

JORDAN Country Brief

UNICEF Regional Study on Child Marriage
In the Middle East and North Africa



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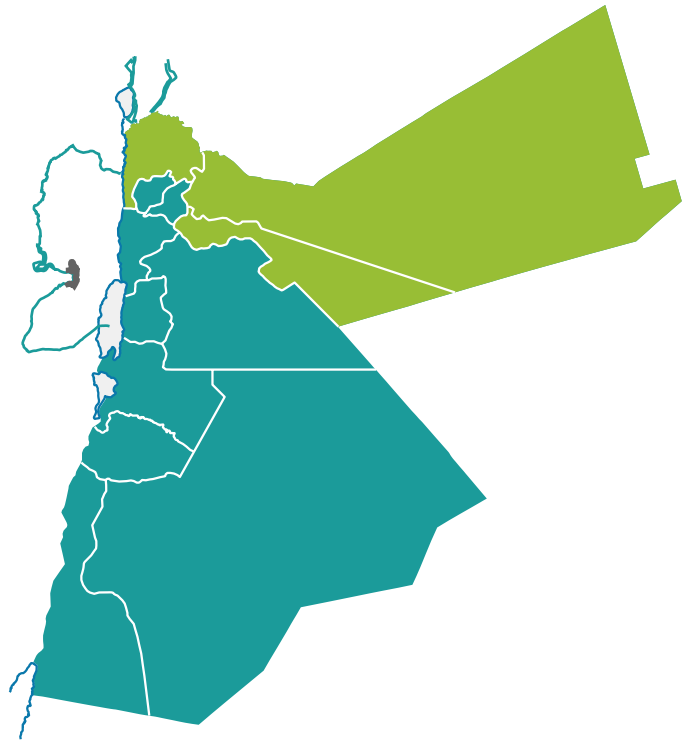
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JORDAN

Regional Study on Child Marriage



Key Recommendations

Girls' Voice and Agency

Eliminate gendered barriers to education.

Implement programmes that offer vocational training to girls ages 15 to 18, and raise families' awareness on their daughters' productive potential.

Household and Community Attitudes and Behaviours

Develop holistic, participatory community programming that addresses norms around child marriage.

Carefully engage receptive religious leaders and support them to become advocates for child marriage prevention.

Service Delivery

Design a new child marriage prevention campaign, based on the Amani campaign model, to promote individual and institutional awareness of child marriage.

Build the capacity of local organizations to address child marriage through increased financial and human resources, strengthening referral systems, improving case management for prevention and response, and increasing knowledge of child marriage laws amongst service providers.

Legal Context

The National Council for Family Affairs' Child Marriage Task Force should coordinate campaigns to reform the personal status law's loopholes on child marriage and change discriminatory nationality laws that prohibit Jordanian women with foreign husbands from passing their citizenship rights to their children.

Evidence Generation

Develop context-specific conceptual frameworks for understanding the nature of restrictive mobility, how it affects at-risk and already married girls' access to services, and how it may vary depending on the local context.

POLITICAL & ECONOMIC CONTEXT

Due to ongoing political instability in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, Jordan has become a central hub for refugees fleeing violence. As of June 30, 2017, over 660,000 Syrians have registered as refugees with the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) in Jordan.¹ Jordan's total refugee and displaced person population,² including Iraqis and Palestinians is 1.5 million, representing a quarter of its overall population. The influx of refugees has strained the country's infrastructure and led to an increase in social and political tensions.³ It has also had a negative effect on the Jordanian economy, resulting in disrupted trade routes, decreased tourism and lower investments.⁴ Jordan also faces high unemployment rates and increased competition for jobs.⁵ These difficulties have led the Jordanian public to focus on the negative impacts of the Syrian refugee crisis, hampering the government's ability to effectively respond to the influx of refugees.⁶

