's estimates were positive in favor of political, legislative, organizational, social and subjective status of women, while they were negative in respect to the women economic status.

Based on the findings, the study suggests a number of recommendations, including the following:

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The Status of Jordanian Women and Obstacles of their Access to High Political ....

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- The allocation of government support fund to provide financial and technical assistant to women to enable them to own small investment projects, and the provision of supported economic programs to enhance the economic status of women and grant them financial independence which is the cornerstone in the process of their political, organizational and social participation.
- Adopting policies and programs by the government to promote the representation of women in all branches of authority, and to allocate seats to women in senior management positions in different state institutions which enable women to participate in decision-making, hence weakening men's dominance, and enhancing women belief that they can be able to compete justly with men.

**Keywords**: status of Jordanian women, obstacles to women's participation, feminism.

# واقع مكانة المرأة الأردنية ومعوقات وصولها إلى المواقع السياسية والإدارية العليا في الدولة الأردنية: دراسة استطلاعية

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# ملخص

جاءت هذه الدراسة الاستطلاعية لتكشف عن واقع مكانة المرأة الأردنية ومعوقات وصولها إلى المواقع السياسية والإدارية العليا في الدولة الأردنية، وذلك بهدف تسليط الضوء على أهم المعوقات التي تواجه تبؤ المرأة للمواقع السياسية والإدارية العليا ومناصب صنع القرار، وكيفية تذليل تلك المعوقات لتعزيز فرص المرأة في المشاركة السياسية والاجتماعية لما في ذلك من أهمية في تحقيق تتمية شاملة وحقيقية وناجحة.

ولأغراض هذه الدراسة تم استخدام المنهج الوصفي التحليلي وبعض الأدوات الاحصائية والعمليات الحسابية البسيطة مثل النسب المئوية والتكرارات والمتوسط الحسابي والانحراف المعياري. ولجمع البيانات تم تصميم استبيان وتوزيعه على عينة عشوائية وطنية (N=1500) ممثلة لفئات المجتمع الأردني كافة.

والفرضية الرئيسة التي نقوم عليها الدراسة هي: أن اتجاهات الأردنيين سلبية، بشكل عام، نحو المكانة الاقتصادية والاجتماعية والسياسية والتشريعية والنتظيمية والذاتية للمرأة الأردنية.

ومن أهم النتائج التي توصلت إليها الدراسة هو أن تقديرات أفراد العينة كانت إيجابية لصالح مكانة المرأة الذاتية، والتشريعية والسياسية والتنظيمية، والاجتماعية ، بينما كانت سلبية لمكانة المرأة الاقتصادية.

وقدمت الدراسة بناء على ما توصلت إليه من نتائج عدداً من التوصيات أهمها:

- تخصيص صندوق دعم حكومي مهمته الدعم المالي والفني للمرأة لتمكينها من امتلاك مشاريع استثمارية صغيرة ، وتوفير برامج اقتصادية مدعومة لتعزيز المكانة الاقتصادية للمرأة لأن الاستقلالية المالية حجر الزاوية في عملية مشاركة المرأة وخاصة في النشاطات السياسية والاجتماعية.
- تبني سياسات وبرامج حكومية لتعزيز تمثيل النساء في كل أجهزة السلطة السياسية، وتخصيص نسبة من المقاعد للمرأة في مواقع الإدارة العليا في مؤسسات الدولة المختلفة، وذلك يمكن المرأة من المشاركة في صنع القرار وإضعاف هيمنة الرجل عليه. كما يمكن المرأة من إثبات ذاتها ويعزز الثقة لديها بان فرصة وصولها الى المواقع القيادية العليا جيدة ويمكنها من المنافسة العادلة مع الرجل.

# **General background to the study:**

Globalization and the accompanying economic and political changes have put great pressure on the governments of countries, especially the developing countries, and have urged these governments to adopt some economic and political reforms in response to these pressures. It also have made Governments aware that particular importance should be given to the economic and political empowerment of a broad sector of society, the women sector, that had been somewhat marginalized before such transformations. Empowering this sector means exploiting women's capabilities and talents alongside men so that they can overcome their economic and political hardships.

For this, the Jordanian political leadership gave women's issues special attention, sought to improve their position and integrate them into various development projects, and worked on the creation of favorable conditions for their education and rehabilitation, and hired them in various areas of work, including those that were reserved for men, such as the armed forces and General Security Service and the judiciary ... etc. The political leadership also accelerated the pace of political and legal reforms on women's rights, with the aim of activating their role in all walks of life and their integration into decision-making processes and public policy, which encouraged women societies and organizations to promote activities aimed to empower women politically and economically, and to overcome the obstacles to their political and economic empowerment. However, their attempts have not achieved the desired aspirations. Women have continued to suffer from the obstacles that still hinder their access to high political and leadership positions in the country. For example, the percentage of women participating in the membership of the constituent bodies of all political parties account for only 7.1%, and among the parties' leadership is 5.3%, while the participation of women in political parties does not exceed 20%. Also women occupation of political posts and senior leadership positions is still weak as well, the proportion of women in the parliament is about 20%, in the judiciary 18%, and 18% in the diplomatic corps of which most of them are concentrated in middle positions as first, second and third secretaries, and about 6.3% of the ambassadors are females. As for senior government leadership positions, the proportion of women does not exceed 1.1%, and in the first category jobs about 6.3% (UNIFEM, 2007, pp. 38 and 44). In addition, women role in policy-making is still marginal, and their activities in the general elections are still largely subject to the family, clan and male domination.

# The problem of the study:

Barakat (1984), a well known Arab sociologist, through his study of contemporary Arab society, asserts that the gender of the individual is one of the very important foundations for identifying and distributing the work and roles that the individual can play in society. It is the political and economic power, which is often in the hands of men, that determines the roles and actions of members of society based on sexual differences, and therefore the sexual identity of the individual male or female play a fundamental role in his life and subsequent roles.

The Arab family, as Barakat believes, has a hierarchical structure in which the father occupies the top of the pyramid, and the division of labor, power and social status are based on sex and age. Since the family is a fundamental pillar in the process of socialization in terms of the attitudes, values, behavior and models of sexual roles, this stereotypical framework often extends to many roles outside the family and the larger society.

Gender is a socially and culturally constructed factor that is pegged on gender roles. It refers to social, cultural, and psychological traits linked to males and females through socialization. Gender is a social tool responsible for distribution of roles based on femininity and masculinity. Hence, the allocation of gender roles is reinforced through socialization which in essence gives an individual his/her identity in the social structures. And in Arab societies, gender roles have tended to favor men as a result of the patriarchal and stereotypical nature such societies.

According to this diagnosis, it is certain that Arab and Jordanian women face many challenges and constraints that limit their active participation in political and community life, as well as from active participation in the wheel of social, economic and political development, and face obstacles to their political and economic empowerment, access to high political and administrative posts, and decision-making positions.

Hence, the problem of this study lies in the inability of successive Jordanian governments, despite their continued efforts, to improve the status of women and increase their level of integration in various political and administrative positions, given the many social, economic, political, legislative and subjective challenges.

# The importance of the study:

The importance of the study stems from the fact that it is a survey study that reflects the attitudes of the Jordanian society towards women status and obstacles to their access to high political and administrative posts. These overall trends have an impact on what people think is true, desirable, good and appropriate, and the importance of these beliefs can have an impact on many people's values and on their actual behaviors. Add to the importance role trends in the structural change of society, positive trends may promote change and thus social construction, on the one hand, while negative trends may hinder the change in the construction of that community, on the other.

Unlike many theoretical and general studies, this study deals with women's political, legislative, organizational, economic, social, cultural and subjective statuses in Jordanian society, and the obstacles to their access to political and administrative positions, which still attract local and international attention.

Also, this study hopes to increase the theoretical knowledge in the subject, and provide an information platform that will be useful to the decision-maker in planning, implementing and following up the comprehensive development programs, socially, economically and politically. On the other hand, recommendations suggested in this study may be helpful to policy makers interested in women empowerment and integration in all walks of life.

# **Objectives of the study:**

This exploratory study aims to identify the attitudes of citizens towards the political, legislative, organizational, economic, social and subjective statuses of Jordanian women, and the impact of a number of demographic variables on these trends. It also aims at uncovering the most important obstacles facing women in political and economic empowerment and access to decision-making and senior management positions in the State through:

- 1. Revealing the trends of citizens regarding the political, legislative, organizational, economic, social and subjective statuses of Jordanian women, as these trends have an impact on the behavior of individuals.
- Revealing the opinions of citizens towards the most important obstacles facing Jordanian women's occupation to high political and administrative positions.

- 3. Identifying the views of citizens about the most important solutions proposed to address these obstacles.
- 4. Investigating the impact of demographic characteristics such as gender, age, educational level, membership of the party, membership in civil society organizations, monthly income of the family and place of residence on the attitudes of citizens towards political, legislative, organizational, economic, social, cultural, and subjective statuses of Jordanian women.

# **Hypotheses of the study:**

This study attempts to test the following hypotheses:

- 1. Jordanian attitudes are generally negative towards the political, legislative, organizational, economic, social and subjective statuses of Jordanian women.
- 2. There are no statistically significant differences between the respondents' estimates of the status of women attributed to demographic variables such as gender, age, education, party membership and membership in civil society institutions and monthly income and place of residence.
- 3. There are no statistically significant differences between the respondents' estimates of the political, legislative, organizational, economic, social and personal obstacles facing women's occupation of top political and administrative positions due to demographic variables such as gender, age, education, party membership, membership in civil society institutions, monthly income and place of residence.

#### **Literature Review:**

There is almost unanimity among researchers who have dealt with women's issues with regard to women's under representation in political, senior management and decision-making positions, the lack of equality of opportunities between men and women, and the negative attitude towards women in the workplace. This can be attributed to several reasons, including social, cultural, economic, political, legal and subjective reasons related to women themselves.

