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The Experience of Jordan in drafting a national action plan
on UNSCR 1325.
Women, peace and security in countering terrorism.

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The Experience of Jordan in drafting a national action plan on UNSCR 1325
Women, peace and security in countering terrorism

by

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Dedication

*I was on Sinai when Jehovah approached Moses;
I saw the Nazarene's miracles at the Jordan;
I was in Medina when Mohammed visited.
Yet I here I am, prisoner of bewilderment.*

*Then I witnessed the might of Babylon;
I learned of the glory of Egypt;
I viewed the warring greatness of Rome.
Yet my earlier teachings showed the
Weakness and sorrow of those achievements.*

*I conversed with the magicians of Ain Dour;
I debated with the priests of Assyria;
I gleaned depth from the prophets of Palestine.
Yet, I am still seeking truth.*

*I was here from the moment of the
Beginning, and here I am still. And
I shall remain here until the end
Of the world, for there is no
Ending to my grief-stricken being¹.*

To Y and myself

¹ Khalil Gibran: *Song Of Man* Xxv

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List of Acronyms

- **UNWomen: United Nations United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women**
- **ISIL: Islamic State of Iraq and Levant**
- **VERLT: violent extremism and radicalization that lead to terrorism**
- **JONAP: Jordan National Action Plan**
- **UNSCR: United Nations Security Council Resolution**
- **MOI: Ministry of Interior**
- **JNCW: Jordan National Commission of Women**
- **UNDP: United Nations Development Program**
- **MoSD: Ministry of Social Development.**
- **CTC: Counter Terrorism Committee**
- **UNHCR: United Nations of High Commissioner of Refugees.**
- **MENA: Middle East and North Africa**

Abstract

Amidst a heated region, Jordan stands fronting ambiguous future – with increasing national economic challenges and security threats. This thesis investigates a specific response to radicalization of nowadays; drafting of the Jordanian national action plan on the United Nations Security Council Resolution #1325 calling upon increasing women participation in security sectors and peace negotiations. Moreover, it reviews women active roles in the Jordanian society inner dynamic with relation to rising recruitment of ISIS from Jordan and high killing crimes against women. I argue women active role is a dimension not to be neglected and should be seriously considered based on deep analysis of recent drifts and changes in the Jordanian context– legislative, social and political.

Key words:

Women and Security, UNSCR1325, UNWomen, Women and Radicalization, Honor crimes, Jordan National Action Plan, Jordan and Women, Gender.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Internationally:

The modern terrorism has become a global experience shared by many individuals, organizations and states. When considered a reaction to political power or ideology, terrorism is not a new phenomenon. However, the nature of political conflict has changed over time, escalating from domestic to regional and international events, turning terrorism to a severe partial actuality in societies; extremists supporting radical groups and others fighting it. Despite encompassing counter-terrorism agenda in the United Nations system for decades², there is still no international consensus on the definition of terrorism. The galvanized effort in building an inclusive international strategy to combat terrorism and track radical networks is the primacy of security concern nowadays.

Over the last decade and recent years the United Nations Security Council adopted many resolutions upon which solid international commitment were granted. One of the main resolutions adopted promptly after USA 9/11 terrorist attacks is UNSCR 1373 (2001) amounted to establishment of the counter terrorism committee (CTC)³, five years after the adoption of a common strategic framework ⁴to fight terrorism consensually by all Member States of the General Assembly.

(United Nations Counter Terrorism Implementation Task Force 2016)

² <http://www.un.org/en/counterterrorism/>

³ <http://www.un.org/en/sc/ctc/aboutus.html>

⁴ <https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/un-global-counter-terrorism-strategy>

The synergy between academia and policy making institutions is significant. Academia's comprehensive research on drivers of terrorists, analysis of radical trends and challenges existing in different contexts, helps to recommend approaches, actions and best practices to states. Consequently, the Global Counter-Terrorism Research Network was established⁵.

The drivers of terrorism are still an intrinsic subject to most researchers because many conducted works have yielded unexpected results when profiling radicals of terrorist groups. In-fact, a conclusion of [*the report on radicalization process leading to acts of terrorism*](#) published by the European Commission's Expert Group on Violent Radicalization (p.17) stated, "Radicalization leading to acts of terrorism is context-specific. Past and present waves of violent radicalization which lead to terrorism among mainly young people share certain structural feature." This means to examine root causes of radical groups is to study the context of an enabling environment and a number of other factors contributes to incubating individuals with extreme tendencies to conform to radical agendas and eventually, terror attacks.

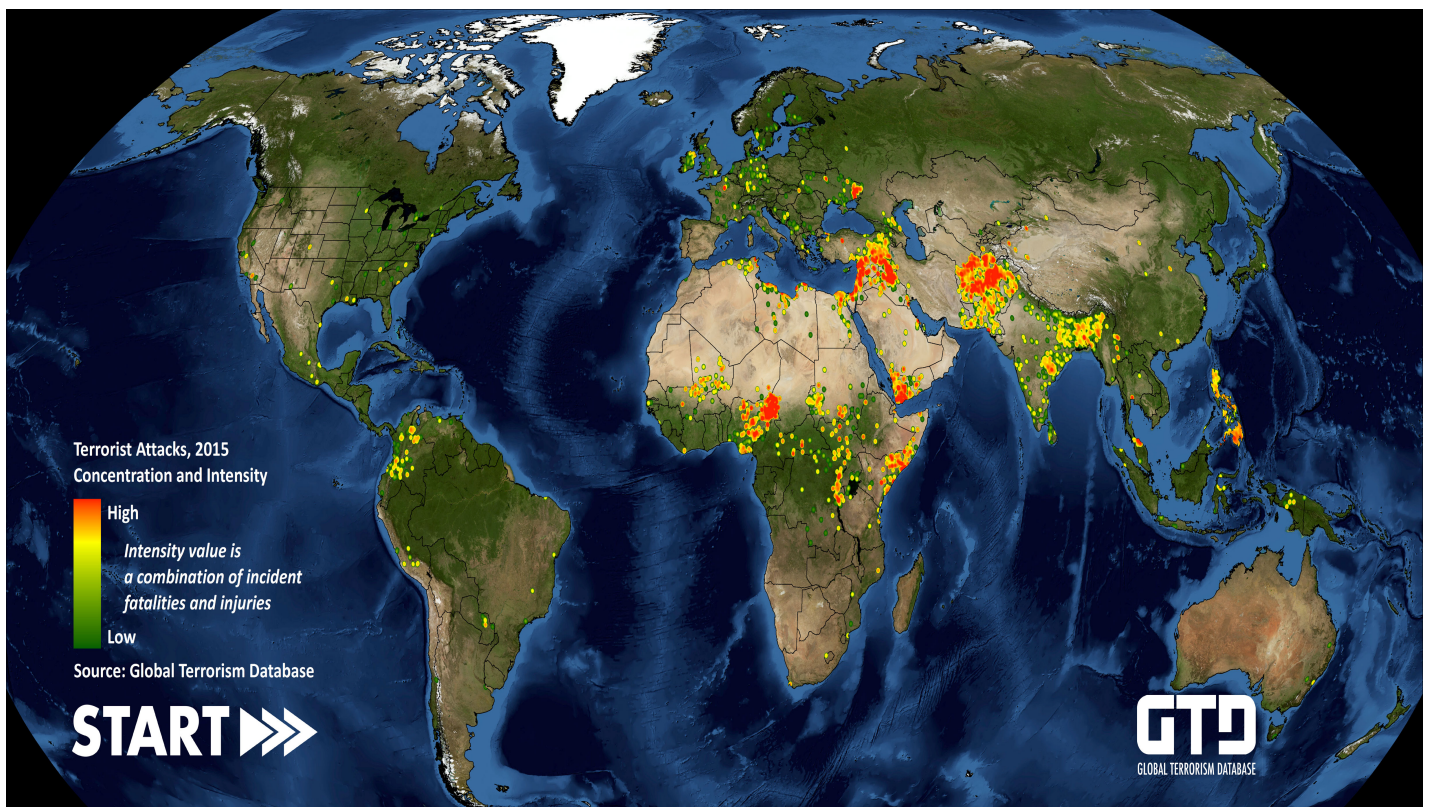
One dimension is gender which according to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe ⁷(OSCE) is understudied .The consolidated report on [*Women and Terrorist Radicalization*](#), highlights the exclusion of gender in researchers on violent extremism and radicalization that lead to terrorism (VERLT) and recognizes women as potential participants and drivers of radicalizations. Therefore, tackling VERLT without a fallacy belief of women as passive and more prone to peace is acute to ascertain ad hoc counter terrorism strategies.

⁵ (Security Council Counter Terrorism Committee, 2016)

⁶ (European Commission's Expert Group on Violent Radicalisation, , 2008)

⁷ (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe)

The United Nations Security Council adopted resolution [1325 \(2000\)](#) and other 5 subsequent resolutions pertaining women, peace and security agenda corresponding to the inclusion of women's role in propagating terrorism on one side and peacemaking negotiations and security sector on another.