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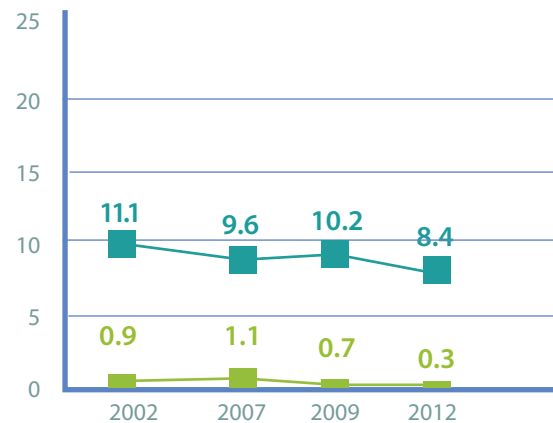
Source: UNHCR in Jordan

PREVALENCE OF CHILD MARRIAGE

The prevalence of child marriage in Jordan is lower than other countries in the MENA region. According to Jordan's most recent 2012 Population and Family Health Survey, just 8.4 per cent of women aged 20 to 24 had married

before the age of 18 and less than 1 per cent had married before 15.⁷ This figure includes Syrian refugee girls, who were purposefully included in the 2012 sampling frame for the first time. Figure 1 shows trends in child marriage in Jordan from 2002 to 2012, showing a fairly consistent decline in marriage below age 18 and age 15. The percent of women 20 to 24 who had married before the age of 18 has decreased from 11.1 per cent in 2002 to 8.4 per cent in 2012, whilst marriage below 15 declined from 0.9 per cent to 0.3 per cent in the same time frame.⁸

Figure 1: Percentage of women 20-24 married by exact ages 15 and 18 in Jordan, 2002 to 2012



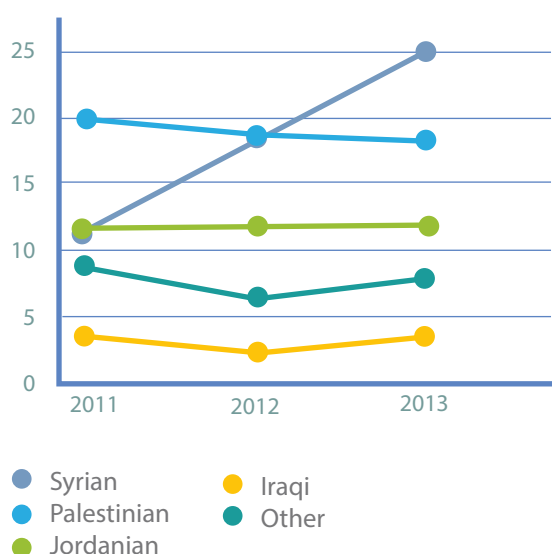
■ Percent of women 20-24 married before age 15
 ■ Percent of women 20-24 married before age 18

Source: JPFHS 2002-2012

Due to its low prevalence, devoting significant resources to ending child marriage is not a priority for many of the Jordanian government officials, UN officials, and non-governmental organization (NGO) experts interviewed for this study. However, there is increasing concern over a potential resurgence of child marriage due to the influx of Syrian refugees. Data collected for Jordan's Population and Family Health surveys cannot show trends in child marriage amongst Syrian refugees because they were not included in the sampling frame until 2012.⁹ However, trends can be estimated using marriage registration data, as shown in Figure 2. According to UNICEF, 12.0 per cent of registered marriages amongst Syrians in 2011 involved a girl under the age of 18.¹⁰

This figure increased to 18.4 per cent in 2012, 25.0 per cent in 2013 and 31.7 per cent in the first quarter of 2014.¹¹ Child marriages as a percentage of all registered marriages have therefore increased steadily and significantly for Syrian girls whilst the rates for other nationalities have held steady or slightly declined.¹²

Figure 2: Registered child marriages for girls aged 15-17 years as a percentage of all registered marriages, by nationality, Jordan, 2011-2014



Source: UNICEF 2015¹³

Despite the rise in the proportion of all Syrian marriages in Jordan that are registered to girls less than age 18, the vast majority of girls who married below the age of 18 in Jordan are still Jordanian nationals. Syrian girls accounted for just 0.5 per cent of all child marriages in Jordan in 2011, 1.7 per cent in 2012 and 7.6 per cent in 2013.¹⁴

METHODOLOGY

The data presented here was collected via key informant interviews with staff in three governmental institutions, four UN agencies and eight non-governmental organizations. A total of 15 interviews were conducted in person by a national researcher, from November 15-23, 2016. All interviews were coded independently by two researchers,

from November 15-23, 2016. All interviews were coded independently by two researchers, using NVivo 11 to distill key themes which were then organized through thematic content analysis. The findings were then organized according to the Global Programme’s five outcomes (described below) and cross-checked with the local researchers to ensure that the data were consistent with their overall impressions during the field missions.

