MASARAT
Jordanian Masarat for Development and Progress

Empowering Women in Jordanian Political Parties Utilizing Public Financial Assistance – Policy Brief

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Introduction

Political parties remain the most important vehicle when it comes to modern political representation. However, as most institutions engaged in politics, they remain a male-dominated institutions. Despite the major progress that has been achieved by the women movement around the world to progress women, especially in the world of politics, women remain underrepresented. The representation of women in politics is a global issue, and many countries have sought different solutions to overcome this issue. When it comes to political parties, one of the greatest incentives to engage women in the political process is utilizing public funding to include more women in the political process[1]. This approach has been implemented in many countries to ensure that women have a voice and would be represented in the political arena.

As women have less access to political financing and are thus less likely to secure political support and gain equal representation when compared to men, political parties tend to neglect supporting and promoting women in their internal structures and political campaigns, designating them as gatekeepers that prevent women from adequate representation. Public financing to political parties is a strong tool that can be used to enhance the representation of women in parties and politics, not only during the election process, but beyond that between election cycles. Public financing, when utilized properly, could have a positive impact on the overall gender sensitivity in political parties and structures and influence the behavior of parties' leaderships when it comes to incorporating women in the decision-making process[2]. In addition, it could enhance women's political and financial positions within the party and in national political competitions. Nevertheless, in order for public funding to have the desired effects, it

[1] The word "Gender" is used in certain places throughout the document and is meant to refer to both men and women.

[2] Gender-Targeted Public Funding for Political Parties, International IDEA – Retrieved November 3rd, 2021 https://www.idea.int/publications/catalogue/gender-targeted-public-funding-political-parties-comparative-analysis

must comprise a critical mass of a party's overall financing, and the portion of funds directed towards supporting women must also comprise a significant portion of the overall public financing[3]. Moreover, the conditions of public funding must be clearly and strongly tied to women's empowerment in political parties and political processes in general. For the purposes of this brief, gender-targeted public funding is defined as "The amount of public funding a political party receives is connected to the level of gender equality among the candidates it puts up for election (or manages to get elected), or that a certain proportion of the public funding a party receives is earmarked for gender-related activities."[4]

In the last Jordanian parliamentary elections held in 2020, only 15 women have managed to win seats out of 130 seats in the House of Representatives, all of which were independent non-partisan candidates, decreasing by 5 seats from the previous elections in 2016. It is also worth mentioning that all of the seats won by women were secured by the women's quota stipulated in the Election Law, meaning that no woman have managed to win a seat by free competition.[5] As for women in political parties, a 2013 UNDP report indicated that the percentage is 26%, while the statistics of The Ministry of Political & Parliamentary Affairs indicates that it reaches 35%, where 72.7% of women remain members for less than 5 years, and 9% only remain members for more than 10 years[6]. Lastly, out of 50 registered political parties in Jordan in 2021, only three parties are headed by women secretary generals[7].

The Jordanian government have taken some steps in this direction. In 2019, the Jordanian government amended the "State Subsidies for Political Parties Financing Bylaw" which for the first time included articles that conditions financial support on women's representation in political parties. Nevertheless, there remains a lot of room for improvement to ensure a more inclusive representation for women in political parties. This policy brief aims to review the existing legislations relating to women's political representation and participation in Jordan,

[3] Gender-Targeted Public Funding for Political Parties, International IDEA – Retrieved November 3rd, 2021
https://www.idea.int/publications/catalogue/gender-targeted-public-funding-political-parties-comparative-analysis

[4] Gender-Targeted Public Funding for Political Parties, International IDEA – Retrieved November 3rd, 2021
https://www.idea.int/publications/catalogue/gender-targeted-public-funding-political-parties-comparative-analysis

[5] The Final Report on The Outcomes of Monitoring The Jordanian Parliamentary Elections 2020, Rased – Retrieved November 3rd, 2021
https://www.rasedjo.com/ar/publications/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D9%82%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%B1-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%86%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%8A-%D9%84%D9%85%D8%AE%D8%B1%D8%AC%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D9%85%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%82%D8%A8%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AA%D8%AE%D8%A7%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A8%D8%B1%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D8%B1%D8%AF%D9%86%D9%80%D9%8A%D8%A9-2020

[6] Women's Political Participation in Jordan, OECD – Retrieved November 3rd, 2021
https://www.oecd.org/mena/governance/womens-political-participation-in-jordan.pdf

[7] Ministry of Political & Parliamentary Affairs – Retrieved November 3rd, 2021
https://www.moppa.gov.jo/AR/List/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%AD%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%A8

especially the political parties financing bylaw, and provide recommendations to enhance the current bylaw to ensure a more inclusive representation for women.