⁸Source: [Global Terrorism Database](#)

⁸https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/images/START_GlobalTerrorismDatabase_TerroristAttacksConcentrationIntensityMap_45Years.png

Regionally:

The outbreak of the Jasmine revolution in Tunis (2010) ignited a transnational revolutionary wave referred to as *Arab Spring* in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region.

Thousands of men and women went out to the streets and asked for radical reforms. This eventually yielded in falling of authoritarian regimes, tumultuous transitioning of political arenas and heretofore a foreseen instability for the next decade.

The persistent upheaval – especially in Syria and Iraq – created a power vacuum which opened the space to non-state actors ⁹of radical groups and fanatical Islamists to flourish in an enabling environment that later became the destination to extreme radicals from all over the globe.

The self-proclaimed militant Sunni group known as “Islamic State of Iraq and Levant”¹⁰ (ISIL) tried to lead a state building project to establish the caliphate; by adopting strict Sharia law interpretation and use of extreme violence to exclusively gain political and theological authority. Moreover and on the other side of the coin, it is ¹¹contributing to the increasing number of men killed or disappeared in Syria, which according to UNWomen study¹² is a direct reason of the increasing number of female-headed households within a system targeting women deliberately.

ISIL- similar to all radical movements- has always targeted women. It re-established the slave trade and violently forced faulty strict interpretation of Sharia laws that restricted women’s movement and set edicts on all aspects of life¹³.

⁹ (The Institute for National Security Studies 2016)

¹⁰ (Laub Zachary 2016)

¹¹ (United Nations The United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women 2015)

¹² Ibid

¹³ Ibid

On the other hand- ISIL is targeting women to join their proclaimed state by guaranteeing jihadi husbands, a home midst a true Islamic state and the a promising opportunity to fulfill their earthy duties by full devotion to god and religion¹⁴.

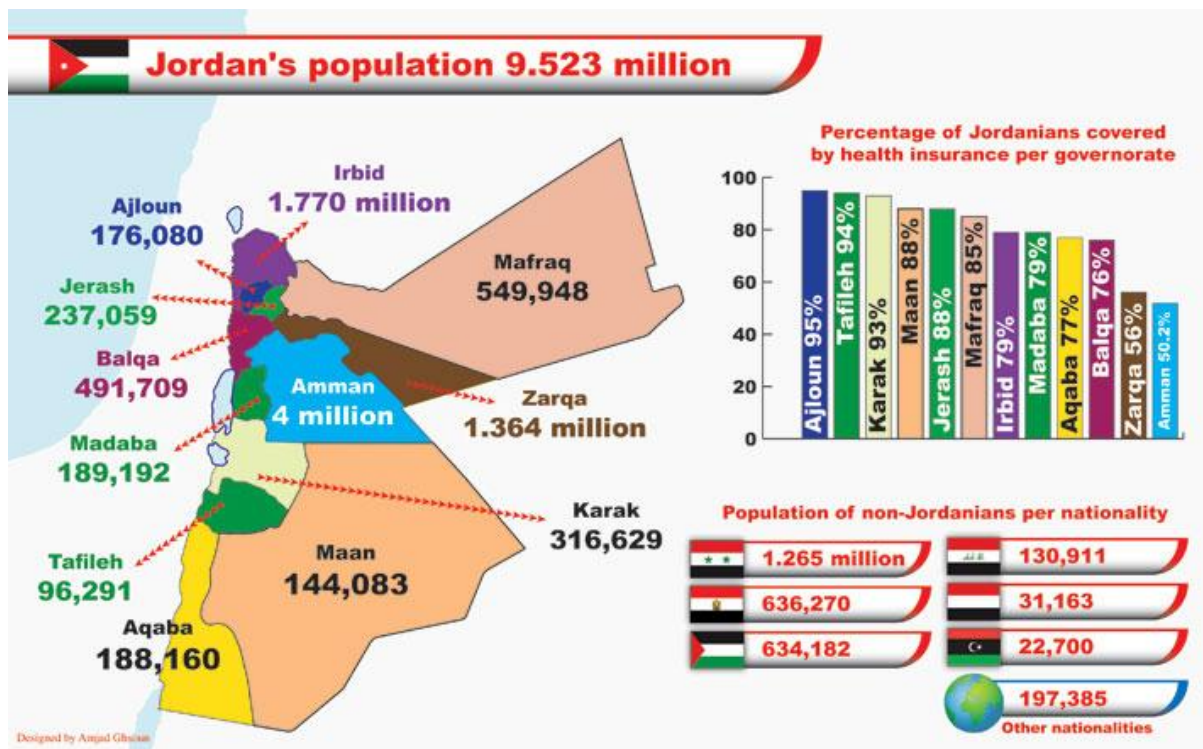
All of the pronounced conflict dynamics have immediately garnered attention to the absence of solid inclusive security policies in the region - particularly in countries neighboring conflict areas. Therefore, it was significant to adopt promptly approaches based upon lessons learned internationally and a thorough contextual socio-political analysis and commentaries on existing policies gaps.

Regionally, the League of Arab States (LAS) has exerted efforts and taken measures to implement different Security Council Resolutions pertaining countering terrorism, security strategies, prevention of acquiring weapons of mass destruction and their components, women, peace and security agenda¹⁵.

National/ Jordan:

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (referred to as Jordan) is bordered by Palestine (west bank) to the west, Saudi Arabia to the east and south, Iraq to the northeast, Syria to the north and Red Sea in the extreme southwest. The kingdom may not be an economical powerhouse. However, to date it managed to ward off disasters amidst the boiling region.

14 <http://time.com/3276567/how-isis-is-recruiting-women-from-around-the-world/>
15 (CTC 2001)



Jordan times newspaper info graphic (accessed 3 November 2016)

According to UNHCR, Jordan is also a home for more than 655,365 registered Syrian refugees¹⁶ not to mention hundreds of thousands of Iraqis and long-term Palestinian residents, many of whom are keen to head to Europe. Nowadays, the Syrian refugees in Jordan constitute 13.2% of the total population of Jordan and 46% of non-Jordanian residing in the kingdom.¹⁷

The Syrian refugees influx is creating repercussions on Jordan's infrastructure, education, employment, housing and healthcare sectors. Also putting a burden on the limited natural resources. All of which might ultimately create a fertile ground for radicalization and violent extremism in Jordan.

The neighboring crises and imminent security threats across the border have created serious concerns. Keeping in mind the history of Jordan breeding many jihadists; some who even

¹⁶ h (UNHCR Portal n.d.)

¹⁷ (Ghazal 2016)

have top ranked of al-Qaeda¹⁸. According to the Islamist movement expert, Hussein al-Rawashdeh, “it is [estimated](#) there are at least 7,000 Salafi Jihadists in Jordan, of which 2,000 are loyal to ISIS. Some 1,300 Jordanians are believed to be fighting for ISIS and Jabhat al-Nusra in Syria.”¹⁹

Jordan has proved efficient security apparatus facing several security threats from Al-Qaeda between 2002-2005 including the assassination of an American diplomat, the firing of missiles at U.S. warships docked in Aqaba port, and the simultaneous bombing of three Amman hotels.

All the internal and external security dynamics have increased the anti-terrorism act. Wherefore the government have passed [the Jordanian anti-terrorism](#)²⁰ law which became effective in 2006 and then the law was amended in 2014; widening the definition of terrorism. Moreover, different inclusive reforms were taken to enhance community police and access to justice and national counter-terrorism strategies.

The absence of inclusive comprehensive researches on counter terrorism, radical’s profiles and drivers of violent extremism have recently garnered the attention of policy makers in Jordan. Hence, many on-going drafting process of national action plan tackling terrorism’s several dimensions.

Internationally, Jordan has made commitment to adoption of different counter-terrorism and security UNSCRs amount to serious integration of international standards within context-specific national policies

¹⁸ Arabic al-Qā'idah (“the Base”), broad-based militant Islamist organization founded by Osama bin Laden in the late 1980s.

¹⁹ (Sharif 2016)

²⁰ (Tiber n.d.)

Chapter 2: Women and Radicalization in Jordan

2.1 Gender Prospect and Reality in Jordan:

2.1.1 Cultural Vulnerability, Women Political Participation and in Leading Positions in Jordan:

Social and Cultural Vulnerability:

Jordan is an Arab Islamic country with strong tribal structure. The origins of the Jordanian population consists of three main branches: people from east bank (many of Palestinian origin) that are either Muslim or Orthodox Christian belonging to a tribe, Semi-nomadic (they move twice a year and within a limited area) and Bedouin (fully nomadic – wander into the inner deserts and rear camels).²¹

The main centric issue is the gendered attitudes in the tribal structure of the Jordanian society. The attitude is pronounced in the holding on to traditional patriarchal relations²² as well as state-controlled legal system, which continues to reflect tribal patriarchy through out discriminatory personal status laws²³.

On the other hand, women have shown noticeable transition in their social role by taking few senior-leading positions in addition to remarkable high literacy rate – up to 99.3% among female youth (15-24) 2008-2012²⁴ - due to rising the age of free education to 16.