Table 1: Key Informant Interviews

Government

Supreme Judge Department
Ministry of Social Development
Ministry of Awqaf & Islamic Affairs

UN

UNICEF Country Office
UNDP Regional Office
UN Women UNFPA

NGOs

Institute for Family Health
National Council for Family Affairs
International Medical Corps
Mizan Law Group for Human Rights
Jordanian National Commission for Women
Sisterhood is Global Institute
Arab Women Organisation
Arab Renaissance for Democracy and Development

LIMITATIONS

This report presents the main findings strictly based on the interviews conducted in Amman and is, therefore, limited to those categories of respondents. Considering the study’s goals and focus on scaling up promising programmatic approaches, the study focused on service providers, government officials, multilateral agencies, and donors—all of

whom would be able to identify 'best practices' to end child marriage. As a result, the findings are only representative of these respondent's views of promising approaches to end child marriage in Jordan.

KEY FINDINGS

The key findings are outlined within the framework of the UNFPA-UNICEF Global Programme's five outcomes:¹⁶

- Adolescent girls at risk of and affected by child marriage are better able to express and exercise their choices.
- Households demonstrate positive attitudes and behaviours regarding gender equality and equity.
- Relevant sectoral systems deliver quality and cost-effective services to meet the needs of adolescent girls.
- National laws, policy frameworks and mechanisms to protect and promote adolescent girls' rights are in line with international standards and properly resourced.
- Governments support and promote the generation and use of robust data and evidence to inform programme design, track progress and document lessons.

1 Girls' Voice and Agency

■ Restricted mobility limits girls' access to education

Although Jordan has made progress to facilitate access to education for both Jordanian and Syrian refugee children by, for example, waiving tuition for Syrian refugee students,¹⁷ or ensuring equal access of both genders to education, much remains to be done in terms of removing gendered barriers to education for girls in Jordan.

Many key informants noted that restricting the freedom of movement of girls at risk of and affected by child marriage is common in Jordan, and is further reinforced in the context of the Syrian refugee crisis. Interviews with child marriage experts indicated that mobility restrictions have important implications for girls' access to education and health services.

Box 1: Quote from NGO Expert



Pregnant girls and young mothers can go to school if the family will care for them, but chances of girls returning to school after childbirth is slim.



In education, for example, systems can constrain married girls from attending schools. A combination of stigma with respect to being married (related to the assumption that the girl has engaged in a sexual relationship with her husband), gender norms affecting household responsibilities of married girls, financial constraints, and early pregnancy still prevent most pregnant, parenting or married girls from returning to school. As noted by a UN official during an interview, "Principals normally don't want girls who are married to come back to school, as they are afraid it will 'taint' the other girls with talk of sex."

■ Poverty and gender inequity restricts girls' access to education and drives child marriage

Access to school and particularly secondary education is an important deterrent to child marriage around the world as demonstrated in several studies. Whilst Jordan's education system ensures equal access for both girls and boys, several key informants noted that many Jordanian and Syrian refugee girls are not able to continue their education, and are instead forced to marry due to prevailing gender inequalities, where girls are seen as an economic burden, and families privilege a son's education over a daughter's. As noted by a key informant from the National Council for Family Affairs (NCFA):



“Financial instability of families and their thinking of girls as an economic burden may justify early marriages especially when families are not able to support their daughter’s education. Another reason for early marriage is gender inequality – women and girls often occupy a lower status in societies as a result of social and cultural traditions, attitudes and beliefs that deny them their rights and stifle their ability to play an equal role in their homes.”