Many studies have attempted to address diverse women's issues, especially those related to political participation and empowerment, as well as obstacles related to such issues. Hence, it is important to review some of the leading among these studies:

- Bani Salameh & Shdouh's (2018) "Feminist Elites in Democratic Jordan 1989–2016", sought to determine the study features characteristics of female elite and their recruitment in official political posts, as well as to identify the role of a number of demographic characteristics, such as the profession, the educational level and the social class, in such recruitment. The study assumed a direct correlation between the mechanism of recruiting feminist elites and their characteristics, Attributed to the criterion of class differentiation based on social status and financial wealth. Two major approaches were used by the study, the elite approach, which is especially important due to its ability to convert arguments into measurable variables, and the comparative approach to compare the features and characteristics of feminist elites during the reigns of King Hussein and king Abdullah. The study showed that feminist elites are characterized by caste and wealth, high educational level, and mostly were Western universities' graduates. The study also found that the recruitment rate of political feminist elites dramatically increased in the reign of King Abdullah compared with their recruitment rate during the reign of king Hussein.
- Kazem's study (2016) "Obstacles to empower women in Iraqi society, a field study in the University of Qadisiyah" aimed to identify the most important obstacles facing the empowerment of Iraqi women into the service and development of its society and how these constraints differ according to their types. The study results show that the most factors interfering with the empowerment of women are social factors, followed by economic and political factors, and finally subjective factors. One of the important recommendations made by the study is the need to correct prevailing image of women in society through the provision of curriculum and TV, media provision that raise the value of women and their role; and work to strengthen women's candidacy in political life and political and leadership positions, and design training programs to increase women's confidence and administrative capabilities in order to enhance their empowerment in economic, social and political fields.
- Rawashda and Arab (2016), aimed to investigate obstacles that hinder the participation of Jordanian women in political life. The study revealed that the most important obstacles were:

- 1. The lack of awareness of women's role and weak confidence in their abilities in political action.
- 2. Social culture, customs and traditions not only discourage women's political and leadership roles, but also pose as an obstacle to women's participation in political life.
- 3. Some legislation and Laws are inactive in dealing with women's issues.
- 4. The lack of women's economic independence, and their reliance on men.
- 5. Media focus on the traditional social roles of women and its neglect to their role in political life hinder women awareness and sense of responsibility toward participation in political activities and actions.
- Participation in Ethiopia" examined the challenges and opportunities of women political participation in Ethiopia. This study asserts that political participation has been recognized internationally as an important measure of the status of women in any particular country; and it revealed that economic, religious, social and cultural factors contributed to women's poor political participation in the country. The study further revealed that women in Ethiopia lack access to political decision- making positions as compared to their male counter parts at all levels of government. The study assured that women's equal participation in decision-making and politics is not only a demand for simple justice or democracy, but a necessary precondition for women's interests to be taken into account.
- Alian's study (2014) aimed at detecting the levels of political participation of Palestinian women and constraints facing such participation. The study reached a number of conclusions, such as:
  - 1. The political participation of Palestinian women is relatively low.
  - 2. Importance of obstacles to political participation of Palestinian women were as follows: religious, political, social, cultural, and finally economic.
- Douglas's study (2014) "Factors Impeding Political Participation and Representation of Women in Kenya". addresses gender inequality in political representation and decision making, and investigated factors that impede women participation in politics and decision making in Kenya. The study revealed that lack of political will is the biggest obstacle in

addressing gender imbalance in the country, and the government of Kenya has the challenge of identifying and implementing mechanisms – policies and practices - so as to achieve gender equity. To overcome such obstacles, the study suggests the following recommendations:

- 1. Political parties ought to develop internal democratic structures and mechanisms to ensure that they encourage and have more female candidates on the ballot. Political party laws and legislation related to election should not directly or indirectly disadvantage women participation.
- 2. The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) must hold political parties accountable to law to practice internal democracy by instituting affirmative action to support the historically marginalized groups such as women in decision-making bodies within the same parties.
- Hora's study (2014) is a survey study aimed to identify status of women in Bedele town administration in Ethiopia, as well to investigate factors hindering women from participating in the public sector. The study revealed that the major factors that hinder women's participation in public leadership and decision making positions are various and interrelated. These include lack of adequate educational status required from women; absence of commitment by the concerned decision making body; lack of clear enforcement mechanisms to implement affirmative actions uniformly across the public institutions; backward socio-cultural attitudes; lack of sufficient experiences from women to hold the leading positions; overburden of domestic responsibilities; and negative attitudes of men towards women, as well as lack of confidence from women themselves.

To overcome such obstacles, the study proposed some possible solutions, such as:

- 1. The need to activate the national strategies and policies designed to promote women's participation and assume leadership and political positions.
- 2. Promote political and social awareness of the importance of laws and strategies on women issues and the importance of women participation for comprehensive national development.

- Bullough's study (2008) aimed at identifying factors that hinder or support women's access to leadership positions in business and politics. The most important findings of the study are:
  - 1. Human and economic development is central to the advancement of women.
  - 2. Political and economic freedoms and women's empowerment policies have a significant role in increasing the number of women leaders in all fields.
  - 3. Cultural standards that support the values of hard work, personal achievement, individuality, willingness to risk and participatory leadership are important indicators of women's participation in leadership positions.
- Othman's study (2006) entitled "the Participation of Jordanian Women in Human Development: Realities and Constraints" is a theoretical study that aimed to investigate the reality of the participation of Jordanian women in human development in its social, economic and political aspects, as well as obstacles facing such participation. The study reported that gender is one of the key variables that can determine an individual's participation and its role in social, economic and political development. The study also revealed that despite women great educational achievement, but the chances of their advancement in economic and political fields are still low and limited. One of the important findings of the study is that the obstacles to the participation of women are due to structural and cultural factors, and not to the legislative or legal factors..
- Al-zaghal's study (2003) tried to detect the citizens' trends in the north of Jordan toward the status of women in the Jordanian society, and the extent of the influence of some social factors on these trends. The study reported that the general trend of respondents about the status of women in society was positive; however, female, urban residents, young persons, those with higher education and higher monthly income scored more positive attitudes than male counterparts, villagers, elders, less educated and lower income persons.
- A study prepared by the Egyptian Ministry of Planning (2001) dealt with the status of Egyptian women in the administrative work and leadership as well as the role of Arab women in the administrative development and the impediments to their success. The study concluded that the role of Arab

women, including Egyptian women in development processes and in the administrative and regulatory business is still modest and below the required level despite the significant improvement in the last two decades of the last century. The study attributed this to the following reasons:

- 1. The negative view of society towards women's work, and especially toward occupancy of senior leadership positions.
- 2. The inability of women to reconcile work commitments and family obligations.
- 3. Harassment of men to women in the field of work.
- 4. The social pressures of husband, parents and relatives.
- 5. The general political situation, and the monopoly of men for decision-making positions, and insufficient and unfair laws against women sometimes, especially those related to political rights.
- Adaileh's study (1998) attempted to detect administrative problems suffered by women employed in the public sector in Jordan, and revealed a number of challenges, including:
  - 1. Inequities of women in the work because of the man's preference, and the lack of objective methods used in the promotion, training, rehabilitation and the bias in favor of men.
  - 2. The subordination of women to men reinforced by socialization, customs and traditions.
  - 3. The negative perception of the community leadership role of women.
  - 4. The monopoly of men to places of decision-making positions.
  - Sexual harassment and personal hazing against women in the work environment which abuse them psychologically, morally and socially.
- Badawi's study (1997) entitled "Leading Women and Sustainable Development", identified a number of obstacles facing the progress of women and their career advancement in Lebanon. The most important of these were the inequality between men and women, whether in rehabilitation, training or promotion; and the bias of society in favor of men at the expense of women.

The present survey study therefore adds to the previous studies in that it seeks to diagnose the Jordanian women's status on all the social, political, economic, administrative and subjective levels, and to identify obstacles facing women's access to top political and administrative posts and to interpret these constraints, and to provide proposed solutions to them.

# **Research Methodology:**

# The study method:

Since the present study is a survey study seeking to reveal the citizens' attitudes towards the Jordanian women's status and constraints facing their access to decision-making positions, the best suited method for this kind of study is the descriptive analytical approach which focuses on the practical side to the phenomena, investigates it, describes its size, interprets it, and presents and analyze its results.

# The study tool:

For the purposes of this study, the researcher designed a special questionnaire aimed at collecting data and information of the sample. It contains two main parts: the first contains the initial data (demographic characteristics) for members of the sample, such as sex, age, educational attainment, membership in political parties and civil society organizations, and the level of monthly household income, and place of residence (governorates). The second part comprises three areas: the first area includes clauses relating to economic, political, legal, social and subjective statuses; the second area includes paragraphs relating to economic, political, legal, social and self-constraints that limit the access of women to top political and administrative posts; and the third area contains a number of proposed solutions that address these obstacles to enable the respondents to determine the priority of these obstacles from their point of view.

To ensure the validity of the measuring instrument, the designed questionnaire was sent to a number of scholars of different disciplines in the fields of politics, sociology and economics at the Jordan and Yarmouk University to assess the degree of gradation, accuracy, simplicity, and comprehensiveness of paragraphs of the questionnaire, and to assess its suitability for the purposes of the study.

As for the reliability of the tool, it was measured by using the self-consistency (Cronbach's alpha) through the distribution of 30 of the questionnaires on a group of respondents in two time periods separate by tendays from each other as an initial exploratory sample (pilot study), the reliability coefficient for this study was 89%. To implement the sample survey, a work team was used after being trained on this job.

# The study sample:

The study sample consisted of 1,500 cases (0.0004 of a number of Jordanians population of about 4 million people aged 18 years and older), and inclusive of all governorates of the Kingdom and distributed to all regions according to population number, which formed about 63% in the central region, and the Northern region 28.0%, and the Southern region 9.0%. A random cluster sample was selected from the three regions, according to the census of 2015, whose neighborhoods were arranged in each region according to urban, rural and remote areas, so as to ensure that there is representation of all segments of the Jordanian society. Then households sample were selected in a random and systematic manner in each neighborhood, after that one individual aged eighteen years or more was chosen from each household to collect the data from. In the case one of the families refused to respond to the team, or in the event of their absence, a neighboring alternative family was considered.