Women in Political Legislations in Jordan

The Jordanian Constitution[8]

The Jordanian constitution granted women equal rights in terms of political participation and participation in public life in general. Below are constitutional clauses that refer to political participation and participation in public life for both men and women:

- Chapter 2 Paragraph 1 of Article 6: "Jordanians shall be equal before the law. There shall be no discrimination between them as regards to their rights and duties on grounds of race, language or religion."
- Chapter 2 Paragraph 1 of Article 15: "The State shall guarantee freedom of opinion. Every Jordanian shall be free to express his opinion by speech, in writing, or by means of photographic representation and other forms of expression, provided that such does not violate the law."
- Chapter 2 Paragraph 1 of Article 16: "Jordanians shall have the right to hold meetings within the limits of the law."
- Chapter 2 Paragraph 2 of Article 16: "Jordanians are entitled to establish societies and political parties provided that the objects of such societies and parties are lawful, their methods peaceful, and their by-laws not contrary to the provisions of the Constitution."
- Chapter 2 Paragraph 3 of Article 16: "The establishment of societies and political parties and the control of their resources shall be regulated by law."
- Chapter 2 Article 17: "Jordanians are entitled to address the public authorities on any personal matters affecting them, or on any matter relative to public affairs, in such a manner and under such conditions as may be prescribed by law."
- Chapter 2 Paragraph 1 of Article 22: "Every Jordanian shall be entitled to be appointed to public offices under such conditions as are prescribed by law or regulations."
- Chapter 2 Paragraph 2 of Article 22: "Appointment to any government office or to any establishment attached to the Government, or to any municipal office, whether such appointment is permanent or temporary, shall be made on the basis of merit and qualifications."
- Chapter 5 lists the articles related to legislative powers and the national assembly (Parliament) and does not mention anywhere any articles or terms that restrict women's rights in political participation.

[8] The Jordanian Parliament's Website – Retrieved November 3rd, 2021
http://parliament.jo/en/node/150

Despite the above, there are three points that are worth mentioning here. First, for Chapter 2 Paragraph 1 of Article 6, the article does not explicitly mention the word "Sex" when mentioning the basis where there can be no discrimination among Jordanians. Second, in all articles that deals with the rights of Jordanians, the constitution does not use Arabic gender pronouns for men and women, and instead it uses the plural "Jordanians" to refer for both men and women. Third, in several articles the implementation of the constitutional clauses is left to be determined "by the law". This creates loopholes for both the government and legislators, which both are dominated by men, to restrict and/or deprive women from their political rights. Such practice is visible in other legislations such as the "Civil Status Law", "The Social Security Law" and others.

Law on the Election of the House of Representatives No. 6 of 2016[9]

The terminology of the law is similar to the constitution as it uses Jordanians to refer for both men and women and refers to the bylaws in determining certain articles to the law that refers to both men and women. The articles that refer to the rights of women in the election process are the following:

- In the glossary of the law, the term "Voter" is defined as "A Jordanian national who has the right to elect members of the Chamber of Deputies in accordance with the provisions of this Law."
- Paragraph A of Article 3: "Any Jordanian national who became 18 calendar years of age ninety days prior to the date established for the elections shall have the right to elect members to the Chamber of Deputies in accordance with the provisions of this Law."
- Paragraph A of Article 10: "Every candidate for membership of the Chamber of Deputies shall meet the following criteria:
    - He/she has been a Jordanian national for at least ten years.
    - He/she is thirty calendar years of age on the polling day.
    - He/she has not been sentenced for bankruptcy, where his/her legal status has not been rehabilitated.
    - He/she has not been placed under guardianship by court's order, where such guardianship has not been lifted.
    - He/she has not been sentenced to imprisonment for more than one year for a non-political crime for which he/she has not been pardoned.
    - He/she is not deemed insane or retarded.
    - He/she is not a relative of the King to the degree assigned by special legislation.

[9] Law on the Election of the House of Representatives No. 6 of 2016 – Retrieved on November 3rd, 2021 https://www.iec.jo/sites/default/files/2020-09/2ParliamentaryElectionLawMay2016EN.docx%20%281%29_0%20%281%29.pdf

  - He/she is not a contractor for the government, an official public institution, or a company.
  - Owned or controlled by the government, or for any official public institution, regardless of whether such contracting is direct or indirect, with the exception of land and property leasing contracts and of shareholders in a company with more than ten members.
- Paragraph B of Article 8: "In addition to the parliamentary seats stipulated in paragraph (A) of this Article, fifteen seats shall be reserved for women, where one seat shall be reserved for each governorate."
- Paragraph E of Article 9: "Women candidates for seats reserved for women shall stand for election within lists. The woman candidate under the provisions of this item shall not be considered within the maximum number of candidates in the list."