2

Household and Community Attitudes and Behaviours

Encouragement of early marriage amongst Syrian refugees

According to the respondents, some of the key challenges that organizations face in addressing child marriage are the social norms and traditions which hamper efforts in child marriage prevention. Whilst child marriage is reported to be increasing amongst Syrian refugees due to conflict and instability,¹⁹ several NGO keyinformants noted that child marriage for Syrians is not a new phenomenon – women have generally been encouraged to marry younger in Syria. As one NGO key informant noted, younger wives are often considered to be ideal, as they do not have previous intimate relationships, and they are better able to serve their husbands at old age. Similarly, a key informant from International Medical Corps (IMC) indicated that:



Box 2: Quote from NGO Expert

Young is better. She will serve you at old age. She will not be having previous relationships



Protecting family honour amongst Syrian refugees

According to respondents, amongst Syrian refugee families in Jordan, marrying off a daughter early also functions as a means to protect family honour. As a key informant from the Arab Women Organisation observed:



“The biggest difficulty is to persuade mothers and fathers to forget the idea of marrying their daughter. This is the problematic challenge that we face during the implementation of early marriage prevention services, particularly amongst displaced populations, in which early marriage is a solution for the father to protect the honour of his daughter.”



Likewise, a key informant from the Mizan Law Group for Human Rights described the obstacles they faced when implementing a programme on child marriage prevention, saying that:



“The obstacles we face during the implementation of early marriage prevention services or any activities/programmes related to early marriage... [are] asylum conditions that drive the family to marry their girls who are under 18 years of age to get rid of their financial burden and protect the family honour.”



Conflict and instability as a driver of child marriage

According to those interviewed, the most significant driver of child marriage in Jordan is the instability and uncertainty emerging from the Syrian refugee crisis, which creates a sense of physical and economic in

stability. It has opened avenues for child marriage to occur in several forms. Whilst child marriage is not uncommon in Syrian culture, the ongoing instability has caused rates of child marriage to increase, transforming an acceptable social practice into a perceived imperative to keep young girls safe.

■ High incidence of gender-based violence amongst refugees

The findings indicate that cases of gender-based violence (GBV) amongst child brides are widespread amongst the refugee population, which is consistent with the latest GBV-IMS Task Force findings, which show a high correlation between child marriage and the experience of other types of violence.²⁰ For example, one NGO key informant who works closely with survivors of violence explained that:

“

“GBV is highly prevalent amongst girls at risk of underage marriage and those in such marriages ... Most of the cases we encountered marriage does not last longer than 3 to 5 years and it is usually abusive relationships and domestic violence...”

”

Moreover, many of the key informants noted that divorce is a common outcome of child marriage, leaving the girl and her children with no other option but to live in shelters.

■ Marriage for protection from sexual violence

Marrying off a young daughter is seen as a way of protecting her from rape and other forms of abuses in times of armed conflict and displacement. For Syrian refugees, as noted by an NGO expert:

“

“...families in these situations are reliant on dwindling resources and are lacking economic opportunities. At the same time, they are all too aware of the need to protect their daughters from the threat of sexual violence.”

”

3

Service Delivery

■ Need for health services amongst child brides is high

As is both well established and reiterated by the respondents, child brides may suffer from multiple health problems. These include birth complications, early pregnancy and childbearing, sexual and reproductive health complications, sexually transmitted diseases, and psychosocial trauma, which can lead to suicide attempts. An NGO expert noted that:

“

“Child marriage victims often face other problems such as taking drugs, rejecting her child in the case of giving birth or inability to care for her child (sometimes the child is placed in the orphanage or children shelter) and others have severe mental disorders and attempt suicide.”

”

■ Human resources capacity

NGO key informants emphasized the need for capacity-building and training staff with adequate skills. They insisted that it is important to “develop training programmes to empower persons working with children and children’s rights but it does not have adequate financial, human, and material resources for them.” In addition, several NGO key informants expressed the need to engage more Syrian staff working with child marriage affected communities. For example, one NGO expert explained that:



"The main challenge is the cultural acceptance of child marriage amongst the target group. Most of the staff working with the Syrian community are Jordanian staff. More involvement from the Syrian community themselves is needed."



The IMC has made a conscious effort to employ Syrian volunteers on child protection programmes, and has seen a positive impact in some individual cases.