To calculate the share of each neighborhood of the questionnaires prescribed for each governorate, the number of questionnaires was divided on the total number of individuals living in all the neighborhoods that were selected, and then the resulted figure was multiplied by the number of houses in each neighborhood. The resulted number forms the share of each neighborhood of the questionnaires.

### 8. Statistical procedures:

The SPSS program package has been used to extract the required statistical results, along with a number of statistical and mathematical tools such as percentages and frequencies, and the arithmetic means of the trends, standard deviation, (ANOVA), and T-test. As has been the formation of results tables of the five themes, namely: the personal characteristics of the study sample, the status of women, the constraints that limit women's access to senior political and administrative positions, the relationship between demographic

characteristics and the estimates of respondents towards the status of women, the constraints of their access to political and administrative top positions, and the solutions proposed to address these obstacles.

# 9. Study obstacles:

There were not noteworthy difficulties where the response of the respondents high in terms of filling the questionnaires. Only 10 cases of refusal to fill the questionnaires were recorded, along with only 15 cases were not at home when distributing the questionnaires which accounted for just 0017 of the total study sample and was dealt with by taking neighboring families of those cases as an alternative.

### Display and analysis of the results:

This study aimed to identify the economic, political, social, cultural and subjective status of women, to detect obstacles to women's access to political and administrative top positions, as well as proposed solutions to overcome these obstacles. To facilitate the study control and access to the results of the study envisaged by the researcher, the data of the study is divided into five main themes, namely: The first is the personal characteristics of the study sample; the second is the status of women; the third is the constraints that limit women's access to the highest political and administrative positions; the fourth is the relationship between demographic variables of respondents and the status of women on the one hand and between them and the obstacles to women's access to senior political and administrative positions on the other hand; and the fifth and final area is the solutions proposed to address these obstacles. The estimates of respondents towards the variables of the study are sorted according to the arithmetic means and standard deviations accounts as follows:

The first theme: the demographic characteristics of the respondents:

Table (1) shows demographic data of the sample consisting of 1,500 cases as follows:

#### 1. Gender (sex):

Statistical data in table (1) indicate that the percentage of males in the study sample formed (55.0%), compared with (45.0%) were females. These ratios reflect the reality of gender population structure to a large extent, which is reflected in Jordan's official statistics for 2015. The official census found that the proportion of males is higher than the proportion of females and constitute (53.0%) compared to (47.0%) of females (Gerasanews agency,

www.gerasanews.com/article/245640). This simple difference between the males and females representation in the sample may be due to the fact that males, not females in Jordanian society, usually answer door ringer in case they are at home, so they have a chance of filling the questionnaire more than females.

# 2. Age Groups:

The results also showed that members of the first age group ratio (18-29 years) has formed 35.2%, or slightly more than one-third of the sample, while members of the second group was (30-39 years) 32.1%. This brings the total ratios of first and second categories to 67.3%, and this is a little more than two-thirds of respondents. While the ratios of other member groups decreased as their age is increased, as the ratio of the third age group (40-49 years) formed of 23.2%, which is nearly fifth of the sample, while the fourth age group (50-59 years) and the fifth age group (60 years and older) constitute a total of only 9.5% or about tenth of the sample. This shows that the sum of the first three age groups or those younger than fifty years have formed 90.5% or about nine-tenths of the total respondents. These percentages reflect the reality of population structure of Jordanian society, and a clear indicator that the Jordanian society is a young society.

#### 3. The level of education:

With regard to educational qualification, it has been shown that those with high school credential and below constitutes 43.1% of the total sample, while junior college and university category constitutes 51.8%, and this is a little more than half of the sample; the graduate's category constitutes 5,1% only. These ratios clearly indicate that the Jordanian society is educated society in general.

### 4. Membership in political parties and civil society organizations:

The membership of respondents in political parties, as data shows, is significantly low where the percentage of those engaged in parties is 0.8% only. The reason of this low percentage is due to individuals' poor confidence in political parties and their leaderships, and their negative perception of political parties and its worth, as well as to their feeling that engagement in party work may expose them and their businesses to the harassment of the security forces, and may endanger their future. Unlike the low level of the sample's

involvement in political parties, the level of affiliation to civil society organizations, trade unions and clubs of all kinds are much higher, amounting to almost 8.1%. Although the membership of the respondents of civil society organizations ten times more than their membership in political parties, but this still low and inadequate, this may be due to the nature of the Jordanian tribal society which provide safety and support system for its members, hence, decreasing their needs to civil societies. The huge political role the tribal institutions play is clearly evident in the times of parliamentary and municipal elections. This is in addition to other reasons noted above.

# 5. Monthly household income level:

The data show that respondents with monthly income less than (200 dinars) account for 17.7% of the sample, and those whose income ranging between (200-499 dinars) constitute 40.4%, and those whose income ranging between (500-699 dinars) constitute 23.8%, and those whose income ranging between (700-899 dinars) constitute 11.3%, while those with income of 900 dinars and above form only 6.8% of the total sample. A glance at these figures shows that about 93.0% of the sample earn less than 900 dinars monthly, and if we take into account that the level of the declared formal poverty line in the year 2014 is about 850 Jordanian dinars, it means that the vast majority of the people of Jordan earn modest and limited monthly income and below the poverty line, and this is consistent with what has been declared by official reports on poverty in Jordan.

# **6. Place of Residence (governorates):**

Respondents in the Central province form 62.4% as follows: Capital Governorate 40.0%, Zarqa 14.3%, Balqa 5.8%, and Madaba 2.3%. In the North province respondents constitute 28.9% as follows: the governorate of Irbid 18.7%, Mafraq 4.8%, and 2.7% for each of Jerash and Ajloun. While in the South province respondents form only 8.7% in the following manner: Karak 3.3%, Aqaba 2.0%, and 1.7% for each of Maan and Tafila governorates. These ratios came to represent a large extent the actual population of these areas.

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Table (1) The demographic characteristics of the study sample			
V	ariables	Freq.	Percentage
Gender	Male	705	55.0
	Female	795	45.0
	Total	1500	100
Age	18-29 yrs.	532	35.2
	30-39 yrs.	471	32.1
	40-49 yrs.	348	23.2
	50-59 yrs.	112	7.7
	60 yrs. and older	27	1.8
	Total	1500	100
educational level	Secondary educational	646	43.1
	level or below		
	Junior college and	777	51.8
	university		
	Graduate	77	5.1
	Total	1500	100
Membership of	Member	12	0.8
political parties	Not member	1488	99.2
	Total	1500	100
Membership of	Member	121	8.1
civil societies	Not member	1379	91.9
	Total	1500	100
Monthly household	less than 200 Dinars	265	17.7
income	200-499	606	40.4
	500-699	357	23.8
	700-899	170	11.3
	900 and above	102	6.8
	Total	1500	100
Place of Residence	The capital	600	40.0
(Governorates):	Zerqa	215	14.3
	Balqa	87	5.8
	Madaba	35	2.3
	Total	1500	100
	Irbid	280	18.7
	Mafraq	72	4.8
	Jerash	40	2.7

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Variables		Freq.	Percentage
	Ajloun	40	2.7
	Total	1500	100
	Karak	50	3.3
	Aqaba	30	2.0
	Maan	26	1.7
	Tafeileh	25	1.7
	Total	1500	100

The second theme: social, political, legislative, regulatory, economic and subjective indicators of the status of women:

Based on the grades of Likert pentagram scale used in the study questionnaire, the level of respondents' estimates to the status of women were divided into three levels according to equation  $(n - 1) \div 3$ , where n constitutes the grades of the pentagram scale (5 grades), and thus the range for each level is 1.33, and hence the low level ranges from 1 to 2.33, and the middle level ranges from 2.34 to 3.67, and the high level ranges from 3.68 to 5.00.

The statistical data in Table (2) below show that the sample estimates for the overall responses were in favor of the position of women in general, with an arithmetic mean of 2.84 and a standard deviation of 0.407. With the exception of the economic status of women in which the level of the estimates of the sample was low and with an arithmetic mean of 2.26, the sample estimates for the other components (the subjective status, the political, legislative, organizational statuses, and the social status) were medium and by arithmetic mean of 3.00, 2.62 and 2.61 respectively.

The subjective status of women topped all other statuses, which ranked first in the sample's estimates of the status of women, while the political and legislative status ranked in the second place, and the social status in third place, and in the fourth and final place came the economic status.

These data clearly indicate that most respondents believe that the economic status of Jordanian women is low, which reflects negatively on the political empowerment of women, and is considered the main impediment to women's access to political leadership and top positions, since these activities require economic potentials and economic independence as well. As for the subjective, the political, the legislative and

the social statuses, the estimates of the respondents were more positive, which means they do not constitute real obstacles as is the case for the economic status.

Table (2) Sample's estimates of the variables of the Jordanian women's status

Arithmetic Mean	Standard Deviation	Level	Rank
3,00	0,434	Medium	1 <sup>st</sup>
2,62	0,482	Medium	2 <sup>nd</sup>
2,61	0,604	Medium	3 <sup>rd</sup>
2,26	0,585	Low	4 <sup>th</sup>
2,84	0,407	Medium	-
	Mean 3,00 2,62 2,61 2,26	Mean         Deviation           3,00         0,434           2,62         0,482           2,61         0,604           2,26         0,585	Mean         Deviation         Level           3,00         0,434         Medium           2,62         0,482         Medium           2,61         0,604         Medium           2,26         0,585         Low

To shed more light on the status of women, we will discuss the sample's estimates of the areas of economic, social, political and legislative and regulatory, and subjective status of women as follows:

1. Sample's estimates of the economic status of Jordanian women:

The medium level of the sample's estimates of the first paragraph "working woman is not free in spending her monthly salary because the parents or the husband really decide how to spend this salary which is included in the family budget," contained in the table (3) below indicates that Jordanian women are still suffering in part from the parents or spouse interventions in financial affairs, and very often she is not free to spend her monthly salary the way she wants since it is often included in the family budget, and such lack of independence weakens the economic status of women and thus may reflect negatively on the ability of women to reach top political and administrative positions, since access to these positions requires economic potentials and financial independence.

