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Child marriage in Jordan: Systematic review of literature December 2018

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Executive summary

Purpose

This systematic mapping of literature on child marriage in Jordan was undertaken by Dr Aisha Hutchinson in partnership with Terre des Hommes – Lausanne in Jordan. It was completed as the first stage of empirical research that aims to better understand the impact of displacement on child marriage in Syrian refugee communities in Jordan and Lebanon, and to develop a contextually and culturally framework of risk and protection to inform policy and practice strategies. Child marriage is defined as the marriage (registered or unregistered) of any person under the age of 18. While several literature reviews of child marriage within the Syrian refugee communities in Jordan have been completed [1-7], this map provides comparative elements for a more nuanced appreciation of the impact of prolonged displacement, and of possible dynamic processes amongst refugee and host communities over time. The map includes 76 items from 1970–2017. The map also includes a methodological assessment of the literature reviewed, which allows conclusions to be made about the quality of the evidence that is currently available on child marriage in Jordan.

This map systematically analyses each piece of literature in response to nine key questions about child marriage and therefore gives a comprehensive overview of how each piece of literature answers these questions:

1-What are the rates of child marriage in different communities in Jordan?

2-What is it like to be married under 18 in different communities in Jordan?

3-What is the process of marriage for different communities in Jordan?

4-How is child marriage understood and conceptualised in different communities in Jordan?

5-What are the drivers of child marriage in different communities in Jordan?

6-What are the consequences of child marriage in different communities in Jordan?

7-What do we know about the relationship between child marriage and education in different communities in Jordan?

8-What are the recommendations for preventing child marriage and caring for those affected by child marriage in different communities in Jordan?

9-What are the current interventions in response to child marriage in different communities in Jordan?

A systematic and robust methodology is used to identify literature that answers these nine questions (see full report) and brings all these answers together in this one document. The analysis completed identifies areas of consensus and discord, and apparent gaps. 'Old' literature is presented through a 'new' lens, with the aim of being particularly supportive to policy makers, coordinators, strategists and programme developers as new strategies in response to child marriage are currently being developed.

Summary of findings

1. What are the rates of child marriage in different communities in Jordan?

Estimating the rates of child marriage in different communities in Jordan is a frequent aim of the literature reviewed, although only one study includes unregistered marriages. Unregistered marriages are marriages which take place by local religious leaders within communities, but are not formally registered in a religious court. These marriages are illegal in Jordan, but have risen in frequency within Syrian refugee communities for a whole range of reasons discussed by IHRC and NRC (2015) [8]. Unregistered marriages are probably captured through the census data presented by the Higher Population Council. However, we do not know how many of the marriages they record are registered or unregistered from this data [7]. Data is available on the age at first marriage from several large scale surveys carried out in Jordan from as early as 1961 [9]. This data clearly shows a decline in the rates of child marriage across a 40 year period. However, the percentage of registered marriages under the age of 18 has remained fairly constant over the past 10 years despite an increase in the legal age of marriage in 2001 [4]. The Higher Population Council (2017) presents data collected from the Department of the Chief Justice and the Department of Statistics (household and census data) shows that child marriage is increasing in Jordan, predominantly within the Syrian refugee communities. However this does not give a prevalence rate of child marriage in the wider Syrian population.

In 2015 approximately one third of all Syrian marriages were to females under the age of 18 [7]. All of the literature reviewed focuses on the child marriages of girls. The frequency of boys marrying under 18 is considered as rare (although does happen) and is a qualitatively different experience [4, 7, 10].

Yet anecdotal evidence suggests this should also be given more attention

2) What is it like to be married under 18 in different communities in Jordan?

Most of the literature reviewed which describes the context and the experience of child marriage, is in relation to Syrian refugees rather than Jordanians or Palestinians. Several items highlighted the experience

by providing case studies of married girls [4, 11-13]. The literature reviewed clearly evidences the impact of displacement on the process of marriage. The process may start earlier than planned, there may be a change of priorities in balancing up cost and benefits of the match, limited investigation of potential husbands, no formal registration of the marriage and low levels of dowry/mahr/wedding gifts to name but a few. However, while the literature appears to give a full account of the impact of displacement on the occurrence and nature of child marriage, it is difficult to map if and how this has changed since 2011, and the impact of prolonged displacement in the coming years – will we still see a rise in child marriages? As Syrian refugees and host communities face an increasingly prolonged crisis, and as agencies begin to re-evaluate crisis intervention strategies in the light of the clear need for long term social, human and economic investment – how and where do we place and understand child marriage?

3) What is the process of marriage for different communities in Jordan?

While it is recognised that marriage is a socially, culturally and religiously constructed process intertwined within the fabric of families, communities and societies across the Middle East [2], the literature reviewed focuses on the 'legal' process of marriage in Jordan and often compares this with marriage processes in Syria. Apart from one document [7], the literature identified as part of the systematic map only outlines the legal process of marriage in Jordan and Syria for Muslims (the majority of Jordanians and Syrian), and does not discuss the legal processes for minority religious groups including Christians. The minimum age of marriage, which was raised from 15 to 18 for Muslims in 2001, and the special circumstances which allow marriage from 15 years of age in Jordan are usually the main topic of discussion when considering the legal processes connected to child marriage [4, 14]. The full report gives an overview of the legal processes discussed and the challenges faced by Syrian refugees when engaging with these processes. However, while integral to marriage, the legal process only forms part of the social process which usually begins when a male

and/or his family feel it is time to consider marriage, and ends with a public celebration and consummation of the marriage. All of the family contribute to the process in different ways [4, 10, 15]. Less attention is paid in the literature to the social processes associated with child marriage. There is also very little in the literature on how the legal and non-legal aspects of marriage coincide. While strategies for reducing child marriage are often appropriately and importantly targeted at the formal legal aspect of marriage, this misses the opportunities for strategies which may also be effective at other stages of the marriage process. A better understanding of roles and responsibilities around the social processes of marriage, the negotiations that take place between them, and the possibility of enhancing protective strategies through these roles and responsibilities is needed.

Four items reviewed go into great detail regarding marriages that do not include the legal process at all, unregistered marriages, which are incredibly problematic in Jordan [4, 8, 16, 17]. Another aspect of the process of marriage not given in-depth consideration in the current literature is the nature of 'consent' given in marriages under the age of 18 and how this is understood, negotiated and recognised throughout the whole process (including informal processes in families and formal legal processes). This is likely to be under-discussed because international law does not consider it possible for children (those under 18 years of age) to 'consent' to marriage at all [11].

4) How is child marriage understood and conceptualised in different communities in Jordan?

While the literature reviewed shows that there is a small but significant difference between Jordanian and Syrian communities in desirable age at first marriage, there are clearly differences in opinion within both of these communities. While child marriage is considered a 'cultural' or a 'traditional' practice in Syria, it should by no means be assumed that all Syrian families support the idea of marriage under 18 years of age for their daughters and actively pursue it [1, 18-21]. Yet even those who would not 'traditionally' consider child marriage may do so in the context of conflict and displacement. Although there is not enough data to predict who might approve or disapprove of child marriage, or whether there is

a clear gender divide in attitudes and how this is negotiated within families. There are no studies, for example, that ask husbands of those married to girls under 18 about their experiences, perspectives and attitudes – which are essential for informing programmes working with men and boys. It is also very difficult to see whether there has been a change of attitudes over time, and the impact of prolonged displacement on attitudes towards child marriage. Yet the fact that attitudes to child marriage are not homogenous challenges the conception that child marriage is simply 'cultural' and a 'tradition' in Syrian families and would be taking place anyway despite the conflict – particularly as rates of child marriage in Syrian refugee communities are now higher than they were in many parts of Syria prior to the conflict [7]. The social narrative of child marriage in Jordan is an interesting comparison, taking into account the steady increase in average age of first marriage across the last 40 years and the decline in overall proportions of child marriage [10, 22]. This provides a stark contrast between communities, and is thought to be a point of misunderstanding and conflict between communities [7, 20, 21].

The literature reviewed presents a number of different ways that child marriage is conceptualised by young people, families, communities, political and religious leaders, UN organisations, International Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs) and Jordanian Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's). Analysis shows that child marriage is considered as;

- Marriage (an important social and religious process) [2, 10]
- A legal process [4, 14, 23, 24]
- A transition to adulthood (along with education, employment, and motherhood) [10]
- The context for child motherhood and child childbearing [22, 25-33]
- A protective strategy for families (means of protection against rape, sexual assault, negative reputation) [4, 12, 34]
- A negative coping strategy used by families in poverty and desperation [5, 34-37]
- A negative event associated with poor outcomes [4, 5, 7, 12]
- A form of Gender Based Violence [1, 2, 13, 18, 36, 38]
- An issue of child protection [1, 37, 39]
- A violation of human rights [4, 11, 12, 37]

Analysis of the literature suggests that different actors hold and prioritise different conceptualisations of child marriage, which can be difficult to hold together. It is clear then that professionals and policymakers need to recognise their own conceptualisations of child marriage and to be able to identify these in others. We also need a better understanding of how these conceptualisation impact the actions taken by individuals, families, communities, agencies and professionals.

5) What are the drivers of child marriage in different communities in Jordan?

Discussing the drivers of child marriage was the most frequent topic of discussion across the literature reviewed. The drivers identified by the literature are documented in figures 1 and 2 by mapping these onto an ecological framework and constructing a complex problem tree with multiple, multi-layers drivers and a broad range of consequences. The 'drivers', or push/pull factors related to child marriage are multiple and complex – with usually a number of them at play at any one time, such as when a proposal is received for a girl from a poor family who is inactive at home (rather than in school) in a community where it is socially acceptable. There may also be differences in the drivers and consequences between child marriage that occurs in Syrian refugee communities (such as fear of sexual assault or a negative coping strategy), Palestinian refugee camps (such as poverty or securing a daughters future) and Jordanian communities (such as poor educational access or high value of traditional gender roles) [4]. So why do girls marry when they do? How do families and girls decide when marriage should occur? What is it that persuades a family to accept a proposal? What priority is given to all the considerations that need to be made including:

- social norms related to preferable age at marriage
- current aspirations for the girl's future
- the girl's current level of activity including current educational engagement
- the girl's willingness to consider marriage
- the girl's readiness to marry (and bear children)
- nature of fears regarding the girl's safety and reputation;
- current household economic standing
- the family's understanding of the risks associated with child marriage
- the nature of the proposed marriage contract (including dowry and mahr)

- the character, standing, wealth and reputation of the prospective groom
- the character, standing, wealth and reputation of the prospective in-laws
- and the legal requirements of marriage

Two studies reviewed explicitly set out their theories around the decision-making processes which occur in families regarding marriage formation, but these are based on a linear and rational analysis of the costs and benefits associated with child marriage. Wider literature related to risky decision-making processes has repeatedly shown that a standardised linear rational cost benefit analysis is rarely fit for purpose [40, 41], particularly when taking into account complex social processes. We also know that simply 'educating' people about risks does not automatically change behaviour [42]. We therefore need a better understanding of how the different drivers (often located at a structural or community level) impact on decision-making processes in families. This is particularly pertinent when we consider that families may be making decisions that they would not previously have made in Syria, due to the change in their circumstances.

6) What are the consequences of child marriage in different communities in Jordan?

The literature reviewed draws attention to a wide range of consequences which may happen as a result of a child marriage – see figure 2. However, most of the evidence in the literature reviewed comes from small scale qualitative studies, and reports from organisations working with adolescent girls in Jordan. While it would be possible to look at the outcomes associated with child marriage for Jordanian and Palestinian communities from data like DHS 2012 (and the census in 2015 to a limited extent), and for Syrians prior to the conflict from the MICS 2008 data, there appears to be no equivalent data currently available for Syrian refugees in Jordan, even from smaller scale surveys or assessments by humanitarian organisations.