■ Referral systems

For Syrian refugees, whilst the interagency standard operating procedures (SOP) established in 2013 included specific instructions for referring child marriage cases amongst Syrian refugees, NGO key informants reported continued confusion over the tasks and responsibilities within the referral systems. Informants identified this confusion as limiting the abilities of NGOs to refer child marriage cases to appropriate services. One respondent noted that:



"For early marriage, there is no mandatory reporting. In practice, early married children are usually identified by UNHCR through their registration process. UNHCR then often refer the case to IMC or another child protection agency to conduct a thorough assessment and provide case management, if UNHCR are not case managing the case themselves"



For Jordanian girls, one key informant from the National Council for Family Affairs (NCFA) noted that:



"It is worth to mention that in Jordan there is no reporting system addressing specifically cases of child marriages however there is a special police department called Family Protection Department that deals with abused children or children who suffer from domestic violence or any other kind of violence in addition to the shelters that is provided by the Ministry of Social Development like DAR AL WEFAQ."



■ Information on child marriage laws

NGOs frequently cited the need for a standard reference sheet with a "list of laws" pertaining to child marriage and information on the risks of child marriage that could be easily distributed to individuals, and used as a reference guide for service providers. One key informant further cited the need to "promote legal awareness" of child marriage for both institutions and individuals. This awareness needs to include an understanding of both the personal status law that allows girls to be married before 18, and legal strategies available to prevent child marriage.

One key informant noted that their organization addressed this issue by:



"Holding training courses for all those workers and parties concerned with children's rights for the purpose of making them aware of the conventions of children's rights and the principle of the best interest of the child."



■ Girls' restricted mobility as a barrier to accessing services

Cultural norms around a girl and woman's mobility emerged as a significant challenge deterring girls at risk of child marriage and child brides from accessing social services. However, some key informants working

in service delivery reported that these issues were less present in the Syrian refugee communities. For example, a key informant from the Institute for Family Health (IFH) stated that they:



...don't face any challenges in reaching those children who are married or at risk of marriage, because usually girls from the Syrian refugee community come to IFH centres to receive services and to participate in the different activities and they don't have any fear coming forward with the fact they are married and pregnant or even already have a child.



4

Legal Context

■ Legality of child marriage

Jordan's Personal Status Law No. 36 for 2010 sets the legal age of marriage for girls at 18 years, but allows judges to authorize the marriage of a minor who is at least 15 years of age. Whilst this can lead to an inconsistent application of the law, depending on the judge presiding, the Director of Mediation and Reconciliation Directorate at the Supreme Judge Department was careful to emphasize that:



"The judge himself must verify the girl's condition by interviewing her alone...he makes sure that the girl has the complete consent and she is not under any kind of pressure or enforcement."



Additional regulations pertaining to this law were issued by the Cabinet in July 2017.

These forbid marriages of girls less than 18 if: the husband is more than 15 years older than the girl; he is currently married; or if it were to prevent the girl from pursuing her education.²¹ Whilst this is a slight improvement, many organizations and activists working on the issue of child marriage in Jordan expressed concern and frustration with the ongoing ambiguity and remaining loopholes that continue to allow child marriage. As one activist said, "the changes are not significant enough, as long as they still allow children to get married to begin with," a statement consistent with the UN's position that minors are not able to give consent to marry.

In addition to these loopholes, Jordan's Personal Status Law has limited use when dealing with Syrian refugees for two reasons:

- Syrian refugees may not have legal identification with them, making it difficult for judges to determine the actual age of a bride.

- Syrian refugees are known to circumvent the legal system, and not register marriages for girls under age 18. However, since the Sharia Courts were opened in refugee camps, and the penalty fee for not registering the marriage was eliminated temporarily, marriage registrations have increased.

■ Discriminatory citizenship laws

Jordan's national laws related to acquisition of citizenship discriminate against women and children, putting them at risk of child marriage.²² Several mechanisms incentivize families into marrying their daughters at a young age. First, Jordanian law does not allow a Jordanian mother to pass on her nationality to her children. Thus, if a Jordanian woman marries a foreigner, her children are not considered Jordanian citizens, leaving them without citizenship rights and national identification. In 2014, the government pledged to allow children of Jordanian women "privileges" including residency permits, driving licenses, land ownership, and access to educational, health, and employment benefits, provided that the woman had lived in Jordan for five years and for a minimum of 180 days each year.²³ However, as of August 2017, activists state that:



“children of Jordanian families are not fully enjoying the ‘privileges’ that were promised by the government, and we are still suffering from discriminations and complicated governmental procedures when it comes to issuing driving licenses, residency and work permits.”²⁴



The exception is a recent Cabinet decision, which may allow these children to receive the same privileges in access to higher education as Jordanian citizens, pending interpretation by the Higher Education Council.²⁵ Second, due to lack of proper documentation and discriminatory laws against women, refugee families may also resort to child marriage as a way for their daughters to acquire citizenship and legal documentation. Several key informants identified cases of Syrian refugee families pushing their daughters to marry Jordanian men as a way to acquire citizenship. Relatedly, one key informant from the Arab Women Organisation noted that when child marriages go un-registered in the refugee camps, any children coming out of the marriage will be considered ‘stateless children’, as they will possess no legal documents or formal citizenship.



Box 3: Quote from NGO Expert

When implementing early marriage prevention services, we face the refusal of husbands or family in law specially in the camps to allow their children to attend any services at the centres, or they have to be accompanied by their mothers or the mothers in law, in addition to fears from the children themselves who don’t register their marriage and therefore don’t have a marriage certificate; their fear of being involved in legal and judicial consequences.



■ Marriage registration

A challenge noted by several key informants was the lack of a standardized mechanism to register marriages for refugee girls, particularly their age as they lack proper documentation. For example, one NGO participant noted:



“Some anecdotal information suggests that judges are making decisions on girls whose ages are not clear, due to lack of documentation coming from Syria. In some cases, the judges determine the age of the child based on their own assessment. This means that it is possible that some girls under 15 may be married.”



PROMISING APPROACHES IDENTIFIED BY KEY INFORMANTS

The findings indicate several promising approaches to help reduce child marriage in Jordan. These include:

■ Increase awareness through innovative methods

The use of a variety of methods to increase awareness has proven effective in certain contexts. For example, a Jordanian government official said that using more female preachers to do home visits and discuss the harmful consequences of early marriage has shown to be effective. As he notes:



“In the Jordanian community male (imam) and female preacher’s role are not limited to preaching, but they also act as reconciliation and mediation trainers and provide family support. Having female preachers is working well because families trust them better...It is important to say that there are around 750 female preachers who do home visits. During these visits, female preachers try to spread the awareness amongst the family and provide guidance and counselling to its members.”



While this is an innovative method that shows promise, careful evaluation of these programmes is needed, as there can be no certainty over the messages that the community is receiving from female preachers about child marriage. Many religious leaders in Jordan believe that child marriage can be a good option for girls in difficult situations, and careful selection and training of female preachers will be needed to ensure that they are implementing a child protection approach.

Another example of good practice to help reduce child marriage is led by the Supreme Judge Department. The department focuses on the consequences of child marriage at two levels: the first level targets individuals inside the camps by using the Sharia court's reconciliation office to provide child marriage counselling to all individuals intending to marry before turning 18. The second level targets people outside the camps who intend to marry early – the Supreme Judge Department requires they attend counselling. The sessions inside and outside the camps are intended to raise the family's and the couple's awareness of the risks of child marriage.

■ Engage community leaders and communities through dialogue

Making religious leaders aware of the consequences of child marriage, and supporting them to become vocal advocates can have a powerful impact on the way community members view child marriage. For example, one key informant discussed how Syrian refugees were not registering child marriages with the Sharia Courts in the Za'atari refugee camp - these marriages resulted in stateless, undocumented children. Recognizing the seriousness of this issue, the Sharia court temporarily lifted the penalty fee for not registering marriages. While this had the effect of increasing registered child marriages in the camps, it ensured that these girls and their children were documented, and kept in the system, increasing their ability to acquire citizenship rights in the future. Engaging the Sharia courts further

on issues surrounding child marriage in refugee camps is thus a promising way to begin addressing the prevalence of child marriage amongst Syrian refugees in Jordan.

Box 4: Quote from Jordanian Government Official



The key to covert family thoughts of CM is the father. The father is the key person who can have the real impact on the family. It is essential to clarify that for families in some governorates and rural areas, males are the one in control of the whole family and mom doesn't have the authority over family members.



RECOMMENDATIONS

Girls' Voice and Agency

■ Eliminate gendered barriers to education

Despite the Jordanian government's actions to waive tuition for Syrian refugee students and to ensure girls' equal access to education, both Jordanian and Syrian refugee child brides face additional barriers of discrimination when attempting to access education. Once there is a legal precedent, further programming will be needed to train school officials as well as girls and their communities about girls' right to access education after marriage.

■ Implement vocational training programmes for girls ages 15-18

Right now, in Jordan, when a girl drops out of or completes her schooling, the expected next step is for her to get married. If girls had another viable alternative, such as employment, this would reduce girls' economic burden on their families, and delay the necessity of marriage. For Syrian refugee girls, the UN Women's 'Women and Girls Oasis' at the Za'atari Refugee Camp and UNFPA supported safe spaces in both camps and host communities²⁶ provides a good model for future programming. Established as a 'safe

space' for women and girls, these centres promote women's capacity to support themselves and engage in a peer support network. The centres provide training in tailoring, handicrafts, hairdressing, and computer classes, amongst other skills. These skillsets are particularly well suited to girls at-risk of child marriage, and child brides, whose restricted mobility limits them to economic activities that could be done within the home.

Additionally, despite the hardships of being a refugee, studies have shown that displacement disrupts typical family and community patterns and provides avenues for female refugees to assume different gender roles.²⁷ This presents a unique opportunity for women's economic empowerment that programmes like the 'Women and Girls' Oasis' have shown to be effective in developing.²⁸ New vocational training programmes should be developed that specifically target young refugee girls between the ages of 15-18 who are at-risk of child marriage. Such programmes could capitalize on the disruption of gender roles in the refugee community, giving girls the tools to become financial assets, instead of financial burdens, to their families. However, keeping girls in School should be donors' priority – vocational programmes should supplement schooling and be careful to avoid encouraging child labour.

For Jordanian girls at-risk of child marriage, donors should similarly invest in vocational training programmes that consider the restricted mobility of at-risk and already married girls. Training should thus focus on economic activities that can be done at home, such as tailoring, cooking, and handicrafts, but be modified towards gender-transformative activities that go beyond the traditional home-based gendered occupations.

Household and Community Attitudes and Behaviours

■ Implement holistic community programming to address social norms around child marriage and family honour

Whether it takes the form of an awareness campaign, health services, or dialogue workshops, child marriage programming is more likely to be successful when it engages a variety of community actors. Because girls have limited voice and agency, only engaging with girls on child marriage issues will have limited efficacy – it is imperative to engage their families and community leaders if norms around child marriage are to change. Any behaviour change strategy intended to address the norms around child marriage needs to mobilize the entire community. Programmes should use UNICEF's Communication for Development (C4D) strategies to work with both adults and children in the community to identify problems, propose solutions and act upon them.

Key informants reported that child marriage practice amongst Syrian refugees is perpetuated by the perception that child marriage protects the girl and her family. To address this, C4D strategies²⁹ should be used to support public education programmes that raise awareness of the negative consequences of child marriage on a girl's health and that of her children, in order to reinforce the perceived duties of parents and communities to protect at-risk girls.

■ Engage receptive religious leaders

In addition to targeting programming to the entire community, it can be beneficial to specifically connect with local religious leaders. Making religious leaders aware of the consequences of child marriage, and supporting them to become vocal advocates for prevention of child marriage could have a powerful impact on the way community members view child marriage. However, caution must be exercised to ensure that religious leaders are promoting evidence-based messages and not reinforcing harmful ideas. Therefore, this type of intervention requires careful selection of receptive religious leaders and large amounts of training and oversight.

■ Address gender-based violence

Generally, findings pointed to the high incidence of gender-based violence (GBV) amongst girls at risk of and affected by child marriage. Integrated GBV approaches need to be developed to specifically address child marriage, particularly for women and girls who are affected by conflict. Currently, Government, UN, and NGO stakeholders are working towards the development of national standard operating procedures and referral pathways that incorporate a survivor centred approach and limit mandatory reporting to three instances (suicide, risk for her life and risk for her children's life) and will be applicable to all service providers (refugee and Jordanian response). Stakeholders need to ensure that this new approach considers the specific needs and circumstances of child brides.