The Political Parties Law No. 39 of 2015[10]

The current political parties law includes several articles that clearly defines the rights of Jordanians in participating in political parties and public life in general. Yet it is also worth mentioning that similar to the constitution, the law uses the plural word "Jordanians" to refer for both men and women instead of using the Arabic gender pronouns for men and women. It also conditions the implementation of its legal articles to the contents of the law, which means again that there is a loophole that can be used to restrict or deprive women of their political rights. The relevant articles in the law are identified below:

- Article 3: "Every political organization consisting of a group of Jordanians shall be considered a party when established in compliance with the provisions of the Constitution and this Law with the purpose of participating in political life as well as achieving specific objectives related to political, economic, and social affairs and is operating through legitimate and peaceful means."
- Paragraph A of Article 4: "Jordanians shall have the right to form and join parties in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and this Law."
- Paragraph A of Article 5: "A party shall be formed on the basis of citizenship and equality amongst Jordanians as well as abidance to democracy and respect of political pluralism."
- Paragraph B of Article 5: "A party cannot be formed on religious, sectarian, ethnic, or faction basis, or on discriminatory basis caused by gender or origin."
- Paragraph B of Article 6: B. A founding member shall fulfill the following conditions:
  - Has been a Jordanian national for ten years at least
  - Has completed his eighteenth year of age

[10] Political Parties Law No. 39 of 2015 – Retrieved November 3rd, 2021 https://www.iec.jo/sites/default/files/2020-09/7%20Political%20Parties%20Law%202015%20EN%20%281%29_0%20%281%29.pdf

  - Has not been convicted of a crime or misdemeanor that harms public morale and ethics except for crimes of a political nature, unless the individual has been rehabilitated
  - Enjoys full civil and legal competence
  - Usually resides in the Kingdom
  - Cannot be a judge
  - Cannot be a member of any other party or any other non-Jordanian political organization
  - Cannot be an employee of the Jordanian Armed Forces, any security apparatus, or the Civil Defense
- Paragraph A of Article 7: "At least, five Jordanians wishing to form a party shall have the right to notify the Chairperson, in writing, of that wish. The written notice shall include the preliminary principles and notions of the party to enable them to exercise their preparatory political activities and promote the party's establishment. The application to establish the party shall be submitted once the requirements stipulated in this Law have been fulfilled within no more than one year from the date of the notice." For clarification purposes, the word "Chairperson" in this article refers to the chairperson of the "Committee of Parties' Affairs" which is a committee based at the Ministry of Political and Parliamentary Affairs and is headed by the Secretary General of the ministry and members of other public and private entities. The committee is tasked with considering the applications to form parties and follow up on their affairs in compliance with the provisions of the law.
- Paragraph B of Article 20: "Maintaining the independence and security of the country as well as safeguarding the national unity away from discrimination among citizens."
- Paragraph D of Article 20: "Fulfilling the principle of equal opportunities among all citizens when assuming responsibility or contributing to it."

Bylaw for Financial Subsidies to Political Parties No. 155 of 2019[11]

In 2019, the government amended the "Bylaw for Financial Subsidies to Political Parties" where it included new articles that provided additional support to political parties that included women as candidates in their lists or where women were able to win seats in the House of Representatives. The new articles are as follows:

[11] Bylaw for Financial Subsidies to Political Parties No. 155 of 2019 – Retrieved November 3rd, 2021 https://www.moppa.gov.jo/ebv4.0/root_storage/ar/eb_list_page/%D9%86%D8%B8%D8%A7%D9%85_%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%A7%D9%87%D9%85%D8%A9_%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%8A%D8%A9_%D9%81%D9%8A_%D8%AF%D8%B9%D9%85_%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D8%AD%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%A8_%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%A9_%D8%B1%D9%82%D9%85_(155)_%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%86%D8%A9_2019.pdf