²¹ The Tribes of Jordan at the beginning of the twenty first century

²² (Sonbol n.d.)

²³ Look at chapter 3: legal framework in Jordan

²⁴ (UNICEF n.d.) (accessed 7 November 2016)

Women Political Participation in Jordan:

Women political participation in Jordan has always been impacted by internal and external dynamics. The relatively new election law has been amended several times to reflect the progressive vision of King Abdulla II to increase women's political participation. In Jordan, women gained the right to vote in 1955 without running for elections. Nevertheless, they were able to fully exercise their right in voting and running for election in 1984.

The visibility of women in the parliamentary elections of Jordan remained very insignificant till 1997 - no women could gain a seat at the parliament despite 17 female candidates running for election. This garnered criticism on the status quo of the national system in bolstering women's role.

In response, the government amended the election law No. (34) of the year 2001. In the elections of the year 2003, 6 seats out of 110 were allocated for women.²⁵ And on the same year only one woman competitively gained her seat.

In a very positive endeavor to increase women's political engagement in Jordan, the quota system has given women another door to further push towards an active political participation.

Recently in the last Jordanian Parliamentary elections, women voters were estimated 48% of the total sum of voters. Moreover they have gained 15.4% of the total seats in the 18th parliament.

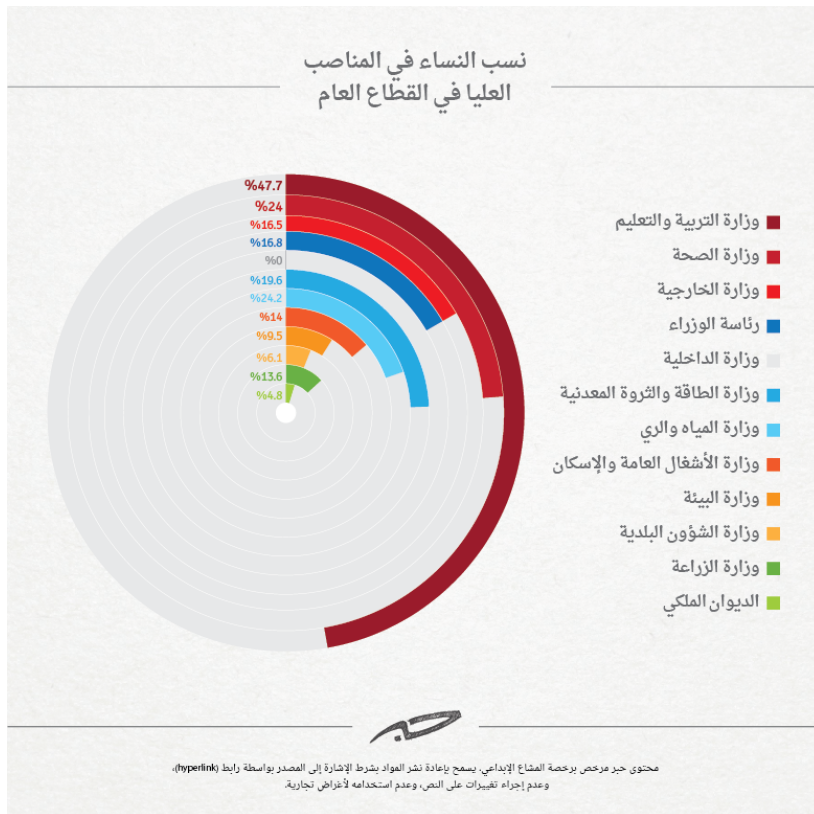
²⁵ (USAID Jordan 2016)

Women in Leadership Positions in Jordan:

The society is relatively accepting women in leadership positions. Nevertheless, women are striving to reach senior leading positions in Jordan public sector. According to an analysis of

[the 2015 proposal of the national financial budget](#) which

included human resources working in all Jordanian ministries categorized by job type and gender, the results found were sticking.²⁶ Despite the sweeping number of women in some ministries, *almost all* senior leading positions are men-dominated.



The importance of women in decision-making positions should not be tied only to the figures of representation but also to the nature of their impact. In becoming a decision maker - and if the public is aspire to make a political agenda transformation- women can enrich the accountability mechanisms institutionally and present a real sense of democratic governance nationally. Moreover, women are potentially able to influence the legislative systems towards less discriminatory gendered laws, advocate for gender-sensitive policies in implementing sustainable development and encourage peace talks. Eventually, the possibility of a positive impact is depending on the system –in which women are participating - and the public in having real aspiration towards a real change.

²⁶ <http://7iber.com/society/jordanian-women-in-top-government-positions/> translated from Arabic

2.2 Women Security Status in Jordan

Jordan is known in the public discourse as the kingdom of political boredom. The national situation has often remained calm despite the regional instability. Therefore, globally Jordan has been praised for the stable security status it maintained.

This, however, does not mean that Jordan is not suffering from both emerging and other on-going security threats. Some are externally driven by conflicts of neighboring countries- and others are lying within the social structure of the Jordanian society.

2.2.1 Violence against women in Jordan and so called Honor Crimes:

Nowadays women constitute 47% of the Jordanian tribally structured society²⁷ where they have been perceived as men's subordinates and made into adjuncts of a male guardian – fathers, husbands or brother. Since Jordan – like most Arab countries – is male dominant society, women are also perceived as the honor of the family – according to which women's sexuality determines the social status of a family within the society.

This on-going perception has pinned women and men under pressuring social roles. Thus their social gender identity is strongly tied to honor according to which one would defend even by sacrificing their life. This issue creates a limiting life style for women in Jordan that includes deprivation and/or limitation of their movement, freedom of choice - partner, major of study, appearances...etc.

In an interview conducted for this thesis, Nadin Nimri²⁸ a human right journalist stated that; in many of the violent cases she investigated, the young women's psychological status of reflected a suppressing life full of fear and coercion.

She added that for the first 11 months of the year 2016 there were 1895 protection complaints

²⁷ (UNICEF Jordan n.d.)

²⁸ (Nimri 2016)

filed to social services offices of the Ministry of Social Development in Jordan. Women risk facing life-threatening and social exclusion when trying to break the typical images accepted by the society. Mrs. Nimri indicated male guardians eventually murdered women as they attempted to escape households or rebel against strict social norms.

So-Called Honor Killing Crimes:

A so-called -Honor crime is an extreme result of patriarchal²⁹ based relations between men and women in Jordan. Consequently, men have a strong sense of ownership of women. Therefore, if women conduct any act against or outside the strict moral code that men reinforce, they are prone to serious consequence that eventually may risk their lives.

This strict moral code relies mainly on two main pretexts; first on different misconceived interpretation of Islamic regulations on gender roles in Qur'an. Thus, female obedience and male authority is traditionally stressed. In result, this belief became communal and deeply rooted in society.

The **Second** pretext is the patriarchal and traditional views, emphasis on female virtue and the moral justification of violence against women. The Sisterhood is Global Association, which tracks women's rights issues in Jordan, noted a 53 percent rise in such killings in 2016, with 26 "honor" killings so far this year compared to 17 for all of 2015.

It is worth mentioning that education is irrelevant in this context. In many studies conducted on justification of violence against women and honor killings in Jordan, men –regardless of their academic achievement – relatively justified violence against women.

²⁹ (Walby 1990)

In a recent response, the Iftaa Department and Director of the Public Relations and Cooperation have issued a fatwa³⁰, which stipulates that the murder of women in the name of family honor is prohibited.

2.2.3 The other face of the Coin:

In most of existing literature on the so-called honor killing crimes in Jordan, there is no emphasis on women's active role in perpetrating crimes related to honor. This is a fact not to be neglected considering that Jordanian women complying with the typical gender role in Jordan –where they are obliged to provide care and supervision of children and family. Additionally, they have a secondary authority within typical Jordanian households and the first to reinforce gender roles. Consequently the relation among family's males and females, and any social, political and religious affiliation of the family is shaped.

This is to say that women are not fully and solely responsible but to highlight that the active and significant role they have, which should not be missed in any social analysis in Jordan.