The high level of respondents' estimates of the second paragraph: "the participation of women in public and private labor market remains especially low when compared with the education and investment levels," clearly reflects to the low level of participation of women in the labor market in the public and private sectors, and this comes in line with the

actual Jordanian women's employment rates at the marketplace according to the Department of Statistics reports which shows that the percentage of women's participation in the Jordanian labor force in 2014 constituted only 12.6%, and it is the lowest in the world, and that there is only one woman worker for every three men. (Jordanian Al-Ghad newspaper, March 8 /2016). This is reflected negatively on the economic status of women, and therefore on the chances of their occupation of high political and administrative positions.

The low sample's estimates of the third paragraph "women's access to financial resources and to work is not on an equal footing with men," clearly indicate that women's access to financial resources and to work is not available on an equal footing with men. This also weakens the economic position of women, which will reflect negatively on their chances and access to the highest political and administrative positions. This is despite the fact that labor legislation in Jordan equally treats men and women in terms of wages and salaries and other labor rights. Thus, the low participation of women in the labor market and their limited access to financial resources and to work could be a result of officials and decision-makers' practices in various work institutions, and their hegemony over decision-making process rather than legislations, because the practices on the ground, especially in many developing countries, including Jordan, may not always be in line with the legislations.

Table (3) Sample's estimates of the economic status of Jordanian women

Paragraphs relating to	Arithmetic	standard	the level
economic status	mean	deviation	
Women's participation in the	3,68	1,05	High
public and private labor market			
is still low especially when			
compared with the education			
and investment levels			
Working women are not free	2,35	1,26	Medium
in spending her monthly salary			
because the parents or spouse			
really decide how to spend this			
salary being included in the			
family budget			

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Paragraphs relating to	Arithmetic	standard	the level
economic status	mean	deviation	
Women's access to financial	2,26	1,05	Low
resources and to work is not			
available on an equal footing			
with men			
The sum variable of women	2,26	0,585	Low
economic status			

## 2. Sample's estimates of the subjective status of Jordanian women:

The medium level of the estimates of the respondents (male and female) to the first paragraph "the males are smarter than women " and listed in Table 4 below indicates that Jordanian society has not been freed entirely from its inferior perception to the intelligence of women; the society in general still conceives women as less intelligent than men. This view however, may not reflect the reality of the case, since the females' scientific attainment in the universities is often more than that of the male's counterparts, and this is based on the researcher's evaluation through his personal experience in teaching at universities for more than 35 years.

The negative perception of community towards women's intelligence is a product of false societal culture, and requires correction and reform since it has negative impact on the morale of women about their participation in public life of the community, and makes them less self-confident than men, and more reluctant to political and administrative participation, and thus hinders women chances of arriving at political and senior management positions. Add to that, this negative perception could make different business sectors to prefer the employment of men rather than women, which reflects negatively on women's employment opportunities.

As for the high level of estimates of respondents (male and female) for the second paragraph "woman is less confident in herself than the man" clearly points to the weakness of women's self-confidence in general. The culture of Jordanian society may have played a major role in perpetuating this view, particularly with regard to strengthening the role of masculine jurisdiction and the protection of women, which strengthens women's reliance upon the male, even in the simplest details of their life and therefore impairs her independence and self-confidence and keeps her captive of dependency upon the male.

The high level to the estimates of the respondents for the third paragraph "Jordanian women in general are still protecting societal values that emphasize their secondary role in society" indicates that Jordanian woman herself still contributes to the strengthening of secondary role of women in society, and protecting societal values that emphasize such secondary role. This behavior of woman, which is the product of a system of community culture, reflected negatively on her self-confidence and makes her more reluctant to participate in political and administrative roles, and reflects negatively on her access to the high political and administrative positions in society.

The medium level the sample's estimates for the fourth paragraph "Jordanian women enjoy political culture " indicates that besides those who believe that the Jordanian women enjoy political culture, still others believe otherwise. This means that political culture among women is still weak, which could have negative impact on the level of their political awareness of the need for a participatory role in public life, and thus have negative impact on their access to top political and administrative positions.

With regard to paragraph five "Women are able to harmonize work responsibilities and the responsibilities of the family" the high level of the respondents' estimates of the paragraph indicates respondents trust in the ability of the Jordanian women on the harmonization between work and family responsibilities, which means that family responsibilities do not constitute an obstacle to the establishment of women's work responsibilities, and that women are able to reconcile work responsibilities with family

The high level estimates of the sample for the sixth paragraph "working women are more aware and conscious of their social, economic and political roles than non-working women" indicates that Jordanian working women are more aware of their social, economic, and political roles than those non-working women, and thus of the need for their participation in all aspects of life. The Jordanian labor market reflects low rates of women employment in the public and private sectors compared to that of the men; the women's employment constitutes one tenth of the men's employment. This means that nonworking women are much more than working women, hence, large

number of women lack sufficient awareness for the need to political and administrative participation; this weakens women's access to top political an

To overcome this obstacle, it is necessary to provide more job opportunities for women and raise the level of required employment which will raise their level of participation and increase their access to top political and administrative positions, hence increasing their role in decision making process.

Table (4) Sample's estimates of the subjective status of Jordanian women

Paragraphs relating to the subjective status of the women	Arithmeti c means	Standard deviation	Level
Working women are more aware and	3.89	1.12	High
conscious of their social, economic			
and political roles than non-working			
women			
Women are less self-confidence than	3.83	1.03	High
men			
Women are able to harmonize the	3.82	1.04	High
responsibilities of work and family			
responsibilities			
Jordanian women in general are still	3.69	1.01	High
protecting societal values that			
emphasize their secondary role in			
society			
Jordanian women are politically	3.37	1.06	Medium
cultured			
Men are smarter than women	2.66	1.41	Medium
The sum variable of women's	3.00	0.434	Medium
subjective status			

# 3. The sample's estimates of the political, legislative and regulatory status of Jordanian women:

Statistical data presented in Table 5 below shows that the sample's overall estimates for areas of political, legislative and regulatory status are at medium level. It also shows that sample's estimates for five of the seven paragraphs are at a medium level. These paragraphs are: "the laws and regulations in Jordan ensure equal rights for men and women", "

government special rehabilitation and training programs of young people for labor market are biased in favor of males", "government institutions are not concerned with the provision of facilities necessary to help women in the areas of labor and services, investment, and legal and consulting services", "the teaching curriculum is still focused on the role of women as an incubator for children, and as emotional, sensitive and delicate, at a time when the man portrayed as the leader and breadwinner and guardian and who has the wise decision", and "I refuse to be a member of a political party lead by woman".

In addition, sample's estimates of the first paragraph: "labor legislation in Jordan equally treats men and women in terms of wages and salaries and other labor rights," registered a high level, and the overall estimates of respondents reflect positive attitudes towards political, legislative, and regulatory status of women, though they were not up to the ambitious level. These positive estimates maybe due to the political and legislative reforms and to the ongoing civil society organizations' attempts to empower women.

Unlike the rest of the paragraphs, the respondents' estimates to paragraph seven: "I believe in the reduction of punishment of honor in the Jordanian law", were at low level, which means that most of the respondents refuse the reduction of the punishment of honor contained in the Jordanian Penal Code, and this indicates that the issue of honor is still rooted in the culture of Jordanian society.

Table (5) Sample's estimates of political, legislative and regulatory status of Jordanian women

Paragraphs relating to the legislative, political and organizational status of the women	Arithmetic means	Stand ard deviation	Level
Labor legislations in Jordan equally treat men and women in terms of wages and salaries and other labor rights	3,69	1,10	High
The teaching curriculum is still focused on the role of women as an incubator for children, and as an emotional, sensitive and delicate, at a time when the man portrayed as the leader and breadwinner and guardian and who has the wise decision	3,67	1,14	Medium

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Paragraphs relating to the legislative, political and organizational status of the women	Arithmetic means	Stand ard deviation	Level
The laws and regulations in Jordan ensure equal rights for men and women	3,40	1,01	Mediu m
Government special rehabilitation and training programs of young people for the labor market biased in favor of males	3,12	1,05	Mediu m
Government institutions are not concerned with the provision of the facilities necessary to help women in the areas of labor and services, investment, and legal and consulting services	2,75	1,20	Mediu m
I refuse to be a member of a political party headed by a woman	2,72	1,32	Mediu m
I believe in the reduction of punishment of honor in the Jordanian law	2,15	1,37	Low
The sum variable of women's political, legislative and regulatory status	2,62	0,482	Medium

# 4. Sample's estimates of the social status of Jordanian women:

The low level of respondents' estimates of paragraph: "Jordanian society equalizes between men and women in rights and obligations" listed in Table 6 below indicates that despite government and Jordanian civil societies attempts to push forward the status of women, the Jordanian society in general is still affected to some extent by biased culture in favor of the male; hence the attempts of the successive Jordanian governments for legislative and political reforms have not been able to adopt significant achievements in penetrating the male-biased culture by the required speed. This means the need to focus on rebuilding contemporary social culture by the government to guarantee realizing its ambitions in this field.

The respondents' estimates of paragraphs: "the Jordanian family is still biased in favor of males in upbringing its children "and "the culture of the dominant society glorifies the authority of the father and guardian, and it is male biased culture" were at high levels, in the sense that most of the respondents believe that the culture of Jordanian society continues to strengthen the role of patriarchal authority and is biased in favor of males.

While the respondents' estimates were at an average level of the following paragraphs: "The society's view of the work of women is negative and it is characterized by hesitancy and caution" and "the function of men in the family is work and earning, while the function of women is the service of husband and children", and "Higher and judicial leadership positions are better suited to men than women" and "men perform better than women at different workplaces", most respondents reject the argument that "the home is the natural place for women, and jobs must be limited to men" and "the contribution of men to housework and childcare is flawed because it is the work of women", "most of problems in life are caused by women" and "women's work, especially in the political sphere, negatively affect their role in the upbringing of children and attention to family affairs".