- Paragraph A of Article 4: “An amount of 20,000 Jordanian Dinars is granted for the party if it nominates a number of its members for the parliamentary elections, nominating not less than six candidates, provided that this nomination shall include at least three electoral districts, and a percentage of 15% is added to this amount if among the candidates are women or candidates under the age of 35 years.”
- Paragraph E of Article 4: “20% of the amount due for each seat the party wins is added in the event that women or candidates under the age of 35 won the seats, in compliance with the provisions of paragraphs (c) and (d) of this Article, provided that the amount must not exceed what is stipulated in these two paragraphs.”
- Paragraph C of Article 8 (of the instructions): “Subject to the terms and conditions stipulated in the two Paragraphs (a) and (b) of this Article, 15% of the amount referred to in Paragraph (b) shall be added if there are at least one woman among the candidates.” Article 8 and Paragraph A and B thereof state the following: “Political Parties are eligible to receive Financial Subsidy for participation in the parliamentary electoral process based on the following terms and conditions: AND The political party is entitled to an amount of 20,000 Jordanian Dinars in the event that it nominates a number of its members for the parliamentary elections, based on the following terms and conditions:”
- Paragraph E of Article 9 (of the instructions): “20% of the amount due for the party in accordance with paragraphs (c) and (d) of this article is added for each winning candidate in case they are women or under the age of 35. The Financial Subsidy grant must not exceed 30,000 Jordanian Dinars.” Paragraphs C and D of Article 9 state the following: “A Financial Subsidy of 3,000 Jordanian Dinars is granted for the party for each seat won by one of the party's candidates in the parliamentary elections, provided that they comply with the terms and conditions stipulated in Paragraph (a) of Article 8 in these instructions. The Financial Support grant must not exceed 30,000 Jordanian Dinars. AND A Financial Subsidy of 3,000 Jordanian Dinars is granted for the party for each presidency seat won of an (Category A) municipality, or a seat in the Greater Amman Municipality council or the presidency of a Governorate Council, provided that they comply with the terms and conditions stipulated in Paragraph (a) of Article 8 in these instructions. The Financial Subsidy grant must not exceed 30,000 Jordanian Dinars.”

Despite these amendments, the new articles encourage political parties to include women candidates in their lists when running for the elections of the HoR. However, they do not provide support for parties to recruit, retain, and advance women in their internal structures. These are the things that we will address in this paper.

Decentralization Law No. 49 of 2015[12]

- Section 1 of Paragraph C of Article 6: "Taking into account the provisions of paragraphs (b) and (d) of this article, an additional (10%) of the number of seats allocated to the elected members of the council shall be added to women, to be filled by female candidates who obtained the highest number of votes in the governorate, who are not winners."
- Paragraph D of Article 6: "The Council of Ministers, upon the recommendation of the Minister, appoints no more than (15%) of the number of elected members of the Council, provided that one third of this percentage is allocated to women."

Recommendations of The Royal Committee for Modernizing the Political System[13]

The Jordanian Constitution

- Adding a new paragraph under article 6 to state the following: "The state guarantees the empowerment and support of women to play an active role in building society in a manner that guarantees equal opportunities on the basis of justice and equity and protects them from all forms of violence and discrimination."
- Amending the title of chapter two of the constitution from "The Rights of Jordanians and Their Duties" to become "The Rights of Jordanian "Men" and Jordanian "Women"". Thereby using the Arabic feminine and masculine pronouns for the first time to explicitly distinguish between men and women.

Law on the Election of the House of Representatives

- Creating a general national district where candidates can all compete on a national level. This district is restricted only for partisan members and has a total of 41 seats out of 138 seats for MPs.
- Requiring candidates in the general national list to include at least one woman among the first three candidates and at least one woman among the following three candidates.
- Reserving one seat in each electoral district for women via the quota system.

[12] Decentralization Law No. 49 of 2015 – Retrieved November 3rd, 2021
https://ammanchamber.org.jo/Uplaoded/PRNews/5(1).pdf
[13] Recommendations of The Royal Committee for Modernizing the Political System – Retrieved November 4th, 2021
https://tahdeeth.jo/

The Political Parties Law

- The percentage of women should not be less than 20% of the total number of the party's founders.
- Adding a new paragraph to Article 15 to state the following: "It (the party) guarantees the right of its affiliates from the women and youth groups to assume leadership positions in it, to attract and empower persons with disabilities and to invest their energies in serving the party's goals, and to provide arrangements and facilities and access to practice their activities." However, it is not specified how the rights of women will be guaranteed in accordance with this article.
- Adding a new paragraph to article 25 that states the following: "The party must enable youth, women and persons with disabilities to have fair and equal access to the party's available resources, especially during electoral campaigns." However, and similar to the previous article mentioned above, the law does not specify how the party will guarantee the rights of women in accordance with this paragraph.