The social repressing system is potentially the driver of two different extremes; *first*; women coping mechanisms in their conservative societies become the social identity they viciously defend. Consequently, they create a system to reinforce a women-limiting environment based on, sometimes, extreme life approaches and alleged belief of protection. In Jordan, this is reflected in the consistent practice of early marriage³¹, diversity intolerance among young generation and more importantly increased supporters of **Islamic extremism**³². According to Remaz Mussa, a very well known Jordanian research in the field of gender development and human rights, “ women in many cases are not only in/directly victims but

30 A ruling on a point of Islamic law given by a recognized authority.

³¹ 10.8% is the percentage of early marriages in Jordanian rural areas. According to 2020 strategy of the high council of health in Jordan (translated from Arabic)

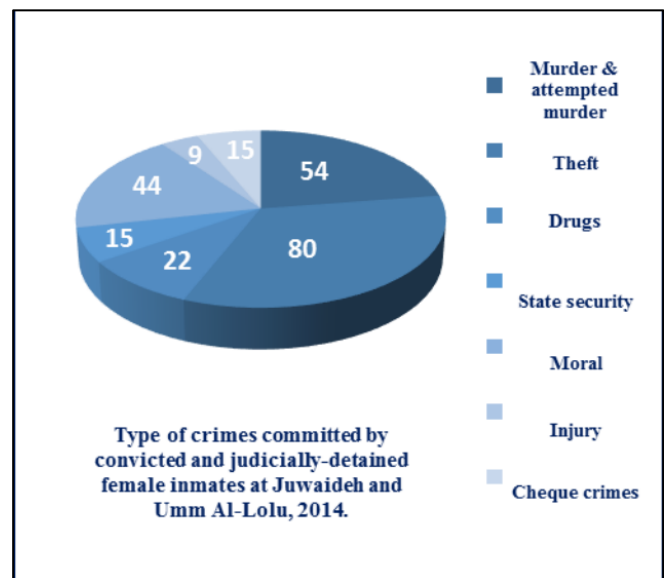
³² Practicing of extreme Islam interpretation

also active agents of the Jordanian repressing social system” .He also noted remarkably the number of cases which women committed crimes against their own daughters defending family’s honor.

Secondly; breaking the typical gender roles by rebelling against the typical social system. According to Rania Hussein³³, a specialized journalist on women’s rights and issues in Jordan and an author of *a Murder In The Name of Honor book*, in 2016 most of the victims of so-called- honor crimes in Jordan are women who escaped their households in attempt to break free. Unfortunately when found, these women were killed by their family members.

In other cases, women at risk escape their households and report to the Family Protection Department in Jordan³⁴, which immediately provides shelter, and run investigations to take protection measures, which include family signing a pledge not to harm the victim.

The women held in administrative detention constitute 50 per cent of female prisoners in Jordan according to Maiysoon Mahasneh³⁵, a retired female Captain of Jordan Public Security Department, Also a study conducted by the National Center for Human Rights, within the framework of the UN Women project “Strengthening local capacity to protect women's Physical Integrity and



³³ (Hussaini 2016)

³⁴ A public security apparatus; in-charge of domestic and sexual violence cases. Established in 1997

³⁵ (Mahasneh 2016)

Human Rights” on The Status of Female Inmates at Reform and Rehabilitation Centers in Jordan- 2015³⁶, revealed classification of women inmates and types of crimes. According to which the year 2014 44% of female detainees were held due to honor related cases. In addition to several women held under what is called:“ Protective Custody “ because they are at risk.

³⁶t (The National Center for Human Rights 2014)

Chapter 3: Women, Radicalization and Security:



Women watch a member of the Islamist Salafists as he holds up a flag during a demonstration, Amman, Sept. 14, 2012. (photo by REUTERS/Muhammad Hamed)³⁷

3.1 Women's Role in Radicalization in Jordan:

Jordan has early on begun to fight against terrorism caused by radical extreme organized movement. Since Afghanistan became the hub for the first generation of radical groups, the second generation flowing from Iraq and third generation of extremist of active radical groups from Syria. Consequently, nowadays Jordan is the third-largest contributor of fighters to ISIS after Tunisia and Saudi Arabia³⁸, which is an alarming indicator for a small country with very limited resources and a host of more than 1.265 million Syrian refugees³⁹.

³⁷Read more: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/security/2014/02/jordan-faces-salafist-jihadist-threat.html#ixzz4Uvd9S2PQ>

³⁸<http://www.nybooks.com/daily/2016/03/29/jordan-refugees-extremism-how-close-to-danger/>
(Population stands at around 9.5 million, including 2.9 million guests 2016)

This fact is not only remarkable for the magnitude of Jordan's contribution to ISIS but also for the inclusion of many women. Therefore, recently ISIS messages targeting women have brought attention to the fact that much has been done on men in the front lines of radical groups with little on women's roles in radical groups and calling for extreme Jihadi movement in Jordan.

Women's roles are ambivalent – they are victims and perpetrators. Nowhere Jihad called upon engagement of men only. Thus, it is significant to acknowledge that women's roles are not limited to prevention of radicalization and victimization but also perpetrating. In the study “ From Jordan to Jihad: *the lure of Syria's violent extremist groups*” published by Mercy Corps⁴⁰, emphasized that women indeed can play a significant role for men as a pull or push factor to join radical groups.

3.2 Women's Role in Perpetrating of Radicalization:

The number of Western female migrants estimated 550 of 3,000 joined to support ISIS⁴¹. The wide magnitude is due to radical propaganda through online Jihadi blogs and channels calling upon Jihad in different tones and style – empowering of Western females- calling for sisterhood empowerment and fulfilling of Arab females duties as Muslims. The roles of women take multiple forms – all pulling factors of both genders:

1. Encourage Men to Join Radical groups:

According to the findings of the same study (ibid) , most of the interviewed deserters were driven by the triggering narrative of women being raped and insulted particularly by Al-Assad and Iran army. The masculine duty towards women is a pushing factor

⁴⁰ (Mercy Corps 2015)

⁴¹ (carolyn hoyle 2015)

for many to join the fight in Syria. In addition, the family influence- female of the households, place a social duty towards other Muslim sisters in Syria that every good Muslim should aim to fulfil.

2. **Fundraising:**

The Yemeni-American Anwar al-Awlaki is one of the first to lead online English-language propagandist for al-Qa'da. Despite his death in 2011, his alleged legacy among Jihadi fighters is still carried out by his admirers. Moreover, his book ⁴² *44 ways to support Jihad* indicated that sisters –as referred to Muslim women in his book- should support their male partners in all ways possible, including financing them when fighting against the enemy.

In an interview conducted for this thesis, the Senior Gender-Based Violence expert Ms. Isra'a from the Institute of Family Health – Queen Nour Al-Hussain Foundation, explained that through-out her work with Syrian refugees, there were cases of women being departed after found working to fund radical groups in Syria.

3. **Education:**

Women as Mothers:

Since women are the primary care givers to children within the typical Jordanian household, they have a strong position in affecting their ideas and interests. Moreover, they can reinforce strong social ideas despite of their healthiness and accuracy.

This is crucially important, as it deepens and strengthens ideas that commensurate with specific originations. Thus, women can early on prepare their children to have empathy towards extreme ideas, encourage respect and love to Jihad fighters and teach them not to fear anything except Allah.⁴³

⁴² (Wlaki n.d.)

⁴³ Allah: God in Arabic – widely used by Muslims

4. **Women Dai'at – Calling Women to Join Jihad:**

From the very beginning of Islam history, women were calling upon the divine message of Islam (Daw'ah). Thus, the idea of Da'iat⁴⁴ is based upon women talking with other women on issues related to Islam. Consequently, the level of their qualification is highly important, as there is a potential risk in spreading faulty interpretation of Islam and/or extreme radical mindsets among women. This method has been widely used as a recruitment style to join radical groups.⁴⁵ To which motivating the ideology and create sense of adventure is used to attract women. It is worth noting that in Jordan, the Ministry of Religious Affairs does not have a specific supervision program to train, qualify and monitor women Dai'at.

5. **Women fighters – Joining ISIS:**

Globally, Female terrorist is not a new phenomenon. In Jordan, two men and a woman conducted the 2009 terrorist suicidal bombings of 3 main hotels in Jordan. Therefore, women were seen at the front lines – usually as suicidal bombers.

The recruitment methodologies are in-line with the latest accessible technologies. ISIS is targeting women- especially young teenagers, through online blogs and social media channels.



Figure 1 picture reportedly posted by British woman Aqsa Mahmood (Photo: Twitter)

⁴⁴ Women propagating the message of Islam

⁴⁵ (Mussa 2016)

It is important to highlight that media – social media in particular, plays a crucial role in attracting both men and women to more extreme ideas by the radical propaganda contextual to every target group in Jordan. Therefore with about 80-per cent of the Jordanian population accessing Internet⁴⁶ and Nine out of 10 people own cell phones in Jordan, which ranks third in engagement in social networking sites among Arab states, according to the 2013 Spring Pew Global Attitudes Survey⁴⁷, the potential risk to reach more people is significant.

According to Mr. Iyad al-Jaber⁴⁸, co-founder of I.DARE youth organization in Jordan, ISIS designs their messages carefully to correspond to women psychological pulling factors.

3.3 Pulling Factors of Women Radicalization:

1. Psychosocial Factors:

The pulling psychosocial factors of Jordanian women joining ISIS are centered upon their social identity. Women role within the typical communities in Jordan is still facing limitations and unequal opportunities. Therefore, joining ISIS with a role of Islam law enforcement will buttress their position and give them sense of meaningful being.

The story of the Jordanian young woman who attempted to Join ISIS drew national attention on gaps within the priorities of the Jordanian national system. The father of the Jordanian young woman blamed youth unemployment and nepotism. His daughter – psychology graduate since 2011- suffered from a depression after failing to find a

⁴⁶ (Market Research n.d.)

⁴⁷ (Ghazal, 95% of Jordanians own mobiles; 47% use the Internet 2014)

⁴⁸ (Jaber 2016)

job opportunity. Later when she promised a meaningful life by ISIS – a job opportunity and a husband – she became eager to join.

There are currently 25.2 percent of unemployed women in Jordan⁴⁹, which is an alarming percentage that may potentially turn into a serious risk.

2. Meaning of Life:

According to the American anthropologist Scott Atran⁵⁰, ISIS is finding its ways by looking to don a social identity that gives youth a meaningful and significant live. So despite the poor knowledge of Islam, dissatisfied young groups around the world would still try to find a sense of meaning of being in any promising adventure.

The sense of belonging to a group with a distinctive definition that determines their inner dynamics and understanding of themselves is important to fully understand the social identity of a radical.

“I am a Salafi” is title of a book authored by Mohammed Abu-Rumman⁵¹, in which he illustrates the actual and imagined identities of Jihadis. Also, he emphasized that the individual identity is constructed from a longing for stability and a sense of uniqueness, by juxtaposing it to others. Thus, it is important to note that women are part of a larger group and the constant marginalizing of their rights and/or being, will lead to weakening of the social system by becoming extremist for the need of alternative ways to enrich the meaning of life.

⁴⁹ <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/jordan/unemployment-rate>

⁵⁰ (Atran 2016)

⁵¹ (Rumman 2014)

3. Religions and Economical Status:

Typically it's been widely known in the public discourse that poverty and religion are the main motivators for radicalization. However, this has been recently declining.

In different studies of radical profiling, many of the interviews conducted with ISIS deserters and their families , did not show any sign of extreme religious views before joining ISIS.

Religion in this case is the collective identity of a radical group that filled a psychological gap and created a sense of belonging to what is believed to be a divine cause.

The sense of depravation and lack of up grading within a society may fuel frustration and hopelessness. Thus, the economical status may play indirectly a role in stimulating radicalization. However, in the findings of Mercy Corps⁵² study there was no evidence fighter or their families being compensated by armed groups in Syria and most of the people interviewed (19 of 23) were with respectful socio-economic status in the time of recruitment.

Chapter 4: Jordan draft of the National Action Plan on UNSCR1325

4.1 Jordan Counter-terrorism Policies and Strategies:

1.Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization Policies in Jordan:

Since 2014 King Abdullah II started to promote his “ Amman Declaration⁵³” which calls upon tolerance and peace within the Jordanian society. And despite the poor coordinated dynamics within the governmental bodies, the current pressure of the Syrian crisis in the region and the

⁵² Ibid

⁵³ <http://ammanmessage.com/>

limited natural resources, Jordan efforts continue to improve counter-terrorism on different national levels- institutional, social, political and governmental.

The U.S Department of State issued 2015 reports on countries terrorism⁵⁴; Jordan was praised for sensitizing the legislative system towards anti-terrorism one⁵⁵. However, it stated that Jordan is reticent to acknowledge domestic radicalization; including self-radicalization⁵⁶.

4.1.1 legal Framework: Anti-terrorism and so called- Honor Killing Crimes Laws

This is to review the national efforts that have been combating the extreme wave spreading among the region. The so-called honour killing crimes are an example of a radical dimension of a much complex situation.

Anti-Terrorism Law:

Jordan has taken serious steps in fighting terrorism at the national legislative level. In 2006 the anti-terrorism law became effective. Moreover, it specifically defined terrorist act as the following: “Terrorist act: every intentional act, committed by any means and causing death or physical harm to a person or damage to public or private properties, or to means of transport, infrastructure, international facilities or diplomatic missions and intended to disturb public order, endanger public safety and security, cause suspension of the application of the provisions of the Constitution and laws, affect the policy of the State or the government or force them to carry out an act or refrain from the same, or disturb national security by means of threat, intimidation or

⁵⁴ <https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2015/257517.htm>- Jordan Section

⁵⁵ <http://www.track.unodc.org/LegalLibrary/LegalResources/Jordan/Laws/Jordan%20Anti-terrorism%20law%202006.pdf>

⁵⁶ Phenomenon in which individuals become terrorists without affiliating with a radical group, although they may be influenced by its ideology and message

violence.”⁵⁷ and accordingly any act falling under this definition is opt to prosecution of national security case.

Almost 12 years after , this definition was amended – it emphasized on cyber security crimes and spreading of radicalization through media channels. Which sparked concerns on limitation of freedom of speech. This came as a national step towards an immediate coping with the increasing influx of Jordanian fighters returning from the war in Syria- according to the government spokesman, Mohammed al-Momani⁵⁸ (Human Rights Watch article: May 2014 Jordan: Terrorism Amendments Threaten Rights -Greatly Expand Categories of Terrorist Acts).

The amended anti-terrorism penal law emphasized the increased punishment of individuals seeking establishment groups and gangs aiming of conducting criminal and terrorist acts. Assisting acts of financing or providing with weaponry will be facing the same punishment by law. Furthermore, the border controls became stricter and Jordanian customs law granted customs officers’ increased authority to investigate and handle any weapon trafficking or bomb smuggling that could benefit terrorist.

So-Called Honor Killing Crimes Law:

This law has been used by to judiciary to reduce the penalty in crimes conducted in the name of “honor” and so it has criticized widely by civil society, human rights activists and CEDAW commission reports. This law was amended on 2001 to make it more “gender neutral” so that if women committed the same crime they can still benefit from the penalty reduction.

⁵⁷ <http://www.track.unodc.org/LegalLibrary/LegalResources/Jordan/Laws/Jordan%20Anti-terrorism%20law%202006.pdf>

⁵⁸ <https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/05/17/jordan-terrorism-amendments-threaten-rights>

The Jordanian judiciary panel law - article 340 as amended by temporary law no. 86 of 2001 reads as follows:

1. There shall benefit from the mitigating excuse (Uthur Mukhafif) whosoever surprises his wife or one of his ascendants or descendants in the crime of adultery or in an unlawful bed, and kills her immediately or kills the person fornicating with her or kills both of them or attacks her or both of them in an assault that leads to death or wounding or injury or permanent disability.
2. Shall benefit from the same excuse the wife who surprises her husband in the crime of adultery or in an unlawful bed in the marital home and kills him immediately or kills the woman with whom he is fornicating or kills both of them or attacks him or both of them in an assault that leads to death or wounding or injury or permanent disability.
3. The right of lawful defense shall not be permitted in regard to the person who benefits from this excuse nor shall the provisions of "aggravated circumstances" (Thuruf Mushaddida) apply.

Article 98:

This article stipulates that: "He who commits a crime in a fit of fury caused by an unlawful or dangerous act on the part of the victim benefits from a reduction of penalty."⁵⁹ In an interview for this research, Human rights activists and lawyer Mohammed Al-Nasser ⁶⁰emphasized that this article has been seldom invoked lately due to a stricter approach in dealing with so-called honor crimes. Moreover , Nasser asserted that the law is gender neutral- both men and women benefit from it.

⁵⁹ https://www.ecoi.net/local_link/183325/300726_de.html

⁶⁰ (Nasser 2016)

4.2 International and Regional Cooperation and Resolution Adopted:

Jordan is a member of the Arab League, the Organization for Islamic Cooperation, the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism and a founding member of the global Counterterrorism Forum and the GCTG-inspired Institute for justice and Rule of Law. Moreover, Jordan has adopted different United Nations Security Council resolutions to combat terrorism and increase security and peace negotiations- UNSCR 1325 and subsequent resolutions and UNSCR 2015.

4.3 Jordan adoption of UNSCR1325

Jordan has held a leading position amidst the region deteriorating security situation by calling upon peace negotiations and pushing de-radicalization efforts. Moreover, Jordan has pronounced a commitment to including women in peace and security – peacekeeping missions, negotiation and participation in security national apparatus. Thus the adoption of UNSCR 1325 (2000).

This comes from the belief that women are active actors in de-radicalization effort as well as security. Thus, their contribution should be recognized and bolstered to further enhance the national security status.

The **UNSCR 1325 (2000)** calls upon increasing women's inclusion in decision-making processes about peace negotiation, humanitarian planning, peacekeeping operations and post-conflict peace building and governance. In addition, the adoption of the following subsequent resolutions⁶¹:

- **UNSCR 1820 (2008):** Recognizing sexual violence-including rape - as a war tactic to achieve political/military gains.
- **UNSCR 1888 (2009):** Strengthening UNSCR 1820 by establishing leadership, expertise and improving coordination among stakeholders.
- **UNSCR 1889 (2009):** Stress on monitoring of UNSCR 1325 upon global indicators that reinforce gender mainstreaming.

⁶¹ <http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/global-norms-and-standards>

- **UNSCR 1960 (2010):** Provides an accountability system for stopping conflict-related sexual violence.
- **UNSCR 2106 (2013):** Emphasizes greater operational details to previous resolutions on this topic.
- **UNSCR 2122 (2013):** Sets stronger measures to enable women to participate in conflict resolutions and recovery.
- **UNSCR 2242:** Bolster women participation and leadership of women and women's organizations in developing strategies to counter violent extremism and terrorism.

Globally and regionally, Jordan has been providing expertise and human capacity. Therefore, this step towards a more inclusive national security system shall be a greater addition especially amidst the regional deteriorating situation⁶²

Women participation in the security sector – all security apparatus is considered relatively low in Jordan. According to the Jordan National Commission of



Figure 2 Jordan Contribution to UN Peacekeeping Missions

Women⁶³ there is only 7% of women working in Public Security

Department and only 5% working for the Jordanian military (Military medical services not included).

The effort to produce a national action plan corresponding to UNSCR 1325 has started since 2010. The proposal submitted by JNCW was an ambitious document calling for catalyzing efforts to engage women in security and peace missions. Unfortunately, the government declined the documents as it lacked a clear plan and indicators.

⁶² (United Nations PeaceKeeping 2016)- Updated August 2016

⁶³ A semi-governmental organization established by a cabinet decision in 1992

In late 2015 the government of Jordan re-pronounced commitment to UNSCR1325. Both Jordan Ministry of Interior (MOI) and JNCW brought together different groups together- both government and non-government – to discuss issues of common concern and agree on a time-bound, budgeted and streamlined framework for addressing a national action plan (NAP) main pillars.

Before the drafting of the NAP, the normative approach was development-based frameworks of women and human rights related issues – including women, peace and security, with seldom security actors' engagement despite the role they play in protection.

The drafting process of the NAP buttressed the sense of ownership as it called different actors (governmental, civil society, media, stakeholders and security sector) to take part in consultations sessions to identify main priority areas and recommendations. Consequently, after nine sessions - including a consultation session specific to refugees, the dialogue of the process has been announced in Amman.

The interactive sessions resulted of creating an open platform for cooperation and debating on different initiatives to address protection issues and key areas – human security, refugee crisis, gender-based violence and political violence which resulted in identifying the main priority as follows:

- **Participation:** Increase women participation in peacekeeping missions, negotiations and the awareness and capacity of Jordanian women leaders.
- **Recovery and Relief** as a response to the refugee crisis.
- **Crosscutting Areas:** capacity building and raise awareness: increase the public awareness of the value of women active participation in security sector and peace negotiations. Moreover, Prevention and protection from gender based violence.

4.4 The Methodology:

The approach used in creating the NAP is inclusive; it ensured the input of different actors by using Problem Tree analysis tool⁶⁴ to develop a collective understanding of the root causes and effects of the issues of concerns they aimed to address in the NAP. Afterwards, Theory of Change chains⁶⁵ were applied to ensure that activities are accurately leading to the desired outcomes.

After consultation sessions and steering committee⁶⁶ approval, a logical framework was created with specific indicators and mid-long term outcomes.⁶⁷ As the following:

1. Meaningful participation of women (civilians and military) in the security sector and peace keeping missions is achieved: This outcome is reflecting a desire to see a qualitative participation of women in all security apparatus in Jordan. This shall be accomplished by breaking the barriers standing between women and an actual participation in Jordan's most respectful sector. According to Mrs. Mahasneh⁶⁸, the sector needs to encourage women engagement not only in executive positions but also decision –making ones.

The national action plan on UNSCR 1325 is aiming to conduct a wide national outreach activities to shed lights on the actual status of women working in the security sector in parallel with social awareness campaigns on the current available system and the benefit of joining.

⁶⁴ Helps to find solutions by mapping out the anatomy of cause and effect around an issue in a similar way to a Mind map, but with more structure. (<https://www.odi.org/publications/5258-problem-tree-analysis>)

⁶⁵ Theory of change explains how a group of early and intermediate accomplishments sets the stage for producing long-range results. (http://www.dochas.ie/Shared/Files/4/TOC_fac_guide.pdf)

⁶⁶ A high-level committee created to lead the NAP adoption at a higher level.

⁶⁷ Please see annex

⁶⁸ Maisoon Mahasneh- Female Public Security Retiree- Interview conducted in Amman

2. Meaningful participation of women in peace building and peace processes and the prevention of violent extremism are attained: This outcome –according to Ms. Angelic Young; women and security consultant from the Institute of Inclusive Security⁶⁹, distinguishes the Jordan national action plan on USNCR 1325. The specific outcome on preventing violence extremism and radicalization is a proof of acknowledging women active role in de-radicalization efforts. Therefore, the NAP defined activities to include influential religious leaders (men and women) to address wide misconceptions of religious ideas in the society that shall resonate with a wider audience. In parallel to creating training and education resources to point out the misused of terminology, concepts, and methodologies associated with violent extremism. In addition highlighting the value of mothers’ role in guiding their children by creating awareness combating radical and extreme mindset.
3. Gender sensitive services (including psychosocial, legal and medical services) that take into consideration the different need of Jordanians and refugees: (including women and girls most vulnerable to violence and in need of protection) in host communities and refugee camps in Jordan: This comes as a result of collective desire in addressing the quality of delivered services to vulnerable Syrians and Jordanians. Therefore, the activities were sit to ensure that system policies correspond with international standards within the Jordanian context to recruit qualified and trained service providers. Moreover, the access to legal, health and psychological, medical and specialized services for those with disabilities.

⁶⁹ The Institute of Inclusive Security supports policymakers by providing expert advice grounded in research that demonstrates women’s contributions to peace building. – Interview conducted with Ms. Young during M&E workshop in Amman-Jordan. 26th November 2016

The NAP emphasizes on providing access to conflict related sexual violence services. Thus, identifying the obstacles refugee women are facing in accessing services as well as the inclusion of different actors in disseminating the information on available services and training of judges, prosecutors, judges, and police on how to handle conflict-related sexual violence and promote access to safe reporting channels.

4. Recognition of the contributions and role of women in peace and security is achieved at all levels (self, societal and political): This outcome has embedded outputs and activities reflecting Jordan role in adopting the UNSCR 2250 which resonate with UNSCR 1325 as it recognizes the importance of youth engagement (especially young women) in leading a role in peace and security. Moreover, it tackles the fact that universities are the hubs of radical recruitment in Jordan.⁷⁰

Diplomatic lobbying and advocacy took place to ensure the NAP will gain myriad of stakeholders, which facilitates the final adoption process by the government. In addition and once completed this efforts will integrate the NAP into national concerned entities annual planning and budgeting cycles according to which the sustainability shall be guaranteed.

⁷⁰ According to USAID and I.DARE report on Youth Radicalization. (to be launched January 5th)

Chapter 5: Research Findings

5.1 Research Methodology:

5.1.1 Research Design:

The purpose of this research is to test the Jordanian women security status in connection with radicalization and honor killing crimes. Moreover, it aims at examining the proposed draft of the Jordanian national action plan on the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in terms of improving the security status of women as well as their participation in peacekeeping missions, negotiations and national security bodies. It is worth noting that this research is projecting women as active agents of both peace and radicalization.

5.1.2 Research Approach:

The researcher heavily depended on the internship experience at UNWomen Jordan country office under the supervision of women, peace and security expert. Moreover, in-depth one-on-one interviews with different actors from various ranks and background who are involved in the drafting of Jordan national action plan.

The research sample was located in Amman- Jordan and the interviews timing differed, as some were more flexible than others. The data were collected directly from the interviewee (all recorded). With regard to the data analysis method, it was mostly interpreted by a qualitative manner.

5.2 Research Findings:

The research findings are results of the qualitative data analysis collected through interviews with entities- civil society actors, journalists, public security and government officials.

The main findings of the interviews were the following:

- **Effective Implementation:**

- Actual commitment of involved actors:

- The correlation between Jordanian women's security status and the National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 is determined by the effective implementation. All the involved actors should aim at an actual implementing of the NAP indicators.

- Jordan had potential successful strategies and initiative with ambitious targets but never resulted in a tangible implementation. Therefore, a serious commitment is necessary to guarantee successful results.

- 2. International, Regional and National Cooperation:

- The Jordanian NAP is an implantation to the UNSCR1325, which holds an international responsibility twinned with regional obligations in de-radicalization efforts and bolstering women participation in security sector. Thus, the importance in maintaining a global approach towards implementing is significant as the JO NAP is one complementary piece that input into international and regional wider, responsive and preventive tool.

- **Adoption of a Collective Approach:**

- 1. Ensure inclusion of all actors:

- One of the significant advantages of the Jordanian NAP drafting process of is the adoption of a collective approach that included different actors to ensure the representation of various sects and created a solid sense of ownership towards the implementation of the national action plan.

2. Social Cohesion:

The collective approach calls upon social cohesion according to which all society layers are engaged. This is a key principle of any social development plan and it is implicitly significant for the implementation of the NAP as it calls upon raising awareness on core social issues that are explicitly linked but not addressed publicly. Therefore, addressing social issues like: honor-killing crimes, early marriages and extremism, must be intertwined with equalizing the responsibility of both genders. This means women should also be perceived as active agents of change and not only be viewed as victims. Moreover, men victims shall be highlighted and involved when publicly addressing security related issues as mentioned above.

Social cohesion shall eliminate root causes of some major security threatening issues in Jordan. The Jordanian society is formed of complex intersected layers inside to which a sense of deprivation and alienation in the poor society class can be compared to more openness in the upper/middle and high class. Ultimately this can lead to adopting more conservative life-style to protect the identity of a certain class. In addition, the refugees' status in Jordan creates an extra dimension to any social identity analysis and must not – nowadays- be ignored. The interchangeable daily life traits is affected by the minor differences both cultures –Syrian and Jordanian- have within their layers. This may explain protective measures by Syrian in the continuing of early marriages and increasing pressure of creating a similar reality to those of their children who never had the change to absorb the Syrian culture.

- **Virtual Reality:**

1. Social Media:

The standing challenge of today's world is the access to a massive medium and platforms

of social media, which secure an easy outreach to a wide audience regardless of the geographical barrier. The radicalization of ISIS has been heavily dependent on their Internet content and online outreach campaigns. So the security is no longer tied to an actual reality but rather a cyber reality that ISIS has –unfortunately- been successful in targeting.

The recruitment by ISIS is done for the most part via online platforms using customized messages outreaching to different profiles. Therefore, any de-radicalization and security effort shall take this significant element with serious consideration. All interviews emphasized the importance of social media in the radicalization and security discussion nowadays. According to an interview conducted with a former head of a radical group relocated in Jordan now, the social media is a key tool to reach and hunt new ISIS followers.

2. Cyber Reality:

It is no longer new phenomena that more women are falling victims of cyber reality – trap of ideal fulfillment of their beings with securing husbands, jobs and sometimes divine goal with a promise of an after life. This maybe a result of a poor reality of majority of Jordanian women – especially located around the main big cities – where they lack empowerment, social involvement and political participation. Therefore, the national action plan or any development plan aiming at increasing women's security status shall include the root causes of women poor presentation in different sectors with a full understanding of the Jordanian social context.

- **From Passive to Active:**

There is a positive attitude towards activating women's roles in the Jordanian society. Many of the interviews illustrated the challenges Jordanian women have overcome. Nevertheless, the value of women active role in reinforcing a suppressing system, provoking honor killing crimes and radicalization shall not be neglected.

There is no argument that women are victims of unjust legislative system but any sought social change should consider women's active role in every Jordanian household. Moreover, address the need to innovate a contextual methodology empowering women in their environment.

Interviews assured that the results of many projects were significant when trained and empowered women from the Jordanian context began to empower others. This proves that spreading awareness may have astonishing results if a customized approach is adopted. Similarly, the positive attitude towards more women engagement in the security sector can be welcomed.

On the other hand, women can-potentially- have a negative influence on their families and societies. It often occurred in conducted interviews, the psychological pressure women could cause upon their peers and/or families. According to which many would later fall victims of honor-killing crimes, suppression and possible radicalization.

Chapter 6: Recommendation and Challenges

6.1 Challenges

- **The sustainability of the National Action Plan:**

The Jo NAP has a very detailed monitoring and evaluation plan that was set throughout series of expert's workshops. The plan has set indicators corresponding to the NAP logical framework to ensure smooth progress of the implementation and monitor whether it is being done accurately. However, various challenges facing the sustainable implementation; the potential continuity of a high turn over among ministries' officials in Jordan which delays implementation and may risk the approved methodology for potentially a different work approach. By the same token, the funding is an additional significant challenge. Therefore, any shortage in the financial ministerial response can affect the implementation.

The change in the national priorities may also influence the progress of the implementation. As currently Jordan is facing different types of terrorist attacks, which partially resulted in a harsh struck on the economy, priorities may change and shift the focus towards an immediate response to incidents.

- **A comprehensive Study on Women Radicals:**

There is indeed an increasing literature on radicalization. Nevertheless, a tremendous need for comprehensive base line studies on women radicals; agents of radicalization shall be conducted. The existing literature lacks a sophisticated contextual analysis on Jordanian women reality. Moreover, the foreign scholars who usually run the analysis are criticized for poor knowledge of the Jordanian

context.

This stands as a challenge as the Jordanian reality is undergoing a contentious change. Therefore, analysis must be tangible and able to forecast future events. Moreover, touch the main gaps in the security system and suggest recommendations to be considered seriously by the government with the assistance of UN agencies and civil society organizations.

- **The Syria Crisis and International Accountability:**

The JO NAP has included a special outcome on increasing access to conflicted related sexual violence for Syrian refugees. According to which psychosocial aid and prosecution of sexual violence perpetrators are to be offered. And because Jordan is a state party of the eighteen core human rights treaties⁷¹, it has a primary obligation to ensure accountability in prosecuting violence crimes. Moreover, it has to equip the national legislative system to comply with customary and treaty law through enabling court to exercise jurisdiction over conflicted related sexual violence crimes.

This is however is not the case nowadays in Jordan. Therefore, the legislative reforms needed may stand as a challenge to achieve the intended outcome.

⁷¹ The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR); the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR); the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT); the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD); the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW); the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families (ICRMW); and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and its Optional Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict (OP-CRC-AC), and on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography (OP-CRC-SC); the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD).

6.2 Recommendations:

1. Create decentralized focus groups of trained and expert of de-radicalization in the kingdom governorates. This to catalyze efforts in identifying possible threats, good practices and raise awareness of radicalization and most importantly women participation in the process.
2. Create online network of involved actors in implementation of the national action plan. According to which all agencies and ministries officials may refer. This shall help in sustaining the implementation if any turn over occurs. Moreover, help to create accountable reporting mechanism among parties of different levels.
3. Create a sub-project, which the religious authorities (represented by the Ministry of Religious Affair and Holy Places) and Public Security can jointly work in rehabilitation of female prisoners and possibly engage them in security sector. This may seem challenging however the analysis of Jordanian female prisoners shows a high tendency towards suicidal and/or prostitution acts. Therefore, the risk in neglecting this group is a constant security threat.
4. United Nations Development Program is the UN entity in-charge of ensuring that the sustainable development goals are incorporated in any development plan. However, they seem to have minimal engaging role in the drafting process of the Jordanian national action plan. The SDG #15 stipulates: “promoting a peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, providing access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels.” Which falls into the same goal the NAP is trying to achieve. Therefore, insuring that SDG#15 indicators reflected into the NAP indicators can ease the reporting on the national progress Jordan must achieve as well as present international accountability.

- 5.** Advocate for a legislative reforms using the NAP as a methodology. This can ensure a wider out-reach and greater sense of ownership among the Jordanian society. Moreover, it should re-establish a trustful relation among the society and actors involved in implementation of the NAP.
- 6.** Create programs to train female religious preachers “wa’dat” to ensure that all the disseminated Islamic interpretation are not radical and in-line with the values of modern Jordanian societies that calls upon tolerance and social harmony. Moreover, revision of the religion teaching curriculums in schools and universities.

Conclusion:

Jordan is currently standing on thin ice of potential security threats. Despite the international praise for remaining steady amidst a heating region, Jordan still needs to further invest in long-term collective security measures.

The adoption of the final draft of the national action plan on UNSCR1325 is a substantial tool to counter terrorism. Moreover, it collectively requires perpetual efforts from different non/state actors and more importantly both men and women.

This response is a potential attempt to widen women social engagement- politically, socially and in Jordanian security sector. According to which women's roles are recognized not as victims but active actors of change and also perpetrators of radicalization.

The effectiveness of the Jordan national action plan on UNSCR1325 depends heavily on serious commitments made by the state and a sustainable cooperation among involved actors. Further more the adoption of contextual implementation methodologies to ensure utmost impact and deepening of national sense of ownership.

The analysis of Jordanian women's roles must exceed and not be limited to the typical victimized images but active agents with remarkable influence within the Jordanian social dynamics.

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Appendices

Outcome 1: Meaningful participation of women (civilian and military) in the security sector and peacekeeping missions is achieved.

Mid-term Outcomes	Outputs	Activities
1.1: Proper conditions for women to lead in the security sector are ensured.	1.1.1: Barriers to women's participation in the security sector are identified.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Conduct research, focus groups, and interviews 2. Review documents such as standard operating principles, selection and promotion criteria, and rules and regulations to determine whether changes may positively impact women's participation 3. Produce clear recommendations for actions
	1.1.2: Women within the security sector are equipped with the necessary professional skills, including shooting, conflict management, foreign language and driving skills, to participate and progress, and lead in the security sector.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Create and implement trainings on driving skills (especially standard transmission), machinery and shooting 2. Increase access to foreign language programs (especially UN languages, e.g., French and English). 3. Create and implement professionalization programs including leadership training 4. Integrate women who have served as leaders as trainers 5. Promote cross-country collaboration through advanced field training exercises and workshops
	1.1.3: Senior leaders demonstrate support for women's candidacy for leadership positions in the security sector and peacekeeping missions.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Conduct gender-sensitive trainings for senior leaders identifying barriers to women's advancement and emphasizing steps that leaders can take to more meaningfully support women's advancement.
1.2: The number of women working in international security roles as peacekeepers and foreign military	1.2.1: Increased demand by women for opportunities in peacekeeping and international roles in the security sector is generated.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Raise awareness and conduct outreach, to include experience exchanges across different fields, to inform women about the opportunities available to them within the security sector and the benefits of joining. 3. Implement a social program to support social media

advisors is increased.		processes that can positive impact awareness and amplify outreach.
	1.2.2: Nomination and recruitment procedures for international roles within the security sector are reviewed to ensure they do not prevent women from participating.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Conduct research, review relevant documents (standard operating procedures, recruitment and promotion criteria, etc.) to determine whether changes may positively impact women's participation 2. Produce clear recommendations for actions

Outcome 2: Meaningful participation of women in peacebuilding and peace processes and the prevention of violent extremism is attained.