Figure 1: Drivers of child marriage mapped onto an ecological framework

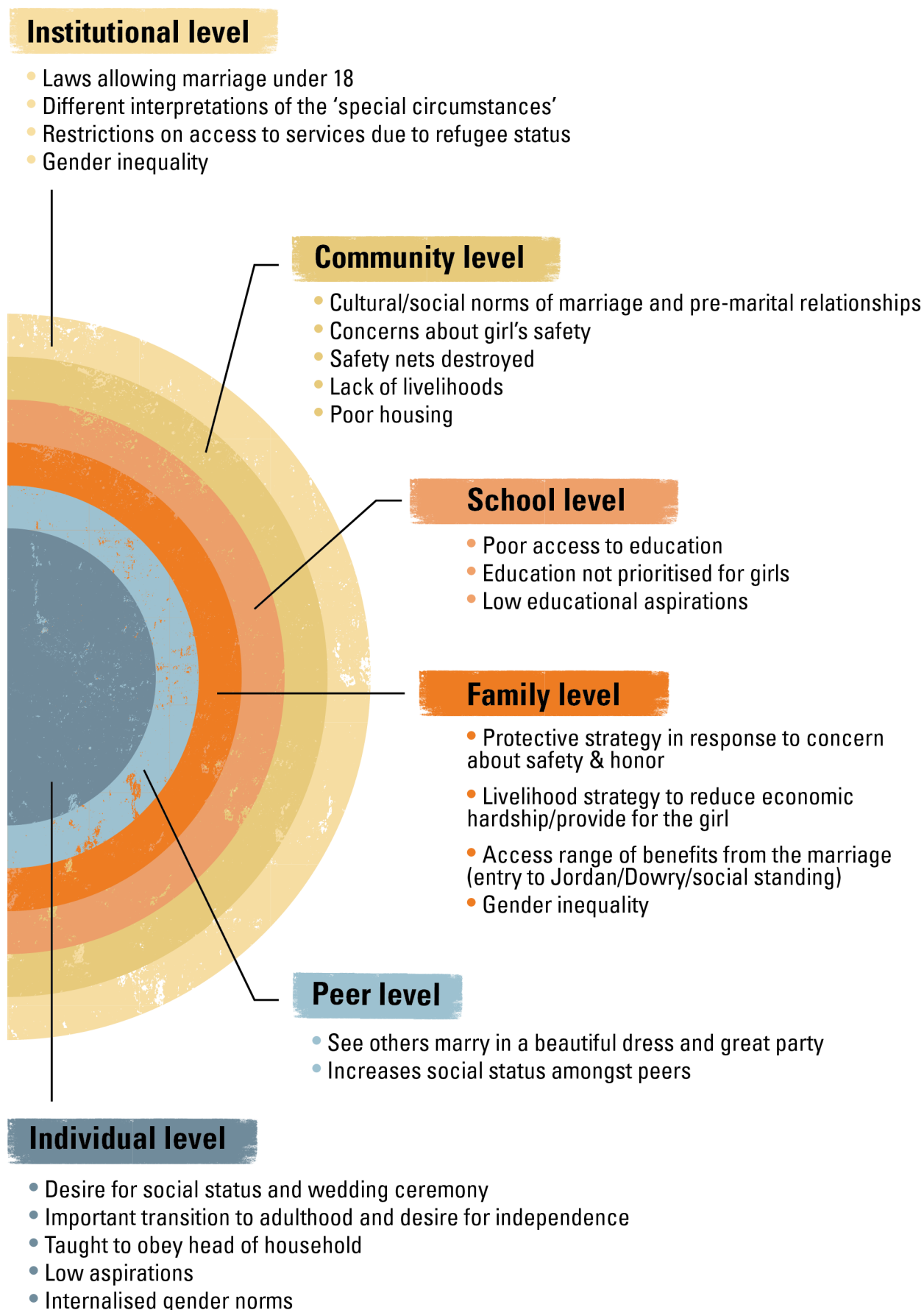


Figure 2: Problem tree developed based on the drivers and outcomes of child marriage



There are only three examples of this kind of data being used to explore the outcomes of child marriage in Jordan. While data from other countries with high rates of child marriage clearly establishes the relationship between child marriage and poor maternal health, poor infant health, school dropout, social isolation or divorce, for example, it is difficult to know how much this literature reflects the outcomes in Jordan and other countries in the Middle East. The literature reviewed could not confidently present the extent of the negative consequences, which particular groups are at risks of which outcomes, how these outcomes might change over time and the impact of multiple or cumulative risks or negative outcomes.

One of the consequences that is yet to receive significant attention in the literature reviewed is the impact of child marriage on the process of resettlement in a destination country (such as the USA, Australia, Canada or a European country), especially in those that prohibit all marriage under 18 years (e.g. Sweden). UNFPA guidance indicates that requests for resettlement by families which include married minors may be delayed or declined [43].

7) What do we know about the relationship between child marriage and education in different communities in Jordan?

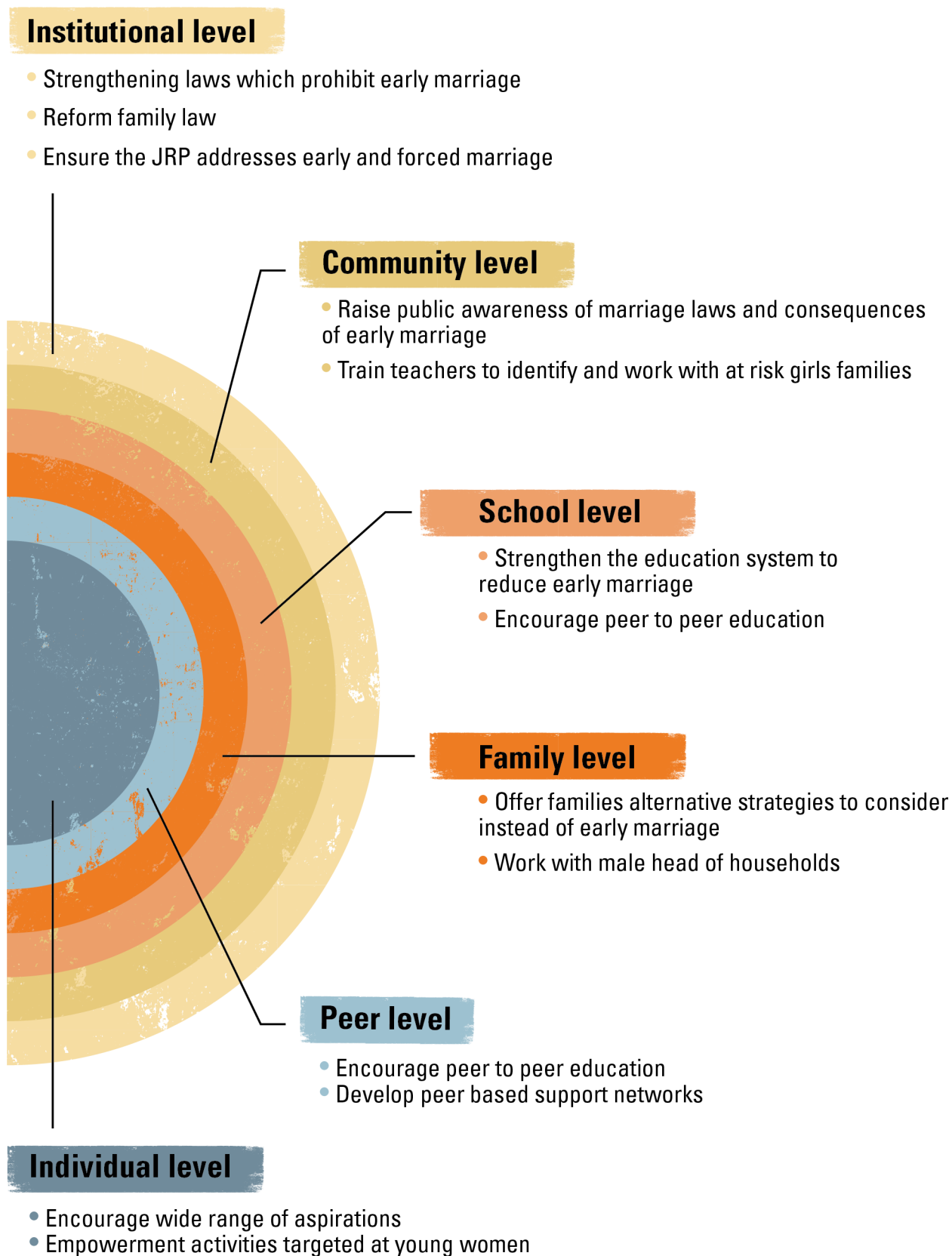
Most of the literature that examines the relationship between education and age at first marriage is based on large scale standardised datasets with Jordanian citizens rather than Syrian refugees. In this literature, high levels of education are statistically associated with later age at first marriage, and low levels of education are associated with child marriage [10, 22, 29-33, 44, 45]. However, it is not entirely clear, in both the Jordanian and Syrian communities, the extent to which this is because girls are leaving school to marry or whether girls are already out of school before they marry, which then increases their likelihood of marriage (as they are considered inactive at home). It is not clear, also, whether just being in school reduces the likelihood of child marriage or whether the nature or level of the education a girl (or her family) receives, or her aspirations (or that of her families), also make a difference to the likelihood of proposals being made and accepted. Further exploration into this relationship is needed to develop more sophisticated intervention regarding education and child marriage, which is often considered a key factor for preventing child marriage [46].

8) What are the recommendations for preventing child marriage and caring for those affected by child marriage in different communities in Jordan?

Recommendations were included in twenty-two of the documents reviewed [1, 2, 4-7, 11-14, 16, 18, 24, 36, 42, 47-53]. These have been grouped under the following headings in the full report:

- **Expansion of support to prevent Gender-Based Violence (GBV);** including the scale up of camp and community security, SGBV activities/services and health sector screening; better engagement with men and boys; supporting families to cope with the stress of displacement and inactivity; and tailored SGBV training aimed at young women.
- **Strengthening laws which prohibit child marriage;** including wider family laws and protection of women against violence; enforcing the legal age of marriage and strengthening the legal measures to protect young girls; and better monitoring of the Chief Justice's Directive on child marriage.
- **Strengthening broader social policy response** such as ensuring the Jordan Response Plan (JRP) addresses child and forced marriage in its programming, planning, and response; and instructions are issued that define the specific educational and health rights of married children.
- **Expansion of adolescent sexual and reproductive health care** to improve the quality and access to services or SRH education for adolescents, embedded within a holistic model of adolescent SRH that strengthens the link with actors in other sectors.
- **Strengthen the education system to reduce child marriage** through a gender-sensitive approach to education that underpins inclusive policies that keep young women in school and strengthens all actors including parents and Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs)
- **Strengthen community-based engagement and activities;** including awareness raising campaigns and engagement with community and religious leaders to strengthen community-based support networks.
- **Developing and extending direct services to young women impacted by child marriage** Sufficient funding and capacity building from donors
- **Design and strengthen programmes for adolescent young women** so that the specific needs and nature of the life of an adolescent woman can be prioritised, and the link made between child marriage and other key transitions to adulthood such as education and employment.

Figure 3: Examples of intervention mapped onto an ecological framework



Despite what initially might seem like a large degree of consensus about the policy and practice response to child marriage, there is actually a huge difference between some of the aims and objectives of these recommendations (i.e. prevention of any marriage under 18, delaying marriage for as long as possible or mitigating the negative consequences of child marriage), the level at which they target their intervention (i.e. legal systems, communities, households or individuals) and the degree to which social change is required or root causes are tackled. It may be that all of these objectives are appropriate and needed, but it is difficult to analyse whether organisations are clearly distinguishing their objectives and reflecting these in their theory of change, programme activities or indicators of change.

Figures 3 and 4 show how intervention in response to child marriage needs to occur at multiple levels and includes work across many different sectors. It is currently unclear in the literature how these responses are coordinated, monitored and supported at different levels across different sections. It is also unclear how effectively agencies communicate their progress and programme with each other – and how different agencies and sectors can work to their strengths (e.g. educational professions focus on link with education, and health professions focus on link with early child bearing and SRH), while also recognising that they are only working with one piece of the problem tree or at one level (i.e. with individuals, families or communities).

9) What are the current interventions in response to child marriage in different communities in Jordan?