In spite of respondents estimate that the social culture is biased to the male side, most respondents reject the idea of the distinction between male and female. This rejection maybe due to the impact of political and legislative reforms, and government attempts to empower women's political, economic and cultural aspects, as well as to the success of government policies causing developments in favor of social, political and economic status of women, along with the impact of international transformations and international policies in the field of democratization and empowerment of women that have contributed to strengthening the role of governments and civil society organizations in developing countries to push for the adoption of women's empowerment policies.

Table (6) Sample's estimates of social status of Jordanian women

Tuble (b) bumple b estimates of social status of softainain women					
Paragraphs relating to social status	Arithmetic means	Standard deviation	Level		
The culture of the dominant society glorifies the authority of the father and guardian; and it is male biased culture	3,72	0,98	High		

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Paragraphs relating to social status	Arithmetic means	Standard deviation	Level
Jordanian family is still biased in raising their children in favor of males	3,68	1,21	High
Society's perception to the employment of women is negative, and marred by hesitancy and caution	3,22	1,21	medium
Supreme judicial leadership positions fit men more than women	3,14	1,34	medium

Table (7) Estimates of the study sample for the women status indicators

Serial Number	Indicators of status of women	Arithmetic means	Standard deviation	Level
1	Men are smarter than women	2,66	1,41	Medium
2	Women are less self-confident than men	3,83	1,03	High
3	The function of men in the family is working and earning, and while the women to serve her husband and children	2,71	1,39	Medium
4	The home is the natural place for women, and that the jobs should be limited to men	2,32	1,22	Low
5	Jordanian society equalizes between men and women in rights and obligations	2,16	1,20	Low
6	Most of the troubles of life are caused by women	2,15	1,33	Low
7	Jordanian working women is not free in spending her monthly salary because the parents or spouse are really decide how to spend this salary being included in the family budget	2,35	1,26	Medium
8	Government special rehabilitation and training programs of young people for the labor market is	3,12	1,05	Medium

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Serial Number	Indicators of status of women	Arithmetic means	Standard deviation	Level
	biased in favor of males			
9	Government institutions are not concerned with the provision of the facilities necessary to help women in the areas of labor and services, investment, and legal and consulting services	2,75	1,20	Medium
10	Women's participation in the public and private labor market is still low especially when compared with the education and investment levels	3,68	1,05	High
11	Jordanian family is still biased in raising their children in favor of males	3,68	1,21	High
12	Jordanian women in general are still protecting societal values that emphasize their secondary role in society	3,69	1,01	High
13	Jordanian women are politically cultured	3,37	1,06	Medium
14	The contribution of men in housework and childcare is defective since these are works for women	2,31	1,35	Low
15	Women's access to financial resources and to work is available on an equal footing with men	2,26	1,05	Low
16	Women are able to harmonize the responsibilities of work and family responsibilities	3,82	1,04	High
17	Society's perception to the employment of women is negative, and marred by hesitancy and caution	3,22	1,21	Medium
18	I believe in the reduction of punishment of honor in the Jordanian law	2,15	1,37	Low
19	High leadership and judicial positions fit men more than women	3,14	1,34	Medium
20	I refuse to be a member of a political party headed by a	2,72	1,32	Medium

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Serial Number	Indicators of status of women	Arithmetic means	Standard deviation	Level
	woman			
21	Working women are more aware and conscious of their social, economic and political roles than non-working women	3,89	1,12	High
22	Men are better than women in the performance of various work positions	2,93	1,27	Medium
23	Labor legislations in Jordan equalize between men and women in terms of wages and salaries and other labor rights	3,69	1,10	High
24	The dominant culture of society glorifies the authority of the father and guardian, and it is male-biased culture	3,72	0,98	High
25	The laws and legislations in Jordan ensure equal rights for men and women	3,40	1,01	Medium
26	The teaching curriculum is still focused on the role of women as an incubator for children, and as emotional, sensitive and delicate, at a time when the man is portrayed as the leader and breadwinner and guardian and who has the wise decision	3,67	1,14	Medium
27	Women's work, especially in the political sphere, negatively impacts on their role in the upbringing of children and attention to family matters	2,30	1,14	Low

The third theme: Obstacles to women's access to top political and administrative positions

Despite the political, legislative, social, economic and cultural developments, which came with several societal changes reflected positively on women's status and role in political, family and work life alike, women continue to suffer from some obstacles to access to senior political and administrative positions.

The statistical data presented in Table 8 below shows that the overall sample estimates of the obstacles to women's access to top political and administrative positions was at medium level and with an arithmetic mean of 3,28, and standard deviation of 0,483. The economic constraints have topped the list of obstacles coming in the first place, followed by self-constraints on women in the second place, while social obstacles come in the third place and in the fourth and final place come political, legislative and regulatory obstacles. The sample estimates of the obstacles to women's access to political and administrative positions are in line to a large extent, with their estimates for that of the status of women.

Table (8) sample's estimates of the overall obstacles to women's access to

top political and administrative positions

top possesses was well as the possesses						
Obstacles	Arithmetic	Standard	Level	Rank		
	means	deviation				
Economic obstacles	3,030	0,513	Medium	First		
Subjective obstacles	2,923	0,547	Medium	Second		
Social obstacles	2,867	0,585	Medium	Third		
Political and legislative	2,866	0,601	Medium	Fourth		
obstacles						
The sum of overall	3,28	0,483	Medium	-		
obstacles						

To shed more light on obstacles to women's access to political leadership and senior positions, we will discuss the sample's estimates for the areas of all obstacles, which include economic, subjective, social, political and legislative and administrative, as follows:

#### 1. Sample's estimates of economic constraints:

Statistical data contained in table (9) shows that the sample estimates for the overall of this area was at medium level, with an arithmetic mean of 3,03 and a standard deviation of 0,513. The arithmetic mean of the paragraphs of this area ranged between 3,88 and 3,95, all were of a high level, and are arranged in descending order as follows:

- Lack of opportunities of women's access to financial resources and to work on an equal footing with men, and came with an arithmetic mean of 3.95 and standard deviation of 0.96.
- women's lack of economic independence , and their dependence on the husband or parents economically, makes them more likely to be

- subject to husband or parents decisions, and came with an arithmetic mean of 3,90 and standard deviation of 0,95.
- The lack of financial and moral promotional incentives able to drive women to progress, innovation and development in practicing their work, and came with an arithmetic mean of 3,88 and standard deviation of 0,97.

Table (9) Sample's estimates to the paragraphs of the field of economic obstacles

Paragraphs of economic obstacles	Arithmetic means	Standard deviation	Level	Rank
The lack of opportunities for women's access to financial resources and to work on equal footing with men	3,95	0,96	High	First
Women's lack of economic independence and dependence on a husband or parents economically makes them likely to be subject to their decisions	3,90	0,95	High	Second
The lack of material and moral promotional incentives is able to drive women to progress, innovation and development in practicing their work	3,88	0,97	High	Third
The sum of economic obstacles	3,28	0,483	Medium	-

# 2. Sample's estimates of subjective obstacles:

Statistical data contained in table (10) shows that the sample estimates for the overall of this area was at medium level, with an arithmetic mean of 2,92 and a standard deviation of 0,513. The arithmetic mean of the paragraphs of this area ranged between 2,60 and 3,66, all were of a medium level, and are arranged in descending order as follows:

• Work requirements such as late working hours and the far away working place weaken the chances of women to occupy senior administrative positions, and came with an arithmetic mean of 3,66 and standard deviation of 1.10.

- Women's own failure in political empowerment came with an average of 3.60 and a standard deviation of 1.07.
- Women's weak support for women in their quest to reach the top positions of leadership came with an arithmetic mean of 3,58 and standard deviation of 1.12.
- Women's reluctance to engage in political action is a major cause of the low level of their political participation came with an arithmetic mean of 3.52 and standard deviation of 0.98.
- Women's lack of awareness of the need for their participation in political action came with an arithmetic mean of 3,46 and standard deviation of 1,10.
- Women who do not have enough time available to engage in political activities due to preoccupation with matters of family burdens, and their traditional role as wife and mother came with an arithmetic mean 3,08 and standard deviation of 1,17.
- Women who are not eligible to participate in the decision-making and management of political and economic affairs, and to assume overall responsibility as the man came with an arithmetic mean of 2,60 and standard deviation of 1, 25.

Table (10) Sample's estimates of the paragraphs of the field of subjective obstacles

Paragraphs of subjective obstacles	Arithmetic means	Standard deviation	Level	Rank
The business requirements such as late working hours and far distant of workplace weaken the chances of women occupancy to senior administrative positions	3,66	1,10	medium	First
Delinquency of women in the area of political empowerment	3,60	1,07	medium	Second
Women's lack of support for women in their quest to reach the top positions of leadership	3,58	1,12	medium	Third
Women's reluctance to engage in political action is a major cause of the low level of their political participation	3,52	0,98	medium	Fourth

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Paragraphs of subjective obstacles	Arithmetic means	Standard deviation	Level	Rank
Women's lack of awareness of the need for their participation in political action	3,46	1,10	medium	Fifth
Women do not have enough time available to engage in political activities due to preoccupation with matters of family burdens, and their traditional role as wife and mother	3,08	1,17	medium	Sixth
Women are not eligible to participate in the decision-making and management of political and economic affairs and to assume overall responsibility as the man	2,60	1,25	medium	Seventh
The sum of subjective obstacles	2,92	0,547	medium	-

# 3. Sample's estimates of social obstacles:

Statistical data contained in table (11) shows that the sample estimates for the overall of this area was at medium level, and came with an arithmetic mean of 2,867 and a standard deviation of 0,585. The arithmetic means of the paragraphs of this area ranged between 3,22 and 3,50, all were of a medium level, and are arranged in descending order as follows:

- The poor confidence of Jordanian society's in the ability of women to decision-making and to bear the burdens of senior leadership positions came with arithmetic mean of 3,50 and standard deviation of 1,12.
- The nature of the family system in the Jordanian society does not provide a framework for democratic thinking within the family, which enhances the subordination of women to men, and came with an arithmetic mean of 3,49 and standard deviation of 1,07.
- Jordanian society bias against women came with an arithmetic mean of 3,43 and standard deviation of 1,17.
- Stereotype which enshrines the inferiority of women in Jordanian society contributes to women's frustration and decline political willingness to work, and to the occupancy of the highest political and administrative positions, and came with an arithmetic mean 3,39 and standard deviation of 1,10.

• Jordanian society views women working in politics and senior leadership positions as inferior, with an average of 3.22 and a standard deviation of 1.10.

Table (11) Sample's estimates of the paragraphs of the field of social obstacles

Paragraphs of social obstacles	Arithmetic means	Standard deviation	Level	Rank
The Lack of Jordanian society's confidence in the ability of women to decision-making and to bear the burdens of senior leadership positions	3,50	1,12	Medium	First
The nature of the family system in the Jordanian society does not provide a framework for democratic thinking within the family, which enhances the subordination of women to men	3,49	1,07	Medium	Second
Jordanian society bias against women	3,43	1,17	Medium	Third
Stereotype which enshrines the inferiority of women in Jordanian society contributes to women's frustration and declines political willingness to work, and to the occupancy of the highest political and administrative positions	3,39	1,10	Medium	Fourth
Jordanian society perceived inferiority working women in politics, and in leadership and high administrative positions.	3,22	1,10	Medium	Fifth
The sum of social obstacles	2,867	0,585	Medium	-

# 4. Sample's estimates of political, legislative and administrative obstacles:

Statistical data contained in table (12) shows that the sample estimates for the overall of this area was at medium level, with an arithmetic mean of 2,866 and a standard deviation of 0,601. The arithmetic mean of the paragraphs of this area ranged between 3,16 and 3,53, all were of a medium level, and are arranged in descending order as follows:

- The domination of men over the decision-making and senior management positions make women unable to impose specific measures for their participation in political action, and this came with an arithmetic mean 3,53 and standard deviation of 1,10.
- Political parties in Jordan do not work to motivate and encourage women's political participation, except perhaps it uses them as voters, and this came with an arithmetic mean 3,51 and standard deviation of 0,99.
- The current electoral law (2016) decreases women opportunities to reasonable political competition, and enhances the clan which does not allow women to represent. This negatively affects women chances of acceptance into electoral blocs, and it came with an arithmetic mean 3.47 and standard deviation of 1.15.
- The management practices in different state institutions, and nonobjective criteria for nomination form an obstacle in the face of the rise of women's appropriate numbers to senior management positions, and this came with an arithmetic mean 3,46 and standard deviation of 1,06.
- Jordanian laws and legislations restrict women's access to decision-making posts and senior management positions, and this came with an arithmetic mean 3.16 and standard deviation of 1.08.

In addition to these political, legislative and administrative obstacles, there is another obstacle related to the mass media, where respondents see "that the media in Jordan does not give positive image to the political participation of women". The sample's estimates for this constraint was at medium level, with an arithmetic mean of 3,23 and standard deviation of 1,10.

Table (12) The sample estimates of the paragraphs of the field of political, legislative and administrative obstacles

political, legislative and administrative obstacles						
Paragraphs of political,	Arithmetic	Standard	Level	Rank		
legislative and	means	deviation				
administrative obstacles						
The domination of men over						
the decision-making and						
senior management positions						
make women unable to	3,53	1,10	Medium	First		
impose specific measures for						
their participation in political						
action						
Political parties in Jordan do						
not work to motivate and						
encourage women's political	3,51	0,99	Medium	Second		
participation, except perhaps						
use them as voters						
The current electoral law						
(2016) decreases women						
opportunities to reasonable						
political competition,						
enhances the clan which does	3,47	1,15	Medium	Third		
not allow women to represent						
her tribe, and negatively						
affects their chances of						
acceptance into electoral blocs						
Management practices in						
different state institutions, and						
non-objective criteria for						
nomination form an obstacle	3,46	1,06	Medium	Fourth		
in the face of the rise of	3,40	1,00	Mediuiii	Tourui		
women's appropriate numbers						
to senior management						
positions						
Jordanian laws and						
legislations restrict women's						
access to decision-making	3,16	1,08	Medium	Fifth		
posts and senior management						
positions						
Overall political, legislative	2 966	0.601	Madine			
and administrative obstacles	2,866	0,601	Medium			

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Table (13) The sample estimates of the paragraphs of obstacles to women's access to political and administrative high positions

women's access to pontical and administrative high positions							
Serial	Indicators of obstacles to	Arithmetic	Standard	Level	Rank		
Number	women's access to political and	means	deviation				
	administrative high positions						
1	The lack of material and moral	3,88	0,97	High	3		
	promotional incentives able to						
	drive women to progress,						
	innovation and development in						
	practicing their work						
2	Jordanian society perceived	3,22	1,10	Medium	18		
	inferiority to working women						
	in politics, and in leadership						
	and high administrative						
	positions.						
3	Jordanian laws and legislations	3,16	1,08	Medium	19		
	restrict women's access to						
	decision-making posts and						
	senior management positions						
4	Jordanian society bias against	3,43	1,17	Medium	15		
	women						
5	the media in Jordan do not	3,23	1,10	Mediu	17		
	give a positive image of the			m			
	political participation of						
	women						
6	Women's lack of economic	3,70	0,95	High	2		
	independence and dependence						
	on a husband or parents						
	economically makes them						
	likely to be subject to their						
	decisions						
7	Delinquency of women in the	3,60	1,07	Mediu	5		
	area of political empowerment			m			
8	The work requirements such as	3,66	1,10	Mediu	4		
	late working hours and far			m			
	distant of workplace weaken						
	the chances of women						
	occupancy to senior						
	administrative positions						
9	The Lack of Jordanian	3,50	1,12	Mediu	10		
	society's confidence, in			m			
	general, in the ability of						
	women to decision-making						
·							

 $\label{eq:mutan} \mbox{Mu'tah Lil-Buhuth wad-Dirasat, Humanities and Social Sciences Series, Vol.~34, No.~4~,~2019.}$ 

Serial	Indicators of obstacles to	Arithmetic	Standard	Level	Rank
Number	women's access to political and	means	deviation		
	administrative high positions				
	and to bear the burdens of				
	senior leadership positions				
10	The current electoral law	3,47	1,15	Mediu	12
	(2016) decreases women			m	
	opportunities to reasonable				
	political competition,				
	enhances the clan which does				
	not allow women to represent				
	her tribe, and negatively				
	affects their chances of				
	acceptance into electoral blocs				
11	Women's lack of awareness of	3,46	1,10	Mediu	13
	the need for their participation			m	
	in political activities				
12	The domination of men over	3,53	1,10	Mediu	7
	the decision-making and senior			m	
	management positions make				
	women unable to impose				
	specific measures for their				
	participation in political action				
13	Management practices in	3,46	1,06	Mediu	14
	different state institutions, and			m	
	non-objective criteria for				
	nomination form an obstacle in				
	the face of the rise of women's				
	appropriate numbers to senior				
	management positions				
14	Women's reluctance to engage	3,52	0,98	Mediu	8
	in political action is a major			m	
	cause of the low level of their				
	political participation				
15	The nature of the family	3,49	1,07	Mediu	11
13	system in the Jordanian society	3,42	1,07	m	11
	does not provide a framework			111	
	for democratic thinking within				
	the family, which enhances the				
	subordination of women to				
	men				
16	Women are not eligible to	2,60	1,25	Mediu	21
10	participate in the decision-	2,00	1,23	m	21
	making and management of			111	
	political and economic affairs				
	pontical and economic arrans				

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Serial	Indicators of obstacles to	Arithmetic	Standard	Level	Rank
Number	women's access to political and administrative high positions	means	deviation		
	and to assume overall				
	responsibility as the man				
17	Women do not have enough time available to engage in political activities due to	3,08	1,17	Mediu m	20
	preoccupation with matters of family burdens, and their traditional role as wife and mother				
18	Stereotype which enshrines the inferiority of women in Jordanian society contribute to women's frustration and declining political willingness to work, and to the occupancy of the highest political and administrative positions	3,39	1,10	Mediu m	16
19	Political parties in Jordan do not work to motivate and encourage women's political participation, except perhaps use them as voters	3,51	0,99	Mediu m	9
20	Women's lack of support for women in their quest to reach the top positions of leadership	3,58	1,12	Mediu m	6
21	The lack of opportunities for women's access to financial resources and to work on an equal footing with men	3,95	0,96	High	1

The fourth theme: The relationship between demographic characteristics and estimates of the respondents for each of the Jordanian women's status and the obstacles to their access to the high political and administrative positions:

First: the relationship between demographic characteristics and respondents' estimates of Jordanian women's status:

The statistical data contained in the following tables describes the relationship between sample's demographic characteristics and respondents' estimates for the status of Jordanian women as follows:

## 1. Gender (sex):

According to the results of Table (14), test of compared mean trends (T-Test), there is a statistically significant relationship at the level of importance (0,000) between the gender variable and the status of women in favor of males, which means that the male estimates of the status of women, is more positive than the female's estimates.

Table (14), Test of compared mean trends (T-Test) It shows the relationship between gender variable and indicators of women's status

Levene's test for equalit	t-test for equality of means				
	F	Sig. t value df value		Sig (2tailed)	
Equal variance assumed	7,58	0,006	-7,76	1498	0,000
Equal variance not assumed	-	-	-7,81	1473,33	0,000

## 2. Age:

According to the results of (one sample ANOVA test) contained in the table (15), there is a statistically significant relationship at the level of importance of 0,004 between the age variable and status of women in favor of the younger groups (age groups 30-39 and 18-29), which means that the sample estimates of the status of women was more positive among younger people category.