Long term programmes that engage men and boys through sports have shown promising results in shifting the attitudes of athletes, coaches, and mentors towards gender equity and violence against women.³⁰ The Parivartan programme, a Mumbai-based programme that trained men as coaches and mentors of boys' cricket teams to raise awareness about abusive behaviour and promote non-violent attitudes, could be used as a model for piloting norm change around Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in Jordan.³¹

This type of programming can cause some attitude changes amongst the adult coaches, and also raise a new generation of boys with a different view on gender equality and child marriage. In addition, several key informants emphasized the public harassment that women and girls experience when moving outside the home. This suggests the need for holistic community programming addressing the safety and security concerns of women and girls, as stated by a key informant from the International Medical Corps:



“There is a general belief that girls and women will be more left alone and less targeted if they are married compared to if they are single. Therefore, the issue of protection and prevention of harassment of single women (and all women) needs to be addressed in order to reduce early marriage. Resources and programmes need to target men (who are the ones marrying girls, as well as the ones targeting girls) as well as girls themselves and their families.”



Service Delivery

■ Develop the capacity of local organizations to provide services to at-risk and already married girls

As discussed above, informants pointed to the need for building the capacity of local organizations to address child marriage through increased financial and human resources, strengthening referral systems, improving case management for prevention and response, and increasing knowledge of child marriage laws amongst service providers. In addition, the Mizan Law Group for Human Rights proposed areas for improvement related to awareness of the consequences of child marriage, the availability of services, as well as infrastructure improvements to reduce transportation barriers to services:



“There is a lack of awareness and rehabilitation programmes as well as a privation of social and psychological counselling about child marriage consequences and results.”



Service providers should develop awareness campaigns to promote the services they could offer to young girls and mothers. They should also provide means for girls at risk and affected by child marriage to access these services.



The location of service provider is very far which makes children unable to reach it.



Programmes should remove infrastructure and transportation barriers to girls who need to access services through, for example, mobile clinics that are closer to the communities in need, or reimbursement of transportation costs.



Insufficient education amongst parents and caregivers.



Programmes should develop awareness campaigns targeting parents that teach the benefits of education, girls' productive potential, and the harmful consequences of child marriage.

■ Promote legal awareness of girls' rights and child marriage laws

Based on the Amani campaign model,³² a new child marriage prevention campaign, that was launched under the umbrella of the SGBV-Sub Working Group (SWG) led by UNFPA and UNHCR, should be developed to promote individual and institutional awareness of child marriage. Built on a strong principle of collaboration, the Amani campaign developed a pool of basic key messages and tools in response to the major child protection issues in Jordan in the context of the Syrian refugee crisis. These standardized key messages were developed in consultation with men and women, girls and boys from the refugee community, and were intended to be used and adapted by various organizations. The Amani campaign should be used as a template for future widespread awareness campaigns around child marriage.

Legal Context

■ Increase coordination on child marriage prevention

Several key informants cited the need for more synergy between UN agencies and local governments to address child marriage. As one key informant noted:



"UNICEF needs to be doing more to lead collaborative work with other UN agencies on early marriage; protecting children is their mandate, and they also have more money and resources to put towards this issue. We need them to be more involved to create that synergy."



Additionally, as of April 2017, a Child Marriage Task Force was set up by humanitarian agencies working on the refugee response, which will work in partnership with National Council for Family Affairs' Child Marriage Task Force to assist the Government of Jordan to tackle the issues of child marriage.³³

■ Close legal loopholes

At the legal level, the task force should coordinate campaigns to reform the personal status law's loopholes on child marriage and change discriminatory nationality laws that prohibit Jordanian women with foreign husbands from passing their citizenship rights to their children.

Evidence Generation

■ Generate evidence on the nature and impact of restricted mobility on child marriage

These findings highlight that mobility restrictions have important implications for girls' access to education and health services. Restricting mobility also impedes girls' socialization and their ability to build social capital. There is a need to develop more context-specific conceptual frameworks for understanding the particular nature of restricted mobility in Jordan for both Jordanian and Syrian girls as it may vary depending on the local context.

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