Bylaw for Financial Subsidies to Political Parties

- The current bylaw will continue until the results of the upcoming parliamentary elections are announced in the Official Gazette.
- An additional financial incentive rate for each parliamentary seat won by a young man or woman under the age of (35).
- An additional financial incentive percentage for each parliamentary seat won by a woman.
- With regard to local elections and governorate councils, a recommendation to implement paragraphs (d) and (e) of Article (4) of the current bylaw. Paragraph e in the current bylaw states the following: "20% of the amount due for each seat the party wins is added in the event that women or candidates under the age of 35 won the seats, in compliance with the provisions of paragraphs (c) and (d) of this Article, provided that the amount must not exceed what is stipulated in these two paragraphs."

Decentralization Law[14]

- Strengthening the role of youth, women, and persons with disabilities through the formation of "shadow councils" to support the work of the elected structures.

[14] To become called "Local administration Law" and will include municipalities which are regulated under a separate law called the "Municipalities Law"

- Allocating at least 30% of elected council seats in governorates and municipalities to women and allocating a seat for persons with disabilities in the elected structures at the governorate and municipal levels.
- The deputy head of both the governorate and municipal councils should be a woman in the event that the president is a man.
- Striving to establish women's and youth committees in local administration structures, and to stipulate that in the laws regulating the work of these structures, so that the formation of these committees does not remain an optional task.
- The responsiveness of governorates and municipal budgets to the requirements of empowering women and youth. However, it is not clarified here how the requirements of empowering youth and women will be decided here.

Recommendations to Empower Women in Jordanian Political Parties Utilizing Public Finance Assistance

Table 1: General & Specific Recommendations and Their Impact to Empower Women in Jordanian Political Parties Utilizing Public Finance Assistance

#	General Recommendations	Specific Recommendations	Impact
1	Include equality statements and clauses between men and women in the party's statute	Provide additional 10% of overall funding to the party that includes gender equality statements and clauses in the party's statute. An independent and specialized third party must oversee and validate the statements in order for the additional funding to be released (In the case of Jordan it could be the Jordan National Commission for Women)	Embed gender equality in the party's literature
2	Include women's quotas in the party's committees and internal structures	Provide additional 15% of overall funding for including women's quotas in the party's internal committees and structures. The quota for the first year should be 20% of each committee's members, to increase to 30% in the second year, and 40% in the third year	Increase women's representation and participation in internal party politics

3	Include quotas for the party's women to participate in party's conventions and general meetings	Parties that do not commit to including women members with a percentage of no less than 25% in their general party conventions and meetings will be penalized by deducting an amount of 10% of their overall funding	Mainstream women in party's meetings and events
4	Hold separate special forums for women during the party's annual general conventions	Penalize parties that do not hold separate special forums for women during their annual general party's conventions by 5% of their overall funding	Ensure that women have a voice in the annual party meetings
5	Establishing women sections and wings with appropriate funding	Provide additional 10% of overall funding for parties that have established and functioning women's wings and sections. The party must allocate at least 10% of its overall funding for their functioning	Increasing the representation of women in internal party structures and ensure the functioning of the women-dedicated structures
6	Establishing gender-sensitive guidelines for candidates' recruitment for elections	Provide additional 5% of overall funding for parties that establish and implement gender-sensitive recruitment guidelines. The guidelines must be validated, and their implementation must be monitored by a specialized independent third party (In the case of Jordan it could be the Jordan National Commission for Women)	Increase the recruitment of women in parties
7	Mandate parties to work with civil society organizations to advance women in politics	Provide additional 10% of overall funding for parties that work effectively with civil society organization to advance women in their parties and in the political processes in general. This must be validated by the public body supervising parties in Jordan (Such as Ministry of Political & Parliamentary Affairs or the Independent Election Commission which is in line with	Mainstream women in parties and political processes in general

		the recommendations of the Royal Committee for Modernizing the political System in Jordan)	
8	Programs for training and supporting women party members, including civic education, leadership, and preparation for elections	Provide additional 15% of overall funding for parties that hold at least 4 trainings and programs every year to support women in political education, political leadership, and preparation for elections. This must be validated by the public body supervising parties in Jordan (Such as Ministry of Political & Parliamentary Affairs or the Independent Election Commission which is in line with the recommendations of the Royal Committee for Modernizing the political System in Jordan) and the relevance of activities and curriculums must be validated by a specialized independent third party (In the case of Jordan it could be the Jordan National Commission for Women)	Advance the careers of women in politics
9	Having a strategy for gender equality and gender mainstreaming	Provide additional 10% of overall funding for parties that develop and implement a gender equality and gender mainstreaming strategy. The quality of the strategy must be validated by a specialized independent third party (In the case of Jordan it could be the Jordan National Commission for Women), and its implementation must be monitored by the public body supervising parties in Jordan (Such as Ministry of Political & Parliamentary Affairs or the	Mainstream women in parties and political processes in general