Table No (15), (ANOVA test) Shows the relationship between the age variable and the indicators of status of women

Sources of variation	Sum of squares	Degree of freedom	Mean square	F value	Sig.(p)
Between groups	1485,62	4	461,40	3,84	0,004
Within groups	179649,2	1495	120,17		
Total	181494,8	1499			

# 3. Membership in political parties:

According to the results of table (16), test of compared mean trends T-test, there are no statistically significant differences between the variable of membership in political parties and indicators of the status of women.

Table (16) Test of compared mean trends (T-Test) It shows the relationship between political party membership variable and indicators of women's status

	Levene's test for equality of Variances		t-test f	or equality	of means
	F	Sig.	t value	df value	Sig (2-tailed)
Equal variance assumed	6,69	0,010	-1,68	1498	0,093
Equal variance not assumed	-	-	-1,04	11,06	0,318

# 4. Membership in the civil society institutions:

According to the results of table (17), test of compared mean trends (T-Test), there are no statistically significant differences between the variable of membership in civil society institutions and indicators of the status of women.

Table (17) Test of compared mean trends (T-Test) Shows the relationship between membership in the institutions of civil society Variable and indicators of the status of women

	Levene's test for equality of Variances		t-test f	for equality of	of means
	F	Sig.	t value	df value	Sig (2-tailed)
Equal variance assumed	1,39	0,239	-0,439	1498	0,661
Equal variance not assumed	-	-	-0,479	146,91	0,634

#### 5. Education level:

According to the results of table (18), one sample ANOVA test, there is a statistically significant relationship at the level of importance of 0,003 between the education level variable and the indicators of status of women in favor of those most educated. This means that the educated individuals have more positive estimates about the status of women than the least-educated counterparts.

Table (18) (ANOVA test) Shows the relationship between the education level variable and the indicators of status of women

Sources of variation	Sum of squares	Degree of freedom	Mean square	F value	Sig.(p)
Between groups	4,12	4	1,030		
Within groups	244,84	1495	0,164	6,28	0,003
Total	248,96	1499		,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	,,,,,,

# 6. Monthly household income:

According to the results of table (19), one sample ANOVA test, there is a statistically significant relationship at the level of importance of 0,000 between the monthly household income variable and the indicators of status of women in favor of those of upper-income category, which means that the upper-income individuals have more positive estimates about the status of women than the lower-income counterparts.

Table (19) (ANOVA test)
Shows the relationship between the monthly household income variable and the indicators of status of women

Sources of variation	Sum of squares	Degree of freedom	Mean square	F value	Sig.(p)
Between groups	4,12	4	1,030		
Within groups	244,84	1495	0,164	6,28	0,000
Total	248,96	1499		-,	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,

#### 7. Place of residence:

According to the results of table (19), one sample ANOVA test, there is no statistically significant differences between variable of place of residence in the province and indicators of the status of women.

Table (20) (ANOVA test) It shows the relationship between the place of residence in the region (provinces) variable and the indicators of status of women

Sources of variation	Sum of squares	Degree of freedom	Mean square	F value	Sig.(p)
Between groups	0,861	2	313,80	2.50	0.075
Within groups	248,10	1497	120,82	2,59	0,075
Total	248,96	1499			

Second: the relationship between demographic characteristics and respondents' estimates of obstacles facing women's access to political and administrative high positions:

1. According to the results of (t-test) and (one sample ANOVA test) there is no relationship between the demographic characteristics of respondents and their estimates of the obstacles of women's access to top political and administrative positions, as the following tables show:

Table (21) Test of compared mean trends (T-Test)
Shows the relationship between gender variable and respondents' estimates of the obstacles of women's access to political and administrative high positions

	Levene's test for equality of Variances		t-	test for equ of mean	•
	F	Sig.	t value	df value	Sig (2-tailed)
Equal variance assumed	2,86	0,091	0,951	1498	0,342
Equal variance not assumed	-	ı	0,945	1399,89	0,345

Table No (22) (one sample ANOVA test)
Shows the relationship between the age variable and respondents' estimates of the obstacles of women's access to political and

administrative high positions

Sources of variation	Sum of squares	Degree of freedom	Mean square	F value	Sig.(p)
Between groups	1,276	4	0,319	1,44	0,216
Within groups	329,49	1449	0,220		

Total	330,68	1499			
				1	1

# Table (23) (one sample ANOVA test)

Shows the relationship between the education level variable and respondents' estimates of the obstacles of women's access to political

and administrative high positions

Sources of variation	Sum of squares	Degree of freedom	Mean square	F value	Sig.(p)
Between groups	0,328	2	0,164	4,743	
Within groups	330,35	1497	0,221		0,476
Total	330,68	1499			,

Table (24) Test of compared mean trends (T-Test) Shows the relationship between political party membership variable and respondents' estimates of the obstacles of women's access to

political and administrative high positions

	Levene's tes equality of Var		t-test	for equa	lity of means
	F Sig.		t value	df value	Sig (2-tailed)
Equal variance assumed	0,099	0,753	0,624	1498	0,532
Equal variance not assumed	-	-	0,533	11,12	0,604

Table (25) Test of compared mean trends (T-Test) Shows the relationship between membership in the institutions of civil society variable and respondents' estimates of the obstacles of women's

access to political and administrative positions

	Levene's test for equality of Variances  F Sig.		t-test f	for equality	of means
			t value	df value	Sig (2-tailed)
Equal variance assumed	0,611	0,435	0,934	1498	0,350
Equal variance not assumed	-	-	0,970	144,01	0,334

# Table (26) (one sample ANOVA test) Shows the relationship between the monthly household income variable and respondents' estimates of the obstacles of women's access to political and administrative high positions

Degree of **Sources of** Sum of Mean  $\mathbf{F}$ Sig.(p) variation squares freedom value square Between groups 0,212 0,053 0.239 0,916 Within groups 1495 0.221 330,46 Total 330,46 1499

# Table (27) (one sample ANOVA test) Shows the relationship between the place of residence in the region(provinces) variable and respondents' estimates of the obstacles of women's access to political and administrative high positions

				0 1	
Sources of variation	Sum of squares	Degree of freedom	Mean square	F value	Sig.(p)
Between groups	0,744	2	0,372		
Within groups	329,93	1497	0,220	1,68	0,185
Total	330,68	1499		,	

The fifth theme: Proposed solutions to cope with obstacles facing women's access to top political and administrative positions.

The statistical data contained in the table (28) below describes the respondents' estimates of the proposed solutions to cope with obstacles, all of which were at high level with the exception of the paragraph about the quota system for women in the House of Representatives of which the respondents' estimate of that was at medium level. These estimates came in line with the respondents estimates of the status of women, and the obstacles facing women's access to top political and administrative positions, where the economic solution came in the forefront the proposed solutions, followed by the solutions for subjective obstacles, and then for social obstacles, and then came the solutions concerning the legislative, political and regulatory obstacles. The arithmetic mean of the proposed solutions range between 3,67 and 4,20, and are listed in descending order as follows:

- 1." The allocation of government support fund to provide financial and technical assistant to women to enable them to own small investment projects". This came with an arithmetic mean of 4.20 and a standard deviation of 0.95. Respondents' estimates for this proposed solution emphasize the importance of economic obstacle facing women in their access to top political and administrative positions on the grounds that the economic obstacles of the most important obstacles, and therefore it is necessary to overcome this constraint by providing subsidized projects and programs that strengthen the economic status of women, since financial independence is cornerstone in the process of participation of women, especially in the political and social activities.
- 2. "Stimulate the Jordanian family role to play an active role in the process of social and political socialization manner that reduces the dominance of the traditional social heritage and the promotion of democratic behavior within the family". This came with an arithmetic mean of 4.06 and a standard deviation of 1.01. Respondents' estimates in this area stresses the importance of the role of the family in the socialization of women since childhood, and their importance in promoting women's self-confidence and capabilities and efficiency at work, because such upbringing weakens the dominance of traditional social inheritance which is biased to male, thus enhancing gender equality and the participation of women in all walks of life, and also increasing their access to top political and administrative positions.
- 3. "Adopting media policy addressed to the segments of society that expresses the importance of women's role in the overall development process, the change of behavioral patterns of the community in a positive way toward women, and the promotion of women's self-confidence". This came with an arithmetic mean of 4.03 and standard deviation of 0.96. Respondents' estimates in this area stress the importance of adopting media policy that explains the importance of the role women can play alongside with men in the areas of social, economic and political development, as well as in the achievement of comprehensive development of the society.
- 4. "Ensure the principle of equal opportunities in recruitment, promotion and training procedures in public and private institutions of the state, and ensure financial independence for women". This came with an

arithmetic mean of 4.00 and standard deviation of 1.00. The adoption of governmental policy based on the principle of equal opportunities in recruitment, promotion and training procedures works to raise women's efficiency and capacity, and ensures women income proportional to their efficiency, and thus enhances women's financial independence.