While a few useful examples are given of the current policy and practice response to child marriage in Jordan, the literature identified in no way gives a comprehensive systematic overview of the current work being undertaken to reduce the rates of child marriage, or reduce the risks associated with child marriage in different communities across Jordan. The literature indicates however that many different agencies are doing different activities in different sectors with different target groups. It also indicates that some coordination is being managed by the Child Marriage Task Force in Jordan.

Questions which remain unanswered in relation to intervention strategies:

-**What** is the theory of change for reducing child marriage in Jordanian and Syrian refugees? And is it fit for purpose for use with multiple groups over time?

-**How** are interventions/programmes being evaluated taking into account the complexity of the drivers of child marriage (i.e. not a linear relationship between poverty and child marriage, or education and child marriage) and what are their impacts?

-**Do we know** 'what works' to prevent child marriage and reduce the negative consequences of child marriage?

-**How** effectively is the multi-sector and multi-level work being coordinated and communicated? Are sectors working to their strengths but together for a common goal and agenda?

-**Do we have** a map of all the interventions related to the drivers and consequences of child marriage in Jordan ... what, where, who, target level, outcomes?

- **Is every level** and every sector sufficiently covered in terms of intervention? Are root causes challenged? Can the severity of the consequences be reduced?

- **What** do we know about the protective strategies used by individual, families and communities to secure safe marriages for women over the age of 18 years?

-What do we know about the families who actively delay marriages until after 18 years of age?

-**How** do we engage with contexts that are both risk inducing and protective – such as families or refugee camps?

-**How** comfortable do all actors feel with the different discourses associated with child marriage and the different agendas?

-**How** can we implement strong human rights, social justice and social development agenda in relation to what can often be difficult to reach family-based processes, beyond outsiders' purview?

-**What** are the roles and responsibilities of different faith-based actors within Jordanian, Palestinian and Syrian communities?

-**What** positive message could be communicated to prevent child marriage?

Figure 4: Mapping sectors and stakeholders on to the child marriage problem tree



Conclusions

While it could be argued that there is a significant amount of research and other literature on child marriage in Jordan, there remain gaps which have been identified through this systematic map. While six of the items reviewed have focused specifically on child marriage in Jordan [4, 7, 12, 37, 53, 54], the majority of studies and other literature reviewed include child marriage as one of many population or protection concerns. This appears to be representative of the work on the ground, where child marriage is usually considered as one (small?) part of the work in health, SRH health, public health, maternal health, education, SGBV, child protection or livelihood programmes. While a multi-sector response seems entirely appropriate, this raises four main concerns:

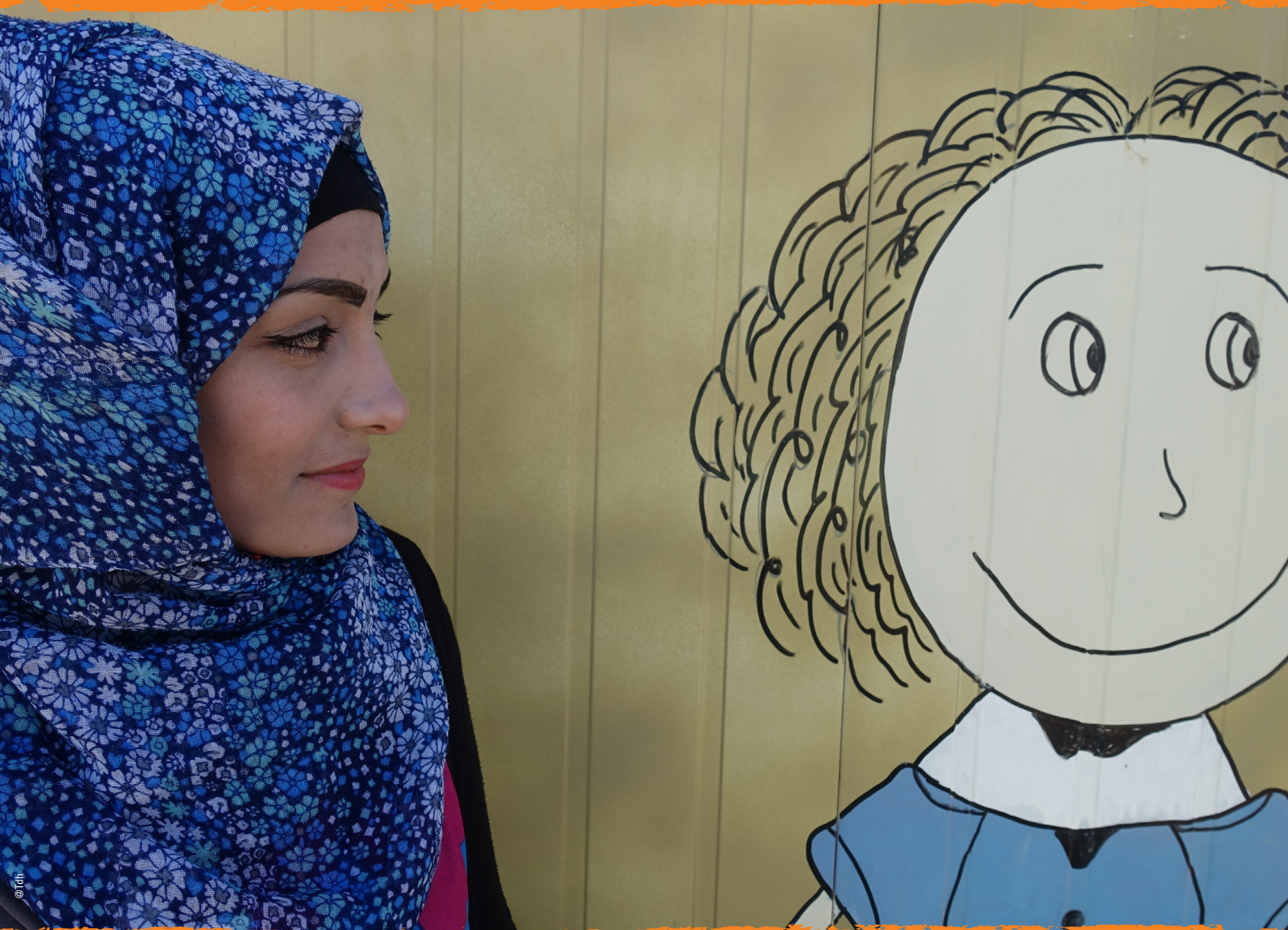
- Are there enough policymakers and professionals across these sectors with specialised knowledge on child marriage (recognising the complexity outlined through this summary)?
- How can different sectors and programmes play to their strengths (and work within their limitations) while recognising that different responses to child marriage are needed at different levels across different sectors?
- How is knowledge shared across sectors or programmes, and what is the nature of partnership working?
- What objectives, conceptual models, understandings of child marriage and theories of change underpinning the work of these sectors? Are they at cross purposes or giving mixed messages to individuals, families and communities?
- While this map has drawn on 'old' literature, this analysis aims to equip policy makers and programme coordinators in their role by presenting the evidence in response to the key questions asked about child marriage in Jordan, and critically engaging with evidence and the quality of the evidence.

Child marriage in Jordan:

Systematic mapping of the literature

Full report

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Chapter 1:

Introduction

Since the beginning of the Syrian refugee crisis in 2011 there have been growing concerns regarding the levels of child marriage within the Syrian refugee community across the Middle East [4, 7, 11, 12, 37, 55]. Child marriage refers to the marriage of any male or female under the age of 18, and is widely considered a form of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) and a violation of human rights[38]. The right to free and full consent to marriage is recognised in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights[56], with the acknowledgement that consent cannot be given if one of the parties is not sufficiently mature to make a decision about a life partner. In addition, there are a wide range of risks and negative outcomes associated with child marriage such as school dropout, early childbearing and intimate partner violence (IPV) to name a few [47]. However, many communities across the world continue to see marriage under 18 years of age as acceptable and even preferable. Alternatively, it is used as a coping strategy, or a response to limited choices in contexts of poverty and insecurity. Legal provisions also remain which allow marriages to occur under 18 years of age, including across the Middle East [57].

There is a huge amount of literature on child marriage published globally with lots of research and 'best practice' documents often focused on countries with the highest levels of child marriage such as Bangladesh, Niger, Chad, Mali and the Central African Republic (see Hanmer and Elefante 2016 for the top 25 countries with the highest rates of child marriage)[57]. The UNFPA-UNICEF Global Programme to Accelerate Action to End Child Marriage targets adolescent girls (ages 10-19) at risk of child marriage or already in union, in 12 selected countries: Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Mozambique, Nepal, Niger, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Yemen, Zambia [58]. All of these countries have very high rates of child marriage. The initial phase of the programme is from 2016-2019 [59]. Globally focused literature highlights the many causes of child marriage, as well as the many consequences of child marriage which are damaging not only to young women, but their children, their families and society at large. However, it is not appropriate to take findings from research in Bangladesh or Niger, for example, and use these uncritically in different contexts – particularly as child marriage is associated with specific cultural and social processes. While there are similarities in many of the causes of child marriage, such as gender

inequality and poverty, these manifest in uniquely different ways within different contexts.

A systematic mapping of the literature was, therefore, completed to identify literature published on child marriage in Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq and Turkey over the past 40 years. None of these countries are in the top 25 with the highest rates of child marriages[57]. These countries were chosen because they are all part of the regional resilience and response plan, in response to the Syrian Crisis [60]. However, each country also has a domestic history in relation to child marriage, and trends in age at first marriage and the legal age of marriage were points of interest prior to the arrival of Syrian refugees. Literature on child marriage in these countries prior to the 'Syrian crisis' has been included because of the importance of the national context in relation to marriage processes (legal and social). However, there is a qualitative difference in the nature of the literature pre and post the arrival of Syrian refugees. This report focuses on the literature regarding Jordan.

Purpose

This systematic mapping of literature on child marriage in Jordan was undertaken by Dr Aisha Hutchinson (University of Bedfordshire, UK) in partnership with Terre des Hommes – Lausanne in Jordan. It was completed to inform empirical research that examines the impact of displacement on child marriage in Syrian refugee communities in Jordan and Lebanon with the aim of developing tools to inform policy and practice strategies. While several literature reviews of child marriage within the Syrian refugee communities in Jordan have been completed [1-5, 7, 51] often as part of a larger research study, this map includes a wider range of literature (76 items) from 1970 – 2017 that includes Jordanian, Palestinians and Syrian refugees. The map also includes a methodological assessment of the literature reviewed, which allows conclusions to be made about the quality of the evidence that is currently available on child marriage in Jordan.

This map systematically analyses each piece of literature in response to nine key questions about child marriage and therefore gives a comprehensive overview of how each piece of literature answers these questions:

- 1- What are the rates of child marriage in different communities in Jordan?
- 2- What is it like to be married under 18 in different communities in Jordan?
- 3- What is the process of marriage for different communities in Jordan?
- 4- How is child marriage understood and conceptualised in different communities in Jordan?
- 5- What are the drivers of child marriage in different communities in Jordan?
- 6- What are the consequences of child marriage in different communities in Jordan?
- 7- What do we know about the relationship between child marriage and education in different communities in Jordan?
- 8- What are the recommendations for preventing child marriage and caring for those affected by child marriage in different communities in Jordan?

9- What are the current interventions in response to child marriage in different communities in Jordan?

This report therefore brings together all the different answers to these questions from across many different pieces of literature. The analysis completed identifies areas of consensus and discord, and apparent gaps. 'Old' literature is presented through a 'new' lens, with the aim of being particularly supportive to policy makers, coordinators, strategists and programme developers. While the recommendations presented as part of the report draws attention to some specific implications for practice, this report is aimed at those involved in policy and project coordination who are developing new strategies in response to child marriage in Jordan.