		Independent Election Commission which is in line with the recommendations of the Royal Committee for Modernizing the political System in Jordan)	
10	Including partisan women in women' caucuses and groups	Provide an additional 0.5% of overall funding for parties for each partisan women that is a member of a local or international women group or caucus. This includes parliamentary groups and caucuses. The implementation of this clause must be monitored and validated by the public body supervising parties in Jordan (Such as Ministry of Political & Parliamentary Affairs or the Independent Election Commission which is in line with the recommendations of the Royal Committee for Modernizing the political System in Jordan)	Encourage women to participate and be represented in women-dedicated platforms
11	Assigning women as heads of blocs in parliament	Provide additional 20% of overall funding for parties that assign a woman as the head of the partisan parliamentary bloc	Promote women leadership and career advancement in the political process
12	Placing women in advanced positions in electoral lists	Provide additional 5% of overall funding for each party every time they include women in the top three positions in any electoral list	Promote women leadership and career advancement in the political process
13	Develop gender-responsive budgets	Provide additional 10% of overall funding for parties that develop and submit a gender-responsive budgeting. The budget must be validated by a verified auditor and its implementation must be monitored by a specialized independent third party (In the case of Jordan it could be the	Mainstream women in parties' internal processes and expenditures priorities

		Jordan National Commission for Women)	
14	Balanced representation or a minimum number of candidates must be women	Provide additional 25% of overall funding for parties that have at least 40% of their candidates as women in any elections	Promote women leadership and career advancement in the political process
15	Forcing parties to use a portion of their funds to support women in parties	Parties that do not commit to allocating at least 10% of their overall funding for women will be penalized by deducting 15% of their overall funding in the next financial year	Promote the retainment and advancement of women in political parties
16	Considering childcare services for partisan women and those running for elections	Provide additional 15% of overall funding for parties that provide childcare services for partisan women and partisan women running for elections. Such services must be monitored and regulated by the related authorities (e.g., Ministry of Social Development)	Promote women's participation in party's events and elections
17	Lowering candidacy registration fees for partisan electoral lists with balanced gender representation	Lower candidacy registration fees by 50% for electoral lists that include at least 40% women candidates	Promote women's political participation and gender equality
18	Lowering candidacy registration fees for partisan women	Lower candidacy registration fees by 50% for each partisan woman	Promote women's political participation and reduce financial burdens on women candidates
19	Ensure the allocation of adequate media time for partisan women candidates	Provide additional 20% of overall funding for parties that provide equal media exposure for men and women candidates during the elections campaign period and allow for a discrepancy margin of no more than 5% Penalize parties that do not provide an equal media time for men and women candidates by deducting 20% of their overall funding	Ensure equal exposure for women candidates and mainstream women in political processes

		Media time should be monitored by the relevant public authorities (such as the Jordanian Media Commission) and in collaboration with specialized civil society organizations	
20	Party funding received for achieving measures to empower women must have a dedicated amount to be spent on women	Parties must commit to allocating at least 50% of funding received for activities supporting women, to be spent on activities that support women. The budget must be validated by a verified auditor and the implementation and relevance of activities must be monitored by a specialized independent third party (In the case of Jordan it could be the Jordan National Commission for Women)	Mainstream women in parties and political processes in general
21	Establishing a partisan fund to support women and the government can contribute to that	Parties that establish specialized funds for supporting women, either by themselves or in collaboration with other parties, are entitled to receive an annual contribution from the government for an amount of 20% of the total funds collected in any given financial year. The expenditures of the fund must be validated by a verified auditor and the implementation and relevance of activities financed by the fund must be monitored by a specialized independent third party (In the case of Jordan it could be the Jordan National Commission for Women)	Prioritize women in party's plans and mainstream women in parties and political processes in general
22	Parties will receive additional funding or be penalized if more than two thirds of the heads of their	Provide additional 15% funding for parties that have at least 35% of their registered branches headed by women.	Promote women leadership and career advancement in the political process

	registered branches are of the same gender	Penalize parties by deducting 20% of their overall funding if more than 65% of their registered branches are headed by men	
23	Parties will receive additional funding or be penalized if they do not commit to a certain percentage of women candidates in any elections	Provide additional 20% of overall funding for parties that have at least 30% women candidates in the total of their electoral lists (This could be in the local lists or the national list) Penalize parties by deducting 25% of their overall funding if the total of their electoral lists have less than 20% women candidates	Promote women's political participation, gender equality, and mainstreaming in political processes
24	Parties should allocate a proportion of donation funds to support women political empowerment activities	Parties must be mandated to allocate at least 20% of any donation funds to support women's empowerment activities. Funds must be validated by a verified auditor and the implementation and relevance of activities financed by donations must be monitored by a specialized independent third party (In the case of Jordan it could be the Jordan National Commission for Women)	Prioritizing women in parties expenditures behavior and promoting women leadership and career in parties
25	Conducting gender audits and developing implementation action plans	Parties that conduct gender audits every two years and develop action plans with budgets to implement them receive an additional 15% of their overall funding and the government contributes with 30% of the total budget for implementing the action plans. The expenditures of the action plan's budget must be validated by a verified auditor and the implementation and relevance of activities financed by the fund	Increasing parties' gender sensitivity and mainstream gender in parties' internal processes and policies

		must be monitored and validated by a specialized independent third party (In the case of Jordan it could be the Jordan National Commission for Women)	
26	Establishing an internal committee to monitor and support gender equality rules and mechanisms within the party. The committee could include external experts either as volunteers or paid members	Parties that establish committees to monitor and support the implementation of gender equality rules and mechanisms receive an additional 10% of their overall funding. The relevant committee(s) must commit to receiving an annual capacity building and enhancement trainings by a specialized independent third party (In the case of Jordan it could be the Jordan National Commission for Women)	Institutionalize gender equality practices within political parties
27	Develop gender-sensitive programs and manifestos	Parties that develop gender-sensitive programs and manifestos receive an additional 10% of their overall funding. The relevance and adequacy of programs and manifestos must be validated by a specialized independent third party (In the case of Jordan it could be the Jordan National Commission for Women)	Mainstream women in parties' internal literature and policies
28	Include clauses in the party's disciplinary actions list against violence, sexism, and harassment against women	Parties that include clauses among its disciplinary actions list against violence, sexism, and harassment against women receive an additional 15% of their total funding. The relevance and adequacy of the clauses must be validated by a specialized independent third party (In the case of Jordan it could be the Jordan National	Protect partisan women from violence, sexism, and harassment against them and ensure the retainment and advancement of women in political parties

		Commission for Women), and their implementation must be monitored by the public body supervising parties in Jordan (Such as Ministry of Political & Parliamentary Affairs or the Independent Election Commission which is in line with the recommendations of the Royal Committee for Modernizing the political System in Jordan)	
29	Parties must ensure that its physical infrastructure are accommodating for the needs of women members and staff	Parties that ensure their physical infrastructure in all of their branches are accommodating for the needs of women members and staff receive an additional 15% of their overall funding. The government will also contribute with an amount of 30% of the total costs of ensuring that physical infrastructure adjustments are put in place. The amount of expenditures must be validated by a verified auditor and the relevance of physical adjustments must be validated by a specialized independent third party (In the case of Jordan it could be the Jordan National Commission for Women)	Accommodating the needs of women members and staff in parties, ensuring their retention and advancement in parties
30	Providing adequate and safe transportation means of transport for partisan women members and staff	Parties that commit to providing adequate and safe means of transportation for partisan women members, staff, and partisan women candidates who are running in an election will receive an additional 15% of their overall funding. The monitoring of these procedures must be conducted by the public body supervising parties in	Ensure that partisan women members and staff are able to compete in elections and do their work and join party's events without being hindered because of transportation issues

		Jordan (Such as Ministry of Political & Parliamentary Affairs or the Independent Election Commission which is in line with the recommendations of the Royal Committee for Modernizing the political System in Jordan)	
31	Ensure that men and women candidates receive equal donations and have similar campaign spending limits	Parties that provide validated financial reports showing that men and women candidates receive equal donations and have equal campaign spending limits will receive an additional 15% of their overall funding. Financial reports must be validated by a verified auditor.	Level the playing field between men and women candidates

Additional Recommendations

- Incentive caps in the current public financial assistance regulation in Jordan that relate to women must be removed and ensure that parties receive additional funds for each woman that the party nominates or each woman that secures a seat in any elections without any funding ceilings.
- All current and new public financial assistance legislations must be examined with a gender lens to ensure its neutrality and accommodation for the needs of partisan women members and staff, in relation to the local context.
- Legislations that aim to empower women or level the playing fields between men and women must be developed carefully to ensure that they would yield the desired results. An example of this is campaign expenditures ceiling and ceiling for receiving donations, where the ceilings should not be so high that they would become ineffective and lose their relevance.
- Financial and data disclosure regulations must be imposed on parties where it should be disaggregated by sex so that effective monitoring can be done on the spending and donations limits, and legislations in this regard would be implemented effectively.
- Annual reports should be published by the relevant authorities on the level of implementation and commitment by parties to gender-equality rules and regulations to compel more parties to adhere to those regulations.
- Through the Central Bank of Jordan, facilitate the process of providing loans for women candidates to raise funds for their campaigns.

- In collaboration with local and international civil society organizations and actors, design and implement capacity building programs for women in politics on topics they need the most such as fundraising for political campaigns.

Conclusion

Parties remain the most essential vehicle for political representation in modern democracies. However, as most of the other institutions in politics, they remain a male-dominated institutions. This issue is prevalent world-wide, although it varies from one country to another depending on many factors. As women remain underrepresented in political parties, and in politics in general, governments have sought to utilize public financial assistance to political parties to incentivize them to attract more women into their internal structures and become more accommodating to allow for more women representation and advancement in the political arena. The use of public financial assistance could have enormous effects on women's political representation as it increases the gender sensitivity of party leadership, influences their decisions when it comes to women, and enhances the financial and political position of women politicians and candidates. Nevertheless, to ensure that such regulation do the intended impact, public financial assistance must form a significant proportion of the party's overall financing, and gender-related financing must form a significant proportion of the total public financial assistance to parties.

In 2019, the Jordanian government issues a new bylaw for public financial assistance for political parties that included for the first-time clauses stipulating the appropriation of funds to support parties that nominate women as their candidates, or for women candidates that manage to win seats. Although this is an important first step, it falls very short from achieving gender equality and advancing women in political parties and politics in general. The reason for this is as mentioned earlier that the total funds allocated for supporting women in parties is not significant enough to attract parties to adhere to it. Moreover, the funds are dedicated for actions that fall within the period of elections, and does not cover the periods before or after, and does extend to activities that are not related to elections.

In this policy brief, I propose recommendations that covers the aforementioned aspects, including, but not limited to the following; party literature, internal structures, mainstreaming and advancing women in internal policies and procedures, creating synergies with CSO's and other parties to advance women in parties and politics, developing strategies and plans to advance the careers of women in politics and ensure their retention in parties, provide more media exposure to women candidates, ensure that more women candidates are represented in the party's nomination lists, capacity building activities for women in parties, the elimination of violence, sexism, discrimination, and harassment of women in parties and politics, the accommodation of parties' infrastructure to partisan women members, and imposing ceilings on donations and campaign expenditures for both men and women.

MASARAT
Jordanian Masarat for Development and Progress

Annex 1: Focus Groups Questions

1- What gender equality rules can be imposed on parties and linked to public funding to increase gender equality in parties? Rules can be related to representation in the party's internal committees, leadership positions, etc...
2- What rules can be imposed on parties to prevent discrimination against women and linked to funding? What would discrimination against women entail?
3- What rules can be imposed on parties and linked to public financing to support partisan career development for women?
4- What rules can be imposed on parties and linked to public financing to ensure equality in campaign financing?
5- What rules can be imposed on parties and linked to public financing to ensure gender sensitivity in parties' manifestos and programs? Should these manifestos and programs be audited by an independent, third-party entity to ensure their gender sensitivity?
6- What rules can be imposed on parties and linked to public financing to eliminate violence, sexism, and harassment in the internal structures and regulations of political parties? How can violence, sexism, and harassment against women be defined?
7- What other measures that can be done to link public financing to political parties to increase women's participation?

Annex 2: Interview Questions

1- How public financial assistance can be used to increase women's participation in political parties?
2- How can public financial assistance for political parties change the behaviour of parties' leaderships towards women?
3- Does the current bylaw for public financial assistance has any impact on women's participation in political parties?
4- Which legislations in Jordan affect the participation of women in political parties and politics?
5- What are the internal obstacles in Jordanian political parties that affect the participation of women in politics?
6- How can discrimination against women in political parties be defined? What are the most common forms of discrimination?
7- Mention one recommendation to utilize public financial assistance for political parties to increase women's participation in Jordan in the following areas:
    a. Parties' strategies and plans
    b. Parties' literature
    c. Parties' behaviour towards women

d. The elimination of violence, sexism, discrimination, and harassment against women in parties
e. Campaign expenditures and donations to political candidates