- 5. "Increase the efficiency of women's organizations in their educational programs that raise the level of political awareness among women, by conducting training courses for its staff". This came with an arithmetic mean of 3.98 and a standard deviation of 0.99.
- 6. "Apply objective principles in the nomination process for senior managerial positions". This came with an arithmetic mean of 3.97 and a standard deviation of 0.92. Respondents' estimates stress the importance of this proposal to overcome the difficulties and obstacles faced by women on their occupation of senior leadership and administrative, where it is necessary to adopt scientific and objective principles when evaluating and choosing the most suitable person to occupy political and administrative positions, whether that was a man or a woman.
- 7. "The necessity to reform school curricula in a way that changes the stereotype that reflects women as an incubator for children, emotional, and subordinate to men". This came with an arithmetic mean of 3.94 and a standard deviation of 1.06. Respondents' estimates concerning this solution emphasize the importance of school curriculum that plays an important role in social and political socialization process that refines the human personality, and strengthen the values system in society.
- 8. "Develop an integrated and simplified curriculum particularly for women's political and legal education". This came with an arithmetic mean of 3.88 and a standard deviation of 1.02. The political and legal education for women makes them more aware of their rights and duties, hence, enhances their confidence in themselves and makes them more courageous in claiming and defending their rights, enable them to engage more in political and social life, and enhance their

- status, thus open up the horizon in front of their access to different political and administrative positions.
- 9. "Reform the law of political parties to ensure the inclusion of a certain number of women in constituent membership of the political parties, and in the candidate lists for the House of Representatives and municipal councils". This came with an arithmetic mean of 3.78 and a standard deviation of 1.04. Respondents' confirmation of the importance of this solution may be due to the low participation of women in political parties, and the low level of their access to leadership positions, which is confirmed by the records of political parties in terms of the poor representation of women in constituent membership of the political parties, as well as the low level of their presence in leadership positions. Therefore, provision into the law of political parties which ensures women's quota in constituent membership of the political parties will decrease the male domination of decision-making within the parties, and enhances the participation of ambitious women in parties' activities, enabling them to participate in decision-making within the party.
- 10. "Revise some legislations and laws to correct some of the distortions relating to the status of women in society". This came with an arithmetic mean of 3.76 and a standard deviation of 0,98. Although the respondents did not see in the legislation and laws that regulate members of Jordanian society as an important constraint that hinders women's access to political and administrative positions since they in total do not discriminate between males and females, but they see the need to revise some of legislation and laws to correct minor distortions relating to the status of women in society, where those legislations need to be amended from time to time depending on the requirements of life and evolution.
- 11. "Allocate percentage of seats for women in senior management positions in various state institutions". This came with an arithmetic mean of 3.75 and a standard deviation of 1.09. This may be due to biased practices of some top officials towards males during hiring persons to fill top administrative job vacancies, and not applying objectivity and principle of equal opportunity. Thus it becomes necessary to reserve seats for women that give them chance to prove their qualifications, and weaken the negative view that sees women as

being not qualified to such posts' responsibilities. The respondents' estimate for this proposed solution came to confirm that public decision-making should not be dominated by males, and that women should be provided an opportunity to overcome many obstacles and difficulties that hinder their access to leadership positions, and hence enable them to participation in decision making process.

12. "Increase the quota of seats for women in the House of Representatives". This came with an arithmetic mean of 3.67 and a standard deviation of 1.15. This proposed solution registered a medium level according to respondents' estimates, but came at the end of the list of priorities of the proposed solutions. This is perhaps due to the fact that the election law already provides for the women's quota, as well as to the weak performance of parliamentarian women in the previous councils which justify respondents' belief of quota system irrelevance.

Table (28) Shows respondents' estimate of the proposed solutions to address the obstacles faced by women's access to the highest political and administrative sites

Serial Number	Proposed solutions	Arithmetic means	Standard deviation	Level	Rank
1	The allocation of a fund to support a government mission financial and technical support to women to enable them to own a small investment projects	4,20	0,95	High	1
2	Stimulate the Jordanian family role to play an active role in the process of social and political socialization manner that reduces the dominance of the traditional social heritage and the promotion of democratic	4,06	1,01	High	2

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Serial	Proposed solutions	Arithmetic	Standard	Level	Rank
Number		means	deviation	Level	Kalik
	behavior within the family				
3	Adopt media policy addressed to the segments of the society of the importance of women's role in the overall development process, and change the behavioral patterns of the community in a positive way toward women, and the promotion of women's self-confidence	4,03	0,96	High	3
4	Ensure the principle of equal opportunities in recruitment, promotion and training procedures in public and private institutions of the state, and ensure financial independence for women	4,00	1,00	High	4
5	Increase the efficiency of women's organizations in their educational programs that raise the level of political awareness among women, by conducting training courses for its staff	3,98	0,99	High	5
6	Apply objective principles in the nomination process for senior managerial positions	3,97	0,92	High	6
7	Reformulating school curricula in a way that changes the stereotype	3,94	1,06	High	7

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Serial Number	<b>Proposed solutions</b>	Arithmetic means	Standard deviation	Level	Rank
	that reflects women as an incubator for children, emotional, and subordinate to men				
8	Develop an integrated and simplified curriculum particularly for women's political and legal education	3,88	1,02	High	8
9	Develop a provision in the law of political parties ensures the inclusion of a certain number of women in the constituent membership of political parties, and in the candidate lists for the House of Representatives and municipal councils	3,78	1,04	High	9
10	Revision of the legislation and laws to correct some of the distortions relating to the status of women in society	3,76	0,98	High	10
11	The allocation of a percentage of seats for women in senior management positions in various state institutions	3,75	1,09	High	11
12	Increase the quota of seats for women in the House of Representatives	3,67	1,15	Mediun	12

#### **Conclusion:**

In light of the data analysis, the study findings show that:

- 1. The sample's estimates were positive in favor of political, legislative, organizational, social and subjective status of women, and were at medium level, while they were at very low level in respect to the women economic status. The hierarchy of the variables of the status of Jordanian women came in descending order as follows: the subjective, the political, legislative and organizational, the social, and then came the economic status in fourth and last place.
- 2. The sample's estimates were positive about all the obstacles to women's access to top political and administrative positions, and were at medium level, which indicates the impacts of obstacles on women's access to top political and administrative positions in Jordan. The hierarchy of the importance of these obstacles came in descending order as follows: economic, subjective, social and then political and legislative obstacles. In addition, the results of the study reported failure of the media in highlighting the importance of women's work, where the respondents believe that the media in Jordan do not give a positive image of the political participation of women; and the respondents' estimates was at medium level to this obstacle.
- 3. The results also indicate that there are statistically significant differences between variables of gender, age, education level, and monthly income and the status of women in favor of males, young people, the educated and those with higher-income. In the sense that the sample estimates were more positive among males, younger people and the more educated and those with more income. In contrast, results reported no relationship between variables of party's membership, civil society's membership, and the place of residence and the status of women.
- 4. As for the relationship between demographic characteristics and estimates of respondents to obstacles that hinder women's access to top political and administrative positions in Jordan, the results revealed that there were no statistically significant differences, which means that the sample's estimates about obstacles facing women's access to the top political and administrative positions, regardless of the demographic characteristics, were identical.

5. The results indicate that the sample's estimates were positive about the proposed solutions to overcome obstacles that hinder women's access to top political and administrative positions in Jordan. This means that the respondents believe in the importance of these solutions to overcome obstacles that hinder women's access to top political and administrative positions in Jordan. However, the economic solutions came in the forefront of the proposed solutions.

A brief look at these results show that they were compatible with the results of many previous studies in terms of the status level of women is still below the level of ambition, especially with regard to women's economic status, as well as existence of obstacles hindering women's access to top political and administrative positions and decisionmaking positions. However, this study differed with the majority of what came in the results of previous studies in terms of order of the importance of those obstacles, since the economic and subjective obstacles came at the top list of those obstacles, while the political, legislative, regulatory and social obstacles were less important. This is different from the results of previous studies which reported that social, legislative, political and cultural obstacles are more important than economic and personal constraints, with the exception of the Othman study (2006) which attributes obstacles to women's participation to structural, cultural and economic factors rather than legislative or legal factors.

#### **Recommendations:**

In the light of the aforementioned findings, a number of recommendations can be provided, and the most important of which are:

1. It is necessary to allocate government support fund to provide financial and technical assistant to women to enable them to own small investment projects, as well as the provision of subsidized economic programs to enhance the economic position of women, because financial independence is a cornerstone in the process of participation of women, especially in the political and social activities. These solutions are capable of overcoming this economic obstacle.

- 2. As the positive socialization of women since childhood is important in promoting women's self-confidence, and in building their capabilities and effectiveness at work, and because it weakens the dominance of the traditional social inheritance biased for males, this promotes gender equality, and thus enhances the participation of women in all walks of life, and increases their access to senior political and administrative positions; so it is necessary to stimulate the Jordanian family in playing positive and active role in the social and political socialization process.
- 3. Adopt media policy addressed to all segments of society that explains the importance of women's role in the overall development process, enhances the role of women and their confidence in them-selves, and changes the behavioral patterns of the community in a positive way toward the participation of women.
- 4. Develop an integrated and simplified curriculum particularly for women's political and legal education, since political and legal education makes women more aware of their rights and duties, thus enhancing their confidence in themselves and making them more courageous in claiming and defending their rights, and enabling them to engage more in political and social life. This will open up the horizon in front of their access to different political and administrative positions.
- 5. Reformulating school curricula in a way that changes the stereotype that reflects women as an incubator for children, emotional, and subordinate to men, and this is because the school curriculum plays an important role in the social and political socialization process that refine human personality, and strengthen the values system in society.
- 6. Increase the effectiveness of women's organizations educational programs that raise the level of political awareness among women about the importance of their participation in all walks of life, especially in the overall development process.
- 7. Establishing training center on the national level to prepare women leaders in various fields and disciplines, and provide them with career opportunities appropriate to their abilities that will help them gain access to leadership positions, and make qualified women leaders available to public and private sectors.

- 8. Ensure the principle of equal opportunities in recruitment, promotion and training procedures in public and private institutions of the state, which works at raising women's efficiency and capacity, and ensures them proportional income to their efficiency, and thus enhances their financial independence.
- 9. Adopt governmental policies and programs that promote women's representation in all political organs of power, and allocate percentage of seats for women in senior management positions in various state institutions, thus enabling women to participate in decision-making that can weaken the dominance of men. In addition, this enables women to prove themselves, and strengthen their confidence of having the opportunity to occupy senior leadership positions, and to fair competition with men.
- 10. Revise the political parties' law to ensures the inclusion of certain number of women in the constituent membership of political parties, and in the candidate lists for the House of Representatives and municipal councils. Such policy will decrease the domination of males on decision making process inside the parties, and enhance the participation of ambitious women in political parties' activities, which enable them to participate in the party decision-making.
- 11. Revision of some legislation and laws to correct some of the distortions relating to the status of women in society, if any, where those legislations need to be amended from time to time depending on the requirements of life and evolution.

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