Chapter 2



Overview of methodology

Systematic maps aim to describe the existing literature (and gaps in the literature) in a broad topic area, so that the literature quality and content can be analysed as appropriate to individual projects [61, 62]. Such maps can be used in relation to reviews which are wider than questions of 'what works'. This reflects the wide purpose of this map which is to bring together the evidence on child marriage in Jordan to answer a whole range of broader questions, rather than answer a very specific question like 'what interventions in Jordan reduce rates of child marriage in Syrian refugee communities?' through only examining empirical work. This map offers a means to identify narrower review questions which can be addressed through the literature, so that time is not spent searching the literature to answer a question which cannot currently be answered by the literature [63]. Maps also enable us to identify gaps in the current literature. Alternatively, where research is lacking, and a systematic review is not feasible, a map can suggest areas for further empirical research. Systematic maps enable an engagement with a body of literature that is not limited to empirical studies, and can include a wide range of literature which is concerned with theory or practice, or may have been developed for advocacy purposes. Systematic maps follow principles that have been well-developed through systematic literature reviews, but they work better with broader questions and include a wide range of literature. See figure 1, which outlines the process undertaken for this systematic map, based on a model developed by Bates et al 2007 [62].

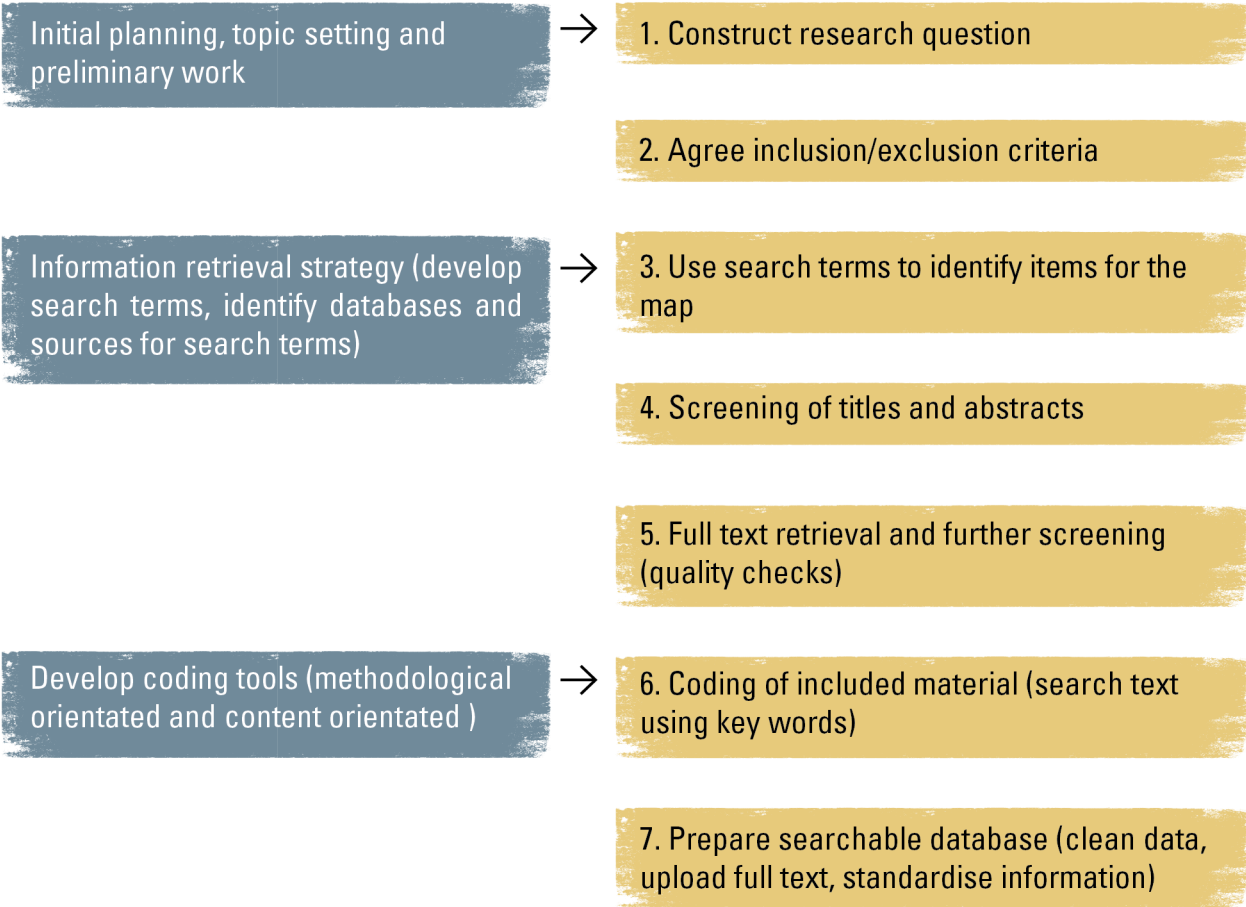
Research question

The overriding research question which underpins the systematic map is 'What do we know about child marriage in different communities across Jordan?' The aim of the mapping is to draw the literature together to answer these sub-questions,

- What is the process of marriage for different communities in Jordan?
- How is child marriage understood and conceptualised in different communities in Jordan?
- What are the rates of child marriage in different communities in Jordan?
- What are the drivers of child marriage in different communities in Jordan?

- What are the consequences of child marriage in different communities in Jordan?
- What is it like to be married under 18 in different communities in Jordan?
- What do we know about the relationship between child marriage and education in different communities in Jordan?
- What are the recommendations for preventing child marriage and caring for those affected by child marriage in different communities in Jordan?
- What are the current interventions in response to child marriage in different communities in Jordan?

Figure 1: Systematic mapping process



SYSTEMATIC MAP OF THE RESEARCH
Searchable database for analysis

Source:
The following sources were searched using the search terms outlined below:
SocINDEX with Full Text; Medline; OaFindr; Academic onefile; PsysINFO; PsycARTICLES;
Science Direct; CINAHL; JSTOR journals; ASSIA; British Nursing Database; Academic search elite; Social care online; Popline; Pubmed; Girls not Brides reports and publications; Save the Children Resources Centre; Reference Harvesting; Grey literature searches and hand searching.

Search terms

The following search terms were used to search the abstracts within each of the sources above,

"Jordan" OR "Lebanon" OR "Syria" OR "Arab" OR "middle east" OR "Palestinian" OR "west bank" OR "Gaza" OR "Turkey" OR "Egypt" OR "Iraq"

AND

"child marriage" OR "child marriage" OR "child bride" OR "marriage under 18" OR "adolescent marriage" OR "teenage marriage" OR "marriage at an child age" OR "marriage at a young age" OR "age at marriage" OR "age at first marriage" OR "child age of marriage" OR "child age at first marriage" OR "married child" OR "married to* child" OR "timing of first marriage" OR "minor marriage" OR "married as minor" OR "child nuptial*" OR "child nuptial*" OR "adolescent nuptial*" OR "forced marriage*" OR "arranged marriage*" OR "traditional marriage*" OR "temporary marriage*"

Inclusion and exclusion

Only items with a focus on Syria, Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq and Egypt were included (all other countries were excluded). Only English language items were included. Only items that had something 'new' to say about the nature of child marriage were included – i.e. items which just included child marriage in a list or only referenced other literature without providing new data or new analysis were not included. News items were not included. There were no date restrictions.

A total of **1751** items were identified. **357** items were duplicates. **1043** items were excluded due to country of focus or topic of focus. **351** items were included in the full systematic map.

Country of focus

Of the **351** items included:

76 items include a focus on Jordan

33 items include a focus on Lebanon

20 items include a focus on Syria

16 items include a focus on Palestine

131 items include a focus on Egypt

61 items include a focus on Turkey

6 items include a focus on Iraq

41 items include a focus on Middle East region including at least one of the focus countries.

Figure 2 shows how each of the items have been categorised according to people of focus, type of literature, methodology, date of publication, access to full text, terms used for child marriage and the type of content included. The numbers in black refer to all

the items included in the mapping. The numbers in red refer to the items which have a focus on Syrian refugees. While there is a small overlap in the people of focus across the items (i.e. they include Jordanians, Palestinians and Syrian refugees) [4, 7, 51] most of the items prior to 2012 are focused on Jordanians exclusively, and most of the items after 2012 are focused exclusively on Syrian refugees. This means that the difference between the red and black numbers can tell us a lot about the differences between the nature of the literature pre and post 2012. A table which includes a brief summary of all the items included in the systematic map can be found in the Annex.

Methodological analysis

A basic methodological assessment was made of each item included in the systematic map using the Critical Analysis Skills Programme (CASP) checklists for systematic reviews, cross-sectional surveys and qualitative research [64-66]. The AACODS framework was used to examine grey literature that was not based on empirical research [67]. This assessment can be seen in relation to each item in the Annex.

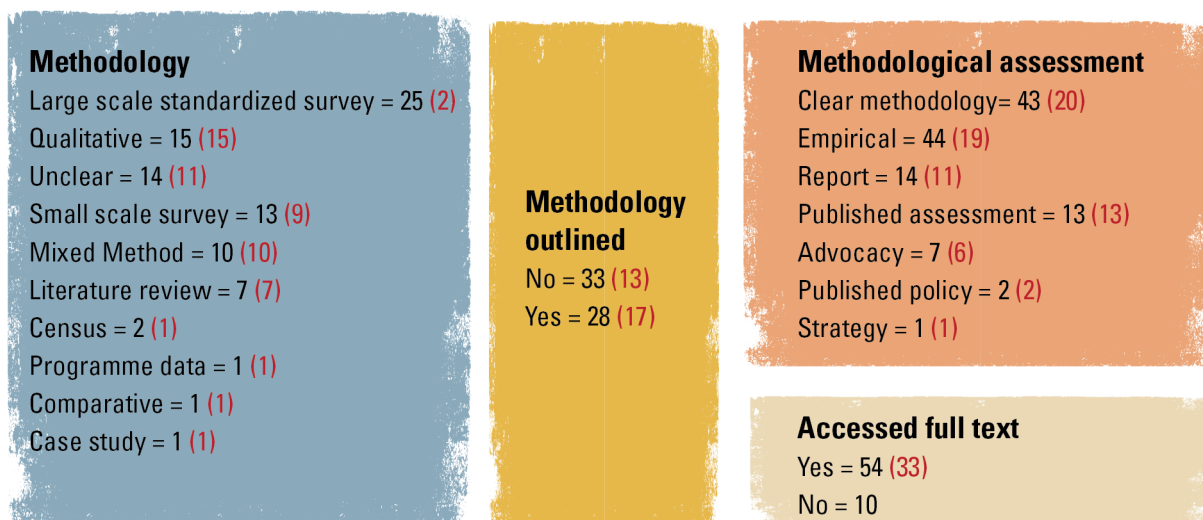
Most of the items with a focus on Jordanians are journal articles or population focused reports published before 2012 which draw on large scale standardised surveys (such as the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS)) to show how the median age of first marriage has increased amongst Jordanians over the past 40 years (and child marriage has decreased) or the relationship between age at first marriage and fertility [9, 22, 25-32, 45, 47, 54, 68-71]. A large proportion of items also identify the determinants of child marriage [4, 7, 44, 47, 51, 54, 72], and the relationship between education and child marriage [4, 10, 13, 22, 29-33, 44, 45, 68, 70-72]. Rather than use the term child marriage or early marriage, most of these publications track the change in the 'mean age at first marriage', or simply examine marriage that occurs under 18 years of age. They might also refer to marriage that occurs 'earlier' or 'later' than the mean age at first marriage [9, 14, 22, 25-33, 45, 51, 68-71, 73-75]. None of the items identified before 2001 (when the increase in the legal age of marriage occurred in Jordan) discusses the need to raise the legal age of marriage from 15 to 18 years old, and few items after 2001 discuss this process and the agencies involved. This may be due to the language bias and exclusion of Arabic literature. Very few of the pre 2012 literature include recommendations with policy, research or practice implications.

Overview of items on child marriage in Jordan

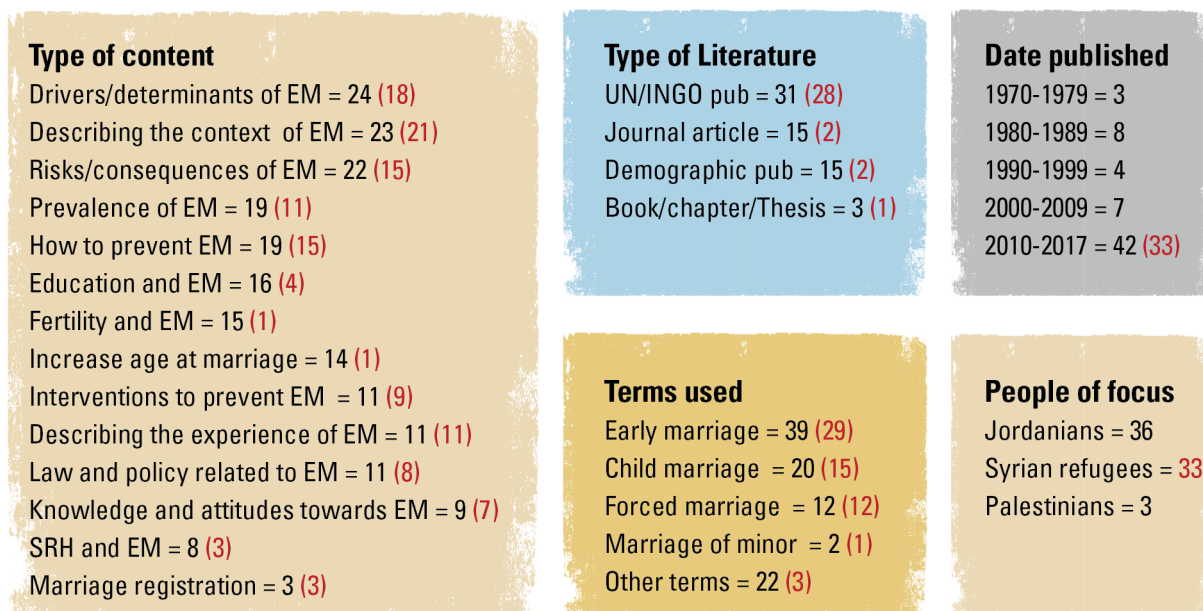
An overview of the items found on child marriage in Jordan are summarised in Figure 2

Figure 2: Systematic map of the literature in Jordan

Numbers in red refer to items which have a focus on Syrian refugees



Systematic mapping of the literature in Jordan (n=76)



Most of the items from 2012 are published by UN agencies or INGO's, just over half of which are based on research completed by international agencies either in the form of assessments or commissioned pieces of research [1-8, 18-21, 34, 36, 37, 39, 42, 76, 77]. Only a few of the articles published post 2012 include Jordanian or Palestinian experiences of child marriage [4, 7, 51]. The majority of the empirical studies are based on mixed methodologies which include small scale surveys (non-representative) and qualitative methodologies such as focus groups and semi-structured interviews [2-5, 7, 18-20, 37, 39]. Only one study includes recent census [7], and two others include large scale standardised data [4, 36]. The mapping shows that the majority of literature describes the context and experience of a child marriage [1-4, 7, 11, 12, 16, 18, 20, 21, 37, 42, 49, 76, 78], or examines the drivers of child marriage [2-4, 6, 7, 11-13, 16, 18, 37, 42, 48, 49, 51, 52] and the consequences [2-4, 6-8, 11-13, 18, 36, 37, 39, 42, 50] or makes policy/practice recommendations based on research with Syrian refugee communities [2-7, 12, 13, 18, 36, 37, 42, 48, 50, 52].

Terminology

Figure 2 shows that a number of different terms were used to describe child marriage, highlighting the complexity of the terminology used to describe the marriage of girls and boys under the age of 18. While the demographic literature tends to use terms like 'age at first marriage' or 'mean age at first marriage' or 'marriage under 18 years' or 'married 15-18 years' [9, 22, 25-33, 45, 51, 68-72, 75], all of the other items use the terms 'child marriage', 'early marriage', 'forced marriage' or 'marriage as a minor' [1-8, 10-16, 18-21, 23, 24, 34-37, 39, 42, 44, 47-50, 52-54, 73, 76-84]. One item uses the term 'premature marriages' [4] and another uses the term 'younger age at marriage' [74] or while another uses the phrase 'marry in their teens' [26].

The term most widely used is 'early marriage', followed by 'child marriage' and then 'forced marriage'. However multiple terms are used in the same item, with 'early marriage' and 'child marriage' often used interchangeably. 'Forced marriage' is often used in addition to 'early' or 'child' marriage, although some pieces of literature make it clear that they consider all marriage under 18 years as a form of forced marriage due to their inability to consent [11, 36, 37]. Only nine of the items define and clarify the terminology they use [4, 7, 11, 13, 16, 36, 37]. In their Inter-agency assessment UN Women (2013) used all three of the main terms (early marriage, child marriage and forced marriage) but do clarify that they consider boys and girls under the age

of 18 years as unable to give valid consent to marriage, thus making any marriage under 18 years as forced marriage [37]. This is reflective of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), and the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), which protect the right to free and full consent to marriage as central to the rights of women and children. Equality Now (2014) also define early, child and forced marriage in the same way, and use the term 'child marriage' to reflect the language used in international human rights definitions [11]. IRC 2017 also states that 'most early marriages are forced marriages' and emphasises that a child cannot consent to the consummation of marriage [13].

UNICEF 2014 defines 'early' and 'child' marriage as that which occurs before a child is 18 years old, but does not define these as forms of forced marriage. Hanmer and Elefante (2016) is the only item to distinguish between 'early marriage' and 'child marriage'. They refer to the Human Rights Council which defines "child marriage" as a marriage in which at least one of the parties is a child and "early marriage" as a marriage involving a person aged below 18 in countries where the age of majority is attained earlier or upon marriage'. This distinction therefore highlights the need to still identify marriage under the age of 18 in countries where girls and boys are considered adults, or as reaching maturity, before the age of 18. This partly explains why the terms are used interchangeably across international legal discourse [85]. The Sexual and gender-based violence sub-group in Jordan define forced marriage as "the marriage of an individual against her or his will" and distinguish this from 'early' or 'child' marriage which is marriage under the age of legal consent, but which is also considered a form of forced marriage as the children are not legally competent to agree to such unions [86, 87]. The Higher Population Council (2017) also suggests that the term 'minor' instead of 'child' is useful because the Convention on the Rights of the Child does recognise that in some countries age of maturity is reached before 18 years. They define a minor as anyone who is unable to be legally responsible and under guardianship [7].

The term child marriage is used consistently throughout this report to refer to marriage under 18 years of age. The term is used because under Jordanian law all those under the age of 18 are considered children or minors or unable to take full legal responsibility for their actions.

Chapter 3



What are the rates of child marriage in different communities in Jordan?

Estimating the rates of child marriage in Jordanian, Palestinian and Syrian communities in Jordan is a frequent aim of the literature reviewed, although none of the studies explicitly include unregistered marriages.

Prevalence of child marriage in Jordan

Data is available on the age at first marriage from several large scale surveys carried out in Jordan from as early as 1961 which shows the steady rise of the mean age at first marriage for women [9, 22, 25, 27, 30-32, 45, 68, 69]. While the increase in mean age at first marriage has been accompanied with a decline in the number of women married before they turn 18 years of age over the past 40 years [10], the percentage of registered marriages of Jordanians under the age of 18 has remained fairly constant over the past 10 years despite a change in the legal age of marriage in 2001 [4]. Table 1 presents Demographic and Health Survey statistics on age at marriage in Jordan which indicates that the mean age of marriage of 25-49 year olds has recently stagnated.

Table 1: Age at marriage statistics from Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) in Jordan from 1990 to 2012 [22, 29-32, 45]

	DHS 1990	DHS 1997	DHS 2002	DHS 2007	DHS 2009	DHS 2012
Percentage of women aged 20-24 who were married by 18 years of age	16.4%	13.5%	11.1%	9.6%	10.2%	8.4%
Median age at first marriage of 25-29 year olds	21.2 years	23.1 years	23 years	23.3 years	23.3 years	23 years
Mean age of marriage of 25-49 year olds	19.6 years	21.5 years	21.8 years	22.2 years	22.4 years	22.4 years

Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) data (2012) estimates child marriage of Jordanian women at 6%, with 8% of 20-24 year old women in the study marrying before they turned 18 [22]. This includes all Jordanians, including those with Palestinian heritage and those from minority religions (such as Christians). Data from the Jordanian shari'a courts regarding registered Muslim marriages aged 15-17 shows that 12.7% of all Jordanian marriages that were registered in 2013 were under 18 years of age [4]. Prettitore (2015) found that the number of underage marriages in Jordan had increased from 6896 in 2009 to 8862, although studies by UNICEF (2014) and the Higher Population Council (2017) shows that this is predominantly because of the rise in child marriages by Syrians rather than Jordanians [4, 7, 14]. Interestingly El-Qaderi and Al-Omari (2000) found higher rates of child marriage in the Bedouin community in Jordan [75], and Mahasneh (2001) found slightly higher rates of child marriage of those living below the poverty line, and lower average age of marriage [88].

The most recent data to be published on the rates of child marriage in Jordan comes from the 2015 census data which shows that of all Jordanian women included in the census, 17.6% were married before 18 years of age and the average age at first marriage for women was 21.2 years of age [7]. However, this includes many older women (for example 50+ who are more likely to have married under 18 years of age). The census also shows that 15.1% of all women who married between 2010 and 2015 were under 18 years of age, but these rates were higher in areas heavily populated by Syrian refugees. The HPC (2017) also found that overall rates of child marriage have increased by 34.3% in Jordan from 2011 to 2015 (from data collected by the Supreme Judge department), most of this reflects the increase in child marriage within Syrian refugee communities[7]. However, when breaking this down by nationality, there has been an increase in the marriage of Jordanian females from 9.6% in 2010 to 11.6% in 2015, although it is unclear whether this is statistically significant [7]. A lot of the data presented

by the Higher Population Council is broken down by governorate and nationality which allows trends in the data to be observed [7].

Prevalence of child marriage amongst Palestinians in Jordan

Data relating to those with Palestinian heritage can be difficult to identify as many are Jordanian citizens and included under statistics for Jordanian nationals. A study by UNICEF (2014) which drew data from marriages registered in Shari'a courts found that 17.6% of all Palestinian marriages included a child under the age of 18 [4]. However, references to Palestinians in this report pertain only to Palestinians who do not have Jordanian national identification numbers (which is the minority of those with Palestinian heritage). This was higher than the rate of child marriage across Jordanian nationals (which also include those with Palestinian heritage). A sample survey of Palestinian refugees living within in 13 Palestinian camps in Jordan in 2011 shows that 6.5% of all married women married at 15 years of age and 20.5% from 16-18 years of age. However, this refers to all women in the Palestinian refugee camps including older women who would have historically married younger. It does not disaggregate the data by age and, therefore, does not give a current rate of child marriage for those living in the Palestinian camps in Jordan. Of those who were not in education, 9.1% left due to marriage and pregnancy [89]. In comparison, the same survey that was completed with Palestinian refugees living outside of the camps found that 5.4% of all married women in the sample married at 15 years of age, and 18.1% from 16-18 years of age. Of those who were not in education, 10.6% left due to marriage and pregnancy [90]. An UNRWA (2014) study on Child Protection, referred to an internal study which had been completed in three Palestinian camps in Jordan in collaboration with Save the Children, found that there was an increase in marriage from 9% in 1999 to 13% in 2011 for the age group 15–19 years [91]. Further concerns are raised in this study regarding the numbers of pregnant mothers under the age of 18 being seen in the UNRWA health centres. However, the most recent data about child marriage published by the Higher Population Council (2017) from census data did not disaggregate any of the data by Palestinian refugee status or by Palestinian heritage [7].

Prevalence of child marriage amongst Syrian Refugees in Jordan

Many of the items reviewed by this systematic map, which had a focus on Syria refugees, referred to the data published in a UNICEF (2014) study on child marriage in Jordan. The UNICEF study drew on data from shari'a courts which show that the total number of registered Muslim Syrian marriages that took place in Jordan in 2011 which involved a girl (15-17 years old) was 12%. In 2013, this rose to 25%, and it rose again to just under 32% in the first quarter of 2014 (although the largest proportion were 17 at the time, and the smallest proportion were 15) [4]. While this data indicated that rates of child marriage were increasing within the Syrian refugee communities, it did not give a clear indication of the current prevalence amongst girls under 18 years of age. Nor did it show changes over the time after the beginning of 2014.

A recent publication by the Higher Population Council (2017) in Jordan, however, presents data collected from the Department of the Chief Justice and the Department of Statistics (household and census data) which clearly shows that child marriage is increasing in Jordan, predominantly within the Syrian refugee communities with approximately one third of all registered Syrian marriages (34.6%) in 2015 involved a girl under 18 years of age [7]. And the census data estimates that of all Syrian marriages that occurred in 2015, 43.7% of these involved a girl under 18 years old. It is possible that the census data is higher because this may include unregistered marriages. In terms of the actual prevalence of child marriage in the general population, census data shows that in 2015 7.93% of Syrian girls under 18 were already married, and that 15.3% of women aged 20-24 years old had married under 18 years of age. Although, elsewhere in their report, HPC (2017) show that 33.13% of Syrian girls under 18 indicated their marital status as married in the census data [7]. The census data also shows that average age at first marriage for Syrian women is lower than for Jordanian women by just over 2 years [7]. Data from the Supreme Judge Department also shows an increase in registered marriages for Syrian refugees under 18 years old from 12% in 2011 (roughly the same as Jordanians) to 34.6% in 2015 [7]. This indicates that the trends identified by UNICEF in 2014 have continued [4].

Different measurements of child marriage

Across different nationalities in Jordan, mapped against a number of key characteristics such as by governorate, education, employment, health insurance, divorce, spousal age gap, employment of husband and accommodation ownership [7]. However, across all the literature reviewed as part of the mapping process, the prevalence of child marriage and age at first marriage is measured and reported in different ways. This made comparison of the statistics across different items difficult to do (apart from the DHS reports, because they use the same measurement and reporting across the years). When reporting on the average age at first marriage over time for women, Mahmoud (1976) and Anderson et al (1985) both report on the 'singulate mean age at marriage' [9, 27]. This means the average length of single life of women under 50 years of age. This is different to the 'mean age at marriage' which includes women of all ages (including those over 50 years of age) which is used in some of the other literature reviewed [25, 68]. The inclusion of women over 50 years of age is likely to reduce the mean age at marriage. On first glance it appears that DHS also uses the 'singulate mean age at marriage', however they give two different measures of mean age at marriage, the first is 'Median age at first marriage of 25-29 year olds' and the second is 'Mean age of marriage of 25-49 year olds' which is similar to 'singulate mean age at marriage' but is more restrictive as it is from 25-49 year olds rather than all women under 50 years of age. Some of the studies disaggregated 'mean age at marriage' by gender, and highlighted whether they were referring to males or females. Statistics that do not disaggregate by gender are significantly different to those that do, as women in Jordan generally marry younger than men [7].

It is also not always clear whether 'marriage' is measured from when the marriage contract is agreed by the family, when the marriage contract is registered by a religious court, when the religious ceremony take place, the public ceremony or marriage consummation— as these may happen at different times. It is important then, when looking at changes to the age of first marriage over time, that we are comparing like for like.

Analysis of the literature review also found different ways of reporting the prevalence of child marriage. DHS, for example, report on the percentage of women

aged 20-24 who were married by 18 years of age [22, 29-32, 45]. Other studies do not disaggregate the prevalence of child marriage by age, which means that it includes much older women who are much more likely to have been married before 18 years of age. This tends to result in a much higher prevalence and does not necessarily reflect the percentage of girls under 18 years of age in the current population who will marry. Looking at the proportion of those aged 20-24 years who were married under 18 years of age is usually considered the best quality estimate of child marriage in the current population, because if you look at the rate of child marriage for those under 18 it is likely that child marriage will be underestimated (as some of those who were not married at 15 or 16 years old for example, may still be married under 18 years). The rate of child marriage among surveyed female Syrian refugees of all ages (not in camps) in Jordan by a multi-agency assessment published by UN Women was 51.3 per cent, but this mainly referred to child marriages in Syria before the conflict, for example [37]. In addition, Gebel and Heyne (2016) use a Hazard Analysis to examine the changes in age at first marriage over time using the Jordan Labour Market Panel Survey (2010) [10]. The Higher Population Council (2017) study also reports on child marriage in various ways, including:

- Average age at first marriage by gender and nationality (census)
- Average age at first marriage by governorate and gender (census)
- Ratio of registered marriages of females under the age of 18 by Governorate from 2011-2015 (Supreme Judge Department)
- Ratio of registered marriages of females under the age of 18 by nationality from 2011-2015 (Supreme Judge Department)
- Ratio of females over 13 years who have married under 18 by governorate and year of marriage from 2010-2015 by nationality
- Ration of females over 13 years who married under 18 by statistics from the chief justice and department of statistics from 2010-2015 by nationality
- The proportional distribution of all married girls who

are over 13 years old by current age and nationality

- The relative distribution of all females over 13 years who have married under 18 years by current age, age at time of marriage and nationality

- The relative distribution of females over 13 years old by current age and marital status and nationality

It is important to note though, that it is not clear which of the changes the Higher Population Council (2017) found over time or by nationality or by Governorate (for example) are statistically significant, as very little bivariate or multi-variant analysis presented.

Comparing rates of child marriage across contexts and time

One of the main questions about child marriage in the Syrian refugee communities is whether it is at the same rate as it was in Syria or whether it has increased, and why. Most of the literature discussing child marriage within the Syrian refugee communities states that child marriage is widely considered to be a culturally accepted practice within Syria, which can lead to some stakeholders considering child marriage as simply the result of 'culture' [2, 5, 37, 49, 92]. A multi indicator cluster survey carried out in Syria in 2006 found that 3.4% of Syrian women had married before 15 years of age, and 18% married before the age of 18 (with some regional differences – highest in Dara'a and lowest in Tartous). Around 10% of 15-19 year old in the survey had already married [93]. In addition, the percentage of women aged 20-49 that were married before the age of 18 was around 22% in the Palestinian refugee camps in Syria [94], with 4.7% of 15-17 years old married at the time of the survey.

Roudi-Fahimi and Ibrahim (2013) present data from PAPFAM which shows that in Syria in 2009, 18% of Syrian women aged 20-24 were married before their 18th birthday [47]. However, using the same data, they also reveal that there are significant differences by wealth and education (for example, 26% marry under 18 in the poorest 5th of the population, 20% marry under 18 in the middle 5th of the population by wealth and 6% marry under 18 in the richest 5th of the population; Of those with primary/some secondary education 29% marry under 18, of those who have completed secondary education 2% marry under 18). Unfortunately, they give no further details about what other characteristics significantly impact

on the incidence of marriage under 18 in Syria, although it is likely that these variables may also be related to place of residence (such as urban or rural) [47]. Data analysed by the Higher Population Council (2017) suggests that education and wealth (measured through employment status) continues to impact on the prevalence of child marriage in Syrian communities in Jordan [7]. Participants in a study completed by the International Rescue Committee (IRC) reported that marriage under 18 was more common in rural areas such as Dara'a (as was also found by the MICS data), for example, where they said that strong 'tribal' traditions are more commonly practiced [2]. This is particularly pertinent as the majority of refugees in Jordan come from Dara'a, Homs and rural Damascus [95].

In their State of the World's Children report in 2013 UNICEF estimated that 13% of women had married before the age of 18 in Syria in 2011 [96]. IRC 2014 report that UNICEF estimates remain the same in Syria despite the conflict [2]1. The Child Protection Working Group (2013) in Syria also state that child marriage appears to be remaining at about the same rate in Syria [97]. Yet a War Child report indicates that child marriage is likely to have increased in Syria during the conflict [34]. However, data quality in Syria at this time is unlikely to be robust and comprehensive.

Marriage of Boys under 18 years old

None of the items reviewed as part of this systematic mapping include an in-depth exploration of boys who are married before turning 18 years of age, and only a few items even refer to this phenomenon [4, 7, 10]. UNICEF (2014) found that average age of marriage for men was 29.4 years, 6 years higher than women. They also found that the rates of child marriage for girls and boys from 2005 is dramatically different (marriage of boys counts for about 0.4 of all marriages of males pretty consistently from 2005-2012, in actual terms this is 152 marriages in 2010 and a high of 272 marriages in 2013), which they use to justify a focus on girls. Gebel and Heyne (2016) investigate the changing nature of marriage patterns for both men and women in Jordan, and also found that very few men marry before 18 years of age [10]. The High Population Council (2017) acknowledges that boys do occasionally marry before turning 18 years old, but they are very few in comparison to girls, and the qualitative nature of this experience is also significantly different [7]. The average age at first marriage for men is 3-4

years higher, depending on nationality, but data is not given on the exact amount of boys married before 18 years in Jordan [7]. However, data is presented on the age of a girl's husband when they marry, and this shows boys do marry under the age of 18 years (5901 Jordanian boys were current husbands and 4741 Syrian boys were current husbands). However, it is unknown how these numbers have changed over time, and if child marriage for boys is increasing in Syrian refugee populations. Participants in the focus groups, completed by the Higher Population Council, also said that it was very rare for a boy to marry under 18 years of age and if he did it was usually because he instigated this [7]. It is important to note that there is quite a big difference in the statistics presented by UNICEF 2014 and the Higher Population Council (2017) on the child marriage of boys, which therefore requires further interrogation.

Measuring unregistered marriages

The challenges of measuring unregistered marriages are not discussed throughout the literature reviewed as part of the mapping process, however, most estimates of child marriage state that this does not include unregistered marriages. It is possible that the census data presented by the Higher Population Council (2017) does include unregistered marriages, but this is difficult to confirm as the methodology was not presented in the report. All of the items which estimate or present data on the prevalence of child marriage highlight that any estimate which exclude unregistered marriages are likely to be inaccurate.

Chapter 4



What is it like to be married under 18 in different communities in Jordan?

A number of case studies are presented across the literature reviewed (in addition to focus group data which is presented in other reports as well) to illustrate the nature and impact of child marriage on young women and their families [4, 11-13]. A few are highlighted here to give a flavour of the narratives that are illustrated.

Equality Now (2014) presented this as part of their case study of Jordan:

'Hadeel was born in 1993 into a family who married her off when she was sixteen. She was in ninth grade when the groom asked for her hand in marriage. Soon after, she was forced by her fiancé to leave school and stay at home until both families could decide on a marriage date, in accordance with the norms and traditions in her own community. In preparation for the marriage ceremony, both Hadeel and her fiancé approached the judge in the Sharia Court, who refused to sign the marriage contract as she was below the age of 18. He commented that "she should go and play with her friends", an expression used to indicate that she was a child. The fiancé then approached another judge who allegedly was bribed to authorize the marriage. On the day of the marriage, Hadeel was beaten because her husband was impotent and couldn't consummate the marriage. Apparently to cover his shame, he accused her of not being a virgin. The next day, her mother took her to the forensic medicine department in a government hospital in Amman for examination to prove her virginity. The department provided her with a certificate confirming that she was still a virgin. The examination process scared Hadeel who did not understand what was happening. She cried and felt hurt and confused. Her husband continued to psychologically and physically abuse Hadeel, refusing to visit a doctor himself for help. Hadeel decided to leave him and was divorced after two months. Hadeel lived in a desperate situation, refusing to go back to school as she was feeling depressed and disappointed. Her father, who approached the Jordanian Women's Union for legal advice, convinced his daughter to join the Union's rehabilitation training course. But Hadeel's suffering did not stop. Her family married her off for the second time when she was 19; as a result she has not completed her education. Hadeel continues to face abuse with her second husband and her family is not providing her with support to end the abusive relationship.' Equality Now (2014), p46 [11]

Equality Now (2014) presented this as part of their case study of Syrian refugees in Jordan:

'Reem was born in 1997 into a family who married her off when she was fourteen in 2011. When she got married she was still at school and dreaming of becoming a nurse like her mother. Reem's eldest sister, Zeinah, was married on the same day. She was 15. The Sheikh who performed the ceremonies did not ask either girl if they wanted to be married. It was enough to have the consent of their father as their male guardian. The main reason given for the marriages was the political situation in Syria, including the increased vulnerability of girls and women to sexual violence. After hearing of several cases of girls and women being raped in Homs and other neighboring areas, Reem's family thought that marrying her and her sister off would afford them some protection. The shift from being a student in school to becoming a married woman in a strange family was difficult for Reem. She had no idea what marriage meant or of the responsibilities of having a daughter, now a year and two months old. She felt restricted in her mobility, with few social connections, limited resources and no power in her own household. She says herself, "I miss going to school. All my life, I dreamt of becoming a nurse to serve my community, but now I cannot do much. I need to take care of my baby girl who needs attention and care." The political situation forced Reem and her family to flee Syria to Jordan with limited financial resources. They depend upon the support of UNHCR (the UN Refugee agency), which has given them temporary identification documents, as well as the support of the local community. Reem is frantic about her daughter not having a birth certificate because it means that her daughter is not legitimate and has no rights. Because she has UNHCR temporary ID, she has been able to get the essential vaccinations her daughter needs. Equality Now (2014) p46 [11]

Save the Children (2014) share a number of experiences from girls and their parents through their report, below is an example from a girl called Hania, aged 15:

"I got married at the age of 13. I never really had the chance to get to know my husband until his family wanted him to marry me. The first time they proposed for my hand in marriage I refused because I wanted to complete my education. But then my mother forced me to marry him. She kept on trying to convince me until eventually I accepted. We were only engaged

for 10 days. My husband soon went back to Syria and stayed on his own. I felt like I wasn't even his wife. When I asked him why he treated me that way he said it was none of my business. He told me I didn't mean anything to him and I am nothing but a 'wall' to him. He said I'm not allowed to know where he was, what he was doing or where he is going." Save the Children (2014) p6 [12]

'Bidool is 14. She is a girl, but she is also a wife and a mother. She holds her newborn son, ohanned, who is sleeping throughout the interview.

"We used to live in a village outside of Damascus. In 2012, we fled to Irbid, where we are now living. When we first arrived, I went to school for three months. I knew some friends from Syria here and I made some new friends at the school in Irbid, but the school is far away from where we lived and it was expensive, so our parents decided to drop us out of school. Only my younger siblings (8 and 11) go to school now; my older sisters wanted to go to school this year, but could not register. I also have an older brother, he is 17, and he does not go to school either.

"I got married one year ago. I was 13 then and my husband, Hamseh, was 27. I knew him from Syria, he is one of my cousins. His family lives in Mufraq, but he used to live and work in Qatar. He is still in Qatar, but he cannot get a renewal for his visa and cannot work there now. He deserted from the Syrian army and now cannot renew his passport. This is why he cannot get a new visa for Qatar.

"When he was on a visit to Jordan, he proposed. I thought about it. I liked him and I thought it was easier for my family in financial terms if I got married." We ask her how the marriage was conducted.

"We got married at home. It was normal. I don't know anything about the legal procedure, it just happened. I then moved to live with my husband's family in Mufraq. I knew them from before in Syria. His mother is my aunt, so it was OK. After some time, Hamseh went back to Qatar to work there, but his visa is expired and he cannot work there anymore, so he does not send any money either.

"I moved back to Irbid to live with my family. I was pregnant then. Mohammed was born only one and a half months ago. My mother helps me, but it is difficult.

He does not sleep a lot at night. I know that there are other girls who are married and have children, but I do not know any of them personally." We ask her what her life would be like if she was still in Syria: "If we were in Syria, I would not be married; I would still be going to school." Spencer (2015) [55]

Analysis and discussion

Impact of displacement on the nature of child marriage
The last three cases studies highlighted here show the impact of displacement on the process of marriage, and on the decision-making processes of families and individuals. Chapter 7 also reviews the impact of displacement on the drivers of child marriage. The process may start earlier than planned, there may be a change of priorities in balancing up cost and benefits of the match, limited investigation of potential husband, no formal registration of the marriage and low levels of dowry/mahr/wedding gifts to name but a few. However, while the literature reviewed appears to give a full account of the impact of displacement on the occurrence and nature of child marriage, it is difficult to map if and how this has changed over the last 6 years, and how the impact might change further in the coming years. Much of the literature reviewed drew from data in 2012, 2013 or 2014, with lots of reports of girls who were married just as they left Syria or just as they arrived in Jordan. However, most families have now been in Jordan for several years. How does this change the nature and process of child marriage? Some data presented by the Higher Population Council (2017) helps us to map child marriage during this time in relation to some key variables [7], yet it does not tell us why these changes have occurred or the qualitative experience of these changes.

In terms of poverty, most families have long gone through any savings or assets that they were able to bring with them, and now receive less financial support through UNHCR or the World Food Programme (WFP) – however, recent changes to employment laws have opened up some opportunities for work permits in certain sectors for Syrian refugees. How do these changes impact on the rates and nature of child marriage? While we know that poverty is a significant driver of child marriage, we are not yet able to track household income (or poverty levels) with child marriage in Syrian refugee families.

In terms of integration into Jordanian communities, while many Syrian families have been in Jordan for many years and may have Jordanian relatives, Syrian families are still relatively mobile within Jordan as they have few options for long term housing, apart from in the refugee camps. Therefore, whilst Syrians may be more familiar with Jordanian culture, laws and traditions (such as marriage laws), it is likely

that they still do not feel part of a specific Jordanian community. How does this impact on the rates and nature of child marriage?

While it could be argued that Syrian families in Jordan are free from the conflict in Syria, uncertainty still exists, as well as concerns about family members still living in Syria. Do Syrian families feel safe in Jordan? Is there still the same level of concern about the risks that young girls face as there was when they first arrived? How do they feel about their future? And how does this impact on the rates and nature of child marriage?

As Syrian refugees and Jordanians face an increasingly prolonged crisis, and as agencies begin to re-evaluate crisis intervention strategies in the light of the clear need for long term social, human and economic investment, how and where do we place and understand child marriage? We know that displacement has been the main reason for the increase in child marriage in Syrian refugee communities, how do we turn the tide for refugees (while they remain refugees) and make it possible for rates of child marriage to decline?

Chapter 5



What is the process of marriage for different communities in Jordan?

State policy accords great importance to marriage and motherhood across the Middle East[24]. Marriage in Syria and Jordan is conducted in religious courts, under Personal Status Law (for example in Jordan for Muslims, Personal Status Law (No. 36) of 2010, Chapter 2 Articles 5-13, 'Conditions of Marriage')[4, 7, 14]. All marriages must be registered in order for the marriage to be considered legal [17]. Marriages that are not registered in court are considered illegal in Jordan. For Muslims this occurs in a Shari'a court where Islamic Law is applied [4, 14, 23]. Separate courts have been established for those of different religions [14]. There is no civil (non-religious) marriage in Jordan – Shari'a courts have exclusive jurisdiction over personal status laws (for example, marriage, divorce, guardianship, alimony, child custody, inheritance) for Muslims. Only one of the items reviewed as part of this mapping includes an examination of marriage for non-Muslims in Jordan, probably because Jordan is a Muslim-majority country, and the majority of Syrian refugees are Muslim. In reflection of this, all the literature presented here is about the marriage of Muslims in Jordan. It is important to note however that other religious groups in Jordan also allow marriage under the age of 18[7].

While all Muslim marriages in Jordan need to be formally registered in an Islamic Court, within Islamic societies, a marriage becomes 'official' through its public announcement by the families [24]. Therefore, marriage is not a one off legal event; rather it is a social process that expresses itself in slightly different ways across the region[10]. Islamic marriage was summarised by Gebel and Heyne (2016) into the following institutionalized steps that manifest in slightly different ways across Jordan:

- 1- Qirayet el fatha (informal engagement)
- 2- Khutuba (formal engagement)
- 3- Katb al-kitaab (legal marriage)
- 4- Dukhla (actual religious marriage) combined with a wedding party ('urs), followed by the move into the marital residence.[10]

Each of these successive stages can take place at different times, or two or more consecutive events can be combined [98]. Engagement for some, for example, may last a year or longer, while for some it may only last a few days. Some will complete the

legal marriage registration as part of the engagement process long before the wedding party and public celebration occurs [4, 24]. Others will do this at the same time.

Across Jordan and Syria, marriage is seen as the foundation of society and the way through which community ties are created and sustained across generations [2]. Zurayk et al 1997 suggest that principles of family cohesion, organisation and future responsibility are key for understanding family patterns and marriages processes in the Arab region [99]. Marriage not only marks the union between two individuals but also between families. The marriage process is therefore a family affair, with the majority of marriages arranged by families across the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region [10, 15]. Marriage processes often involve all members of the family, with mothers often making and receiving the initial proposals, and the male head of households often leading the finalisation of the arrangements[4]. It is reported that in some cases male head of households will go ahead with arranging marriage even if his wife is opposed to the idea [4]. Under Jordanian law, men are the default head-of-household and women are still obligated to be 'obedient' to their husbands [14]. In theory 'forced' marriage, that is marriage which happens without the consent of either party, is forbidden under Islamic law in Jordan - although women are considered able to consent to marriage from 15 years of age, which is contrary to the international understanding of a girl's ability to consent to marriage [11, 13, 37].

Family-led processes, such as seeking consent and arranging a dowry, run alongside the legal process in Shari'a Courts. For example, a dowry must be paid and included in the marriage contract for the marriage certificate to be issued. Also, there is "The "Mahr" which according to IRC (2014) is the money/property given by the husband to the wife for her own use, which is in addition to the dowry. Mahr can be paid in total at the beginning of the marital life, often in the form of gold or jewellery, or delayed in total to another time (such as in the case of a divorce or if requested by the woman). It can also be divided; part of it to be paid at the beginning of the marriage (muqaddam) and the other part at a later stage (mu'akhar)[2].

Muslim marriage in Jordan

Jordanian laws are based on the French civil code and Islamic law (Shari'a) and have also been influenced by tribal traditions. Both civil and religious courts are part of the judicial system[23]. Marriage is solely under the jurisdiction of religious courts. The legal age of marriage for Muslims in Jordan is currently 18 years of age. This was raised from 15 to 18 years old in 2001 [4, 7, 14, 24]. However, children aged 15-17 can marry in 'exceptional circumstances' with approval from a shari'a court judge, who is authorized to certify marriage contracts in Jordan [4, 14, 23]. Instructions were been issued by the Chief Justice after the legal age of marriage was increased which determines whether the judge finds the marriage in the 'interest' of the couple and whether he gives his approval (Special Instructions to Grant Permission to Marry for those who are below 18 years of age, Personal Status Law (No 36) of 2010, Article 10) [11]. According to UNICEF (2014) and Pettitore (2015) the following criteria had been circulated which judges should, according to the law, take into account when approving requests for the marriage of a person under 18 years of age [4, 7, 14, 100].

- 1- The capacity of the man/boy to marry the woman/girl (assessing religious compatibility and ability to provide for wife and children)
- 2- All involved have agreed freely to marry
- 3- The legal guardian (wali) of the minor, who is normally the father or another male relative, must also provide consent through signature of the marriage contract
- 4- The marriage must in some way serve the interest of the couple and be considered as necessary based on economic, social or protection grounds
- 5- The intention is to form a life-long union
- 6- Marriage will not cause discontinuation of education
- 7- Provision of proper documentation outlining the justification of the marriage

It is possible, in exceptional circumstances, for judges to still approve a marriage without the consent of the guardian, although this is rare. The 'necessity' of the marriage is evaluated based on economic, social, and security grounds, and the need for approval should amount to a 'true' necessity. Finally, is it also necessary to convince the judge that the marriage serves some interest of the minor, and that the age difference between the parties is not too considerable, nor will

the marriage be the end of the minor's education. Once the marriage is certified by the judge, the full legal rights associated with marriage rest with the minor including divorce [14].

Marriage for Muslims in Jordan is based on principles of reciprocity, i.e. rights for the wife with corresponding duties for the husband, and vice versa [23]. Only a marriage that is 'blessed' or approved by their guardians and registered under shari'a law is considered legal, and is a matter for one of the 61 Shari'a courts across Jordan[8]. All marriages are recorded in the Family Registry Book after they are registered. Documentation of a marriage, or a marriage contract, is referred to as 'Katb Kitab'. Other marriages, such as customary marriages, consensual or "orfi" marriage or short term contract marriages, are not officially recognised in Jordan, because it jeopardizes the wife's rights, and is penalized by Article 274 of the Penal Code'[24]. According to UNICEF (2014) in extremely rare cases a judge may authorise a marriage under 15, for example in the cases of a pregnancy, but the registration cannot occur until after they have turned 15 years of age [4].

While marriage under 18 in Jordan is granted in 'exceptional circumstances', some of the literature suggests that this has historically been very dependent on the discretion and the interpretation of the judge overseeing the marriage, and is reportedly not difficult to obtain [4, 17] – as partly evidenced by the fact that 12.7% of all registered marriages between Jordanians in 2013 were marriages where one of the couple was aged 15-17 years old [4]. In addition, the number of registered marriages of those under 18 years old has remained relatively stable over recent years despite the changes in the law in 2001[7, 18]. In their interviews, UNICEF 2014, found that most shari'a court judges indicated that the directives issued by the Department of the Chief Justice on marriage under 18 in Jordan were not uniformly applied and there were many ways to interpret 'reasons for approval of child marriage' (Special Instructions to Grant Permission to Marry for those who are below 18 years of age, Personal Status Law (No 36) of 2010, Article 10)[4]. IRC (2017) and Swan (2017) also report inconsistencies in assessments by judges in Jordan around what constitutes threats to the child through a child marriage [13, 17]. However, Pettitore (2015) argues that judges are placed in a difficult position in assessing the best interests of the minors, partly

because the assessment is predominantly based on the information given to them by a minor's guardian. Possible threats to honour or inability to provide for a minor by the guardians are taken very seriously by judges, but are at times difficult to verify. In Jordan, a rapist can avoid prosecution if he agrees to marry the victim for at least 5 years [14]. While this was recently repealed for adult women, this still remains the case for girls under 18 years old.

According to the Arab Renaissance for Democracy and Development (ARDD) (2017) instructions to shari'a courts on the 'exceptional circumstances' for the registering of marriage contracts under 18 years old were updated and reissued in August 2017 [100]. These updated regulations state that the following conditions must be verified before a marriage contract is registered:

- 1- The fiancé is eligible for the fiancée in terms of religion and financial capability. The latter means that the fiancé is able to pay advance dowry and wife alimony
- 2- The judge has to verify the interest of such a marriage; either to generate benefit or avoid corruption
- 3- Difference of both individuals' ages shall not exceed 15 years
- 4- The fiancé is not married
- 5- Judge verification of both individuals' mutual acceptance for such marriage
- 6- Marriage shall not be a reason to terminate education
- 7- Verifying the fiancé's capability to pay marital expenses and the advance dowry
- 8- Submitting medical test certificate
- 9- Legal proxy approval on such marriage
- 10- The fiancée's advance dowry shall not be less than that paid for her father, relatives or the fiancée's community
- 11- Make known to the fiancée her right to set out conditions that meet her interest
- 12- Presentation of fiancée's certificate of success from the course held for those who intend to marry. Such courses shall be held in the legal judiciary institute under the control of competent judges, and include subjects and programs aiming to spread outreach and rehabilitation to those who intend to marry while under 18 years of age
- 13- The court may also refer any marriage demand, for those who are under 18 years old, to the family

rehabilitation and reconciliation office to study any case referred thereto, so to provide the court with its point of view on such marriage

14- The regulations also set out conditions in cases where the fiancé is male and under 18 years of age; to present the approval of the directorate of heritage and juvenile affairs on such a marriage. A specialized session shall be held by competent judges to verify the fiancé's capability to open marital house and fulfil his family expenses. This shall be carried out via new restrictions and standards, and if not met, the foregoing directorate shall set forth its point of view on such cases

15- Should the court decide to grant marriage permission, then the marriage contract shall be issued in due course after determining the absence of any legal restrictions that prevent such marriage [100]

The processes for ensuring these updated regulations are currently being developed across Jordan.

In Jordan, after the Katb Kitab has been formalised in the shari'a court the couple will not live together or consummate the marriage until they have a public wedding celebration. The couple may be considered engaged until this happens, although they are registered as married (and if the public celebration does not happen they would need to apply to the court for a divorce)[4]. It is after the public wedding celebration that couples will live together and consummate the marriage. Although, there is a phenomenon in Jordan known as 'Katib Alketab' where couples are living together after the marriage registration but before the public ceremony which is still socially unacceptable and concerning to some [24].

Marriage of Syrian Refugees in Jordan

Although the marriage laws in Jordan are different to those in Syria, Syrian refugees who marry in Jordan are bound by Jordanian Law (not Syrian Law). Not only are the minimum ages of marriage different in exceptional circumstances (15 in Jordan and 13 in Syria for girls), but the requirements around marriage registration are also different (in Jordan registration is an integral part of the process, while in Syria registration often occurs at a later date)[4]. In addition, the Jordanian Ministry of the Interior (Mol) is also involved in marriage registration for Syrian couples, meaning that Shari'a courts must request and receive the Mol's approval to conduct each

involving non-Jordanians [8]. Additional documents required include:

- 1- Approval by someone of social standing
- 2- Proof of identity for the bride and groom
- 3- Proof of identity for the bride's guardian and the two witnesses
- 4- Results of a medical test and health certificate issued by Jordanian Ministry of Health verifying that the bride and groom are not carriers of thalassemia, a genetic disease
- 5- Petition for a marriage contract addressed to the court
- 6- Signed acknowledgement that they have read and understood the Ministry of Justice booklet on rights relating to marriage[4, 8]

The differences between marriage processes, combined with the context of displacement, have been very problematic for many Syrian families resulting in many illegal marriages under 15 years old and 'unregistered' marriages. This means that families go through the social process of marriage, which includes a Sheikh who visits the home to validate the marriage contract and perform the religious ceremony, the public celebration and consummation of marriage but does not include registering the marriage at a Shari'a Court. This is sometimes referred to as a 'sheikh marriage' and these are illegal in Jordan [17]. A substantial report written by IHRC and NRC (2015) lays out the many issues related to marriage registration by Syrian refugees in Jordan, and the risks and vulnerabilities associated with this [8]. A report published by the International Catholic Migration Commission (2017) on civil and legal documentation in Syrian refugee communities concluded that,

'The marriage certificate was found to be the piece of documentation with most significant gendered impacts, and a particularly important piece of documentation for married women and girls to uphold their rights in both legal and social contexts'.p5 [17]

This report also outlines the many issues related to marriage registration by Syrian refugees in Jordan.

Analysis and discussion

Social process of marriage

While the literature makes it clear that marriage is a process that is more than the legal registration of marriage (see figure 1 which is taken from Gebel and Heyne (2016) and refers only to Muslims in Jordan), the majority of literature focuses on the legal processes of marriage. However, for Muslims, a significant part of the marriage process has taken place before even reaching a Shari'a court. And unregistered marriages, which can be seen as valid marriages within some communities if "Al-Fatihah" is read by a marriage official (or 'Sheikh marriage'), do not even include the legal process [7, 17].

Marriage is a social process of utmost importance for families, no matter when it occurs, and families are likely to receive regular proposals for their daughters [1], often long before they are ready to formally consider these. It is usually the role of the mother to informally mention to other mothers that they have a son who is ready for marriage and may be a good match for their daughter. Mothers may then give an initial indication of whether this proposal would be considered by the head of household, or go straight to the head of household at this stage to discuss. Several family meetings may then take place where the marriage contract would be discussed before a formal agreement is made. The Higher Population Council (2017) study highlights the differing opinions that families have about the desirable characteristics for a husband or wife and how these are negotiated during the proposal and engagement [7]. Social processes such as drinking coffee together are important here, and the family of the daughter may take the time to investigate the family of the proposed husband (and the proposed husband himself) if they are unknown. This part of the process may be less formal if the proposed marriage is between a close relative. The arranged marriages of relatives, particularly first cousins (consanguineous marriage) across Jordan and Syria are relatively high [24, 101]. It is after these stages that families approach the religious courts for formal marriage registration, and a set of documentation is needed to achieve this (as described above). Even after this stage, the couple are not considered married until there has been a public celebration and a public announcement. Hence, the phenomenon where a legal marriage (Katb al-kitaab) has taken place but they are not considered

Figure 3: Process of marriage as described by Gebel and Heyne 2016



married because the public ceremony and public announcement has not happened. Rather couples are usually considered engaged, and if the engagement is broken off they need to apply for a divorce even though they would not consider themselves married [4].

Defining 'special circumstances'

Although marriage from 15-17 years of age is, in theory, only approved in Shari'a courts in Jordan in 'special circumstances' that ensure marriage is 'necessary' and 'protective' (i.e. based on freely given consent, that girls continue in education, that it is a lifelong commitment, for example), there is clearly potential for these processes to be more protective for girls as the recommendations in chapter 10 suggest. It is likely that these recommendations have influenced the recent changes to the conditions that need to be met for a marriage under 18 years to be registered. Yet even though the 'special circumstances' guidance has made it clear that married girls should continue with their education, it is unclear, through the literature reviewed for this map, the exact education policy for married girls in Jordan [4]. The literature clearly shows that married girls face many barriers to continued education [4, 12, 13, 42, 47, 55, 94]. In their response to the new regulations published to register marriages under 18, ARDD (2017) recommend that the Shari'a courts are more active in ensuring that married girls continue with their education. They suggest that couples must be willing to sign a guarantee of the continuation of education as a

condition in the marriage contract [100].

Prettitore (2015) argues that judges are placed in a difficult position in assessing the best interests of the minors, partly because the assessment is predominantly based on the information given to them by a minor's guardian [14]. An area for further exploration then is the challenges and dilemmas that judges face when seeking to determine whether to grant marriage under the age of 18. It would also help to have further clarity on the roles and responsibilities of various faith-based actors in relation to child marriage in Jordan. For example, only approved Shari'a court judges can register a marriage under 18 years of age, however what are the roles and responsibilities of other faith-based actors, such as local Sheikhs or respected religious community members? Do they give advice on marriage proposals? Do they provide pre-marriage counselling or marriage preparation sessions? Do they perform the religious marriage celebrations? Are they involved in cases of divorce or abuse? How do their roles and responsibilities complement that of the Shari'a court judge? How can the role of locally-based faith-based actors be used to protect girls from and during child marriage before it even comes to a Shari'a court?

Engaging with the full social process of marriage

However, while strategies for reducing child marriage are often appropriately and importantly targeted at the formal legal aspect of marriage, this misses the opportunities for strategies which may also be

effective at other stages of the marriage process. There were very few references in the literature to the initial decision-making processes made by families at the proposal stage, for example, or why some proposals are declined and others accepted. There was no discussion in the literature about any protective mechanisms that families might put in place for the marriage of their daughters under 18 years, such as only considering grooms who they can get to know, long engagements, negotiating for her continued education or a delay of childbearing. In theory it is possible for engagements to be broken off right up until the public ceremony, even after the marriage registration, which also provides an additional period of time for focused interventions – after marriage has publicly taken place then focus of intervention changes from prevention or delay, to care and support services for risk mitigation.

By not fully examining the social processes of marriage that play out during child marriage, it means that gender roles across this process are simplified. The literature recognises the role of all members of a family and focuses on men as the main decision-makers [4, 7, 14] – however we know that women as mothers (and grandmothers), older siblings, mothers-in-law or aunts, for example, also play key roles such as initiating proposals and preparing girls for marriage [7]. A better understanding of the roles and responsibilities of all family members, the negotiations that take place between them, and the possibility of enhancing protective strategies through these roles and responsibilities (such as mothers not telling the head of household about proposals or advising that it is a very bad match) is needed. In addition, there was no reference in the literature reviewed for this mapping on the impact of female headed households in relation to the process of child marriage. UNHCR (2014) estimated that female-headed households account for over 145,000 Syrian refugee households, highlighting their specific needs, risks, vulnerabilities and strengths [21]. How do female-headed households negotiate the process of marriage, and what are their attitudes and practices in relation to child marriage?

Impact of displacement on process of marriage

The literature highlights that it is important to recognise the impact of displacement on the process of marriage. Some of the literature reviewed helpfully outlines the differences between the legal processes of marriage in Jordan compared to Syria [8]. The legal

system in Syria is based on French, Ottoman and Islamic law (Shari'a) