



Table of Content

List of Acronyms	10
Acknowledgements	11
1 Introduction	13
1.1 The Research Objective	16
1.2 Argument	17
1.3 The Problem Statement	19
1.3.1 Women's Rights and Family Law	22
1.3.2 State Policies and Liberal Feminism Premises	24
1.4 The Research Contribution	26
2 Theoretical Framework	27
2.1 Approaches of Feminism	27
2.1.1 Radical Feminism	28
2.1.2 Socialist Feminism	28
2.1.3 Global Feminism	29
2.1.4 Black Feminism	30
2.2 Liberal Feminism	30
A Combination of Classic and Recent Thought	34
2.3 How to Reach the Goals of Liberal Feminism	36
3 Definition of Citizenship	39
3.1 Citizenship and International Human Rights	
3.2 Situational Analysis of Citizenship in the Arab World	44
3.2.1 Women's Status in the Arab World	45
3.2.2 Legal Status and Social Practices: Privileging a Masculine Citizenship	48
3.2.3 The Role of the State in Shaping Citizenship	51
3.2.3.1 The Nature of the State	51
3.2.3.2 State and Women: Whose Interests?	52
3.2.3.3 State Intervention in Women's Rights: Empowering or Entrapping?	54
4 The Methodology	56
4.1 Qualitative Comparison Research	56
4.2 Research Methods	57
Data Collecting Method: Semi-Structured Interviews	57
4.2.1 Sampling Techniques	59
4.2.1.1 Elite Interview	59
4.2.1.2 Snowball Sampling	61
4.3 Data Content Analysis	62
4.4 The Development of Comparison Categories	63
4.5 Obstacles during the Field Work	65
5 Citizenship in the Jordanian Legislation and in Women's Practice	67
5.1 The Political System	68
5.2 The Legal Aspect of Women's Citizenship	70
5.2.1 Legislative Biased Statements Regarding Citizenship	73
5.2.1.1 Civil and Political Rights	73
Nationality Law	73
Passport Law	74
Election Law	75
5.2.1.2 Economic Rights	76
Labour Law	76
Social Security	77



	Retirement Law	78
	Civil Service Law	78
5.2.1.3	Social Rights	79
	Family Law	79
	Polygamy and Different Religion Marriage	80
	Rights and Responsibilities during Marriage	80
	Guardianship, Wardship and Trusteeship of Children	80
	Inheritance	81
	Penal Code: Honour Killing	81
5.2.2	Legal Reforms: Towards Positive or Negative Reforms	82
5.3	The Practical Aspects of Women's Citizenship	87
5.3.1	Legislation Process	88
5.3.1.1	Introduction of Legislation to the Agenda of the Parliament	89
5.3.1.2	The Debate of Women's Rights in the Parliament	89
5.3.2	Jordanian Women Representation in the Political and Public Life	93
5.3.2.1	Participation in the Legislative Authority	93
	The Jordanian National Committee for Women JNCW and the Quota system	94
5.3.2.2	Participation in Executive Authority	96
5.3.2.3	Participation in the Judiciary Authority	97
5.3.2.4	Participation in the Foreign Affairs	97
6	Citizenship in the Bahraini Legislation and in Women's Practice in a Comparative Perspective	99
6.1	Political system	100
6.1.1	The Constitutional Court	102
6.1.2	Constitutional Provisions of Equality before the Law in a Comparative Perspective: Is It a Liberal Definition of Citizenship?	104
6.2	The Legal Aspect of Women's Citizenship	106
6.2.1	Discriminative Legislative Statements Disregard Women's Citizenship	108
6.2.1.1	Civil and Political Rights	108
	Nationality Law	108
	Passport Law	110
	Election Law	110
6.2.1.2	Economic Rights	112
	The Diplomatic Code Law	113
	Labour Law	113
	Retirement Law	114
	Civil Service Law	115
	Social Security Law	115
	Housing Law	115
6.2.1.3	Social Rights	116
	Sunni Group's Family Affairs towards Improvement	116
	Age of Marriage	119
	Polygamy	119
	Marriage of Different Religion	119
	Guardianship	120
	Marital Obedience	120
	Divorce	121
	Unequal Rights in Inheritance	121
	Penal Code: Violence against Women	122
6.2.2	Past Law Reforms	123
	Social Rights in a Comparative Context	125
6.3	The Practical Aspect of Bahraini Women's Citizenship	128
6.3.1	Women in the Parliament	128
6.3.1.1	Legislations Introduction to the Agenda of the Parliament	130
6.3.1.2	The Context of Formulating the Family Law Draft	132
	Historical Background: The Public Debate	132
	Formulating the Draft	133
	Legislators and Debating Women's Rights: The Family Law	134



6.3.2	Women Representation in the Political and Public Life	135
6.3.2.1	Participation in the Parliament	136
	The Supreme Council's for Women (SCW) Point of View towards Quota	136
6.3.2.2	Participation in the Government	138
6.3.2.3	Participation in the Judiciary	138
6.3.2.4	Participation in the Foreign Affairs	139
6.3.2.5	Parliament Structure, Debating Family Law and Different Groups (Sunni, Shi'ite), Women Political Participation: Jordan and Bahrain	140
	Parliament Organisational Structure	141
	Lobbying	141
	Number of MPs and the Nature of the Parliament	142
	Advocacy	143
	Debating Family Law and Different Groups (Shi'ite and Sunni)	145
	Women's Political Participation in Jordan and in Bahrain: Legislators, Ministers, Judges	147
6.4	Different Interpretations of Women's Rights in CEDAW	153
	The Role of Leadership in Jordan and in Bahrain, and NGOs that Peruse Country Policies Supporting Women's Rights	155
	JNCW and SCW: Different Points of View with Respect to the Quota	155
7	Conclusion	158
7.1	Obstacles Facing Women in Realising Their Rights In Jordan and In Bahrain	160
7.2	Snapshot of Considered Suggestions	161
8	References	163
	Appendix A: Pilot Research in Jordan	171
	Appendix B: Jordan Field Research	173
	Appendix C: Bahrain Field Research Report 9-19/ 4/ 2010	174
	Appendix D: Interviews Questions	176
	Section A – Objective One	176
	Section B – Objective Two	176
	Section C – Objective Three	176
	Section D – Objective Four	177
	Section E – Objective Five	177
	Section F – Decision-Making Process	177
	Section G – Additional Questions for Bahrain	178