Mid-term Outcomes	Outputs	Activities
2.1: Women's active participation in the prevention of conflict at the community and national levels is achieved.	2.1.1: Women have the requisite skills for conflict prevention.	1. Create and promote training materials appropriate for a range of leadership styles demonstrating tactics for reducing conflict, preventing violent extremism and building community cohesion and resilience
	2.1.2: Women have the capacity to participate in peace negotiations.	2. Create and promote training materials emphasizing key skills necessary to participate and support peace negotiations effectively
	2.1.3: Decision makers are lobbied to increase women's participation in peacebuilding and peace negotiations.	3. Conduct outreach to identify, prepare and advocate on behalf of suitable candidates for leadership roles in peace negotiations
	2.1.4: Male and female religious leaders have increased knowledge on the importance of women's participation in combating violence, reducing violent extremism and conflict prevention.	4. Create and promote sensitization materials emphasizing the importance of women's participation in conflict prevention and the role of religious leaders in support women's role 5. Hold regular meetings with influential religious leaders to inform the design of key messages on women's participation that will resonate with a wide range of religious leaders
2.2: Misconceptions about religious concepts and societally ingrained misconceptions	2.2.1: Women and men are provided knowledge regarding misconceptions about religious beliefs and traditions related to women.	1. Hold awareness sessions with clerics, tribesmen, female religious leaders and women aimed at addressing misconceptions related to women and religion/religious traditions 2. Conduct a review of prevalent religious discourse for women and men to strengthen interreligious harmony via the media and

related to women and men's roles are addressed.		construct alternative discourses
2.3: Women's participation in preventing and countering violent extremism is increased.	2.3.1: Women have increased awareness and knowledge of terminology and methodologies associated with violent extremism.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Create and promote appropriate educational resources related to women's roles in their families and societies in combating radical ideologies and violent extremism 2. Hold educational sessions and meetings to raise awareness about terminology, concepts, and methodologies associated with violent extremism.
	2.3.2: Women and men have increased awareness of women's role as influential members of families and communities in combating violent extremism.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hold awareness sessions with women and especially mothers to help guide their children toward countering violence and radical ideologies 2. Expand extracurricular activities that enrich the energies of boys and girls

Outcome 3: Gender sensitive services (including psychosocial, legal and medical services) are available and safely accessible to Jordanians and refugees e.

Mid-term Outcome	Output	Activities
3.1: Number of qualified women engaged in the delivery of services to vulnerable Jordanian and refugee women is increased.	3.1.1: Women meet required qualifications (including international standards) to provide services for vulnerable Jordanian and refugee women.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct outreach to attract women participants to training opportunities • Organize and conduct trainings on disaster and crisis management (including evacuation procedures) • Train paramedics and civil defense to work in humanitarian and relief efforts
	3.1.2: Research is conducted to identify the inclusive (health, legal, psychological, medical and specialized services for those with disabilities) training needs for service providers.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct research on existing capacity gaps among service providers to inform development of enhanced training protocol
	3.1.3: Policies are in place to ensure that organizations are employing trained service providers to deliver services.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Draft and promote adoption of policies that require or strongly encourage service providers only to use those that have been trained to meet the standards outlined in Output 3.1.1
3.2: Vulnerable Jordanian and refugee women in host communities and refugee camps are aware of services available to them.	3.2.1: Media outlets' (including television, press, and social media) interest in services provided for vulnerable Jordanian and refugee women is increased.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide media with appropriate, engaging summaries of impact of sexual violence, existing services provided and gaps, needs, and other key information to stimulate media interest in coverage of refugee issues
	3.2.2: Non-governmental organizations actively participate in the distribution of information about available services for vulnerable Jordanian and refugee women, particularly to rural governorates outside of Amman.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen networks among NGOs to promote information sharing and distribution of information • Conduct research to assess array of existing services and distribute information to NGOs in network

3.3: Government bodies, local communities, media and civil society have increased knowledge of the negative impact of conflict-related sexual violence.	3.3.1: Social studies about women (Jordanians and refugees) exposed to sexual violence and its impact are conducted.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct or review existing research on impact of sexual violence on refugees
	3.3.2: Instruments to monitor, document and report conflict-related sexual violence are created or strengthened.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct research on existing services, mechanisms for accessibility, needs of vulnerable Jordanian and refugee women
	3.3.3: Jordanians and refugees in host communities have increased awareness of the effects of sexual and gender-based violence and provision of support and protection for survivors.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hold awareness workshops on the effects of sexual and gender-based violence and the provision of support and protection for survivors and hold prevention campaigns
3.4: Refugee women who experienced conflict-related sexual violence have increased access to gender-sensitive services.	3.4.1: The obstacles that prevent women's access to (medical, psychosocial and legal) services connected to SGBV and existing measures for accountability for conflict-related sexual violence are identified.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify existing mechanisms for tracking sexual violence; gaps in existing mechanisms and develop a strategy to reform, strengthen or create new instruments.
	3.4.2: Recommendations for overcoming obstacles to women's access to services, particularly for those with disabilities, are implemented.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assess extent to which array of services currently provided by centers in host communities are available for people with disabilities • Develop recommendations for ensuring services are comprehensive • Lobby for addition resources to expand services, number or capacity of centers
	3.4.3: Prosecutors, judges, and police are trained on how to handle conflict-related sexual violence and promote access to safe reporting channels.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assess existing judiciary and police training curriculum • Create new training content, organize and conduct trainings

Outcome 4: Recognition of the contributions and role of women in peace and security is

achieved.

Mid-term Outcomes	Outputs	Activities
4.1: Youth engagement in actively promoting the role of women in peace and security is increased.	4.1.1: Awareness raising sessions about the importance of women's participation in peace and security are held at the local and national level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hold awareness raising sessions across Jordan (including refugee camps and urban areas) to increase awareness about youth's participation in the women, peace and security agenda for individuals, female community leaders, public institutions and Syrian and Jordanian residents of host communities
	4.1.2: Youth-led coalitions/networks contribute to the strengthening of women's role in peace and security in cooperation with governmental and international agencies and key civil society organizations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Build individuals' capacities to promote and support recognition of women's participation in peace and security organizations
4.2: Government, community and religious leaders' support for the inclusion of women in peacebuilding is actively and visibly demonstrated.	4.2.1: Government leaders and decision makers have increased knowledge on the importance of women's inclusion.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Map or develop success stories, best practices and case studies which reflect the roles of women in the field of supporting women in the sector of women's participation in peace and security are developed
	4.2.2: Communications and advocacy campaigns that support the recognition of women's participation in peace and security are implemented throughout Jordan.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Design communications plan to carry out campaigns and popular support Design advocacy campaigns that support women's participation in peace and security
4.3: Women are portrayed positively as agents of peace in the media.	4.3.1: Agencies concerned with recognition of women in peace and security [processes] are involved	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hold consultations with organizations concerned with the recognition of women's role in peace and security
	4.3.2: Partnerships with all types of media organizations are formed to support women's participation in peace and security are formed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conduct outreach to all types of media organizations in order to support women's participation in peace and security

4.4: University and government primary and secondary schools' engagement in actively promoting the contributions and role of women in peace and security is increased.	4.4.1: Trainings and conferences on women's participation in peace and security for university professors and executive academic leaders are held.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organize academic symposia focused on women's participation in peace and security, including calls for papers and research conducted by academic, NGO and other leaders inside and outside the field-
	4.4.2: Needed educational policy papers are developed to integrate women's role in peace and security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hold specialized seminars in the education sector to develop the educational policies needed to integrate women's role in peace and security
	4.4.3: Study to measure the knowledge, attitudes, and practices that successfully lead to the recognition of women's role in peace and security is implemented	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Implement (or review existing) a study to measure the knowledge, attitudes, and practices that successfully lead to the recognition of women's role in peace and security
	4.4.4: Impact assessment to determine the extent of knowledge and attitudes and practices related to the recognition of the role of women in peace and security is implemented.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Implement an impact assessment to determine the extent of knowledge and attitudes and practices related to the recognition of the role of women in peace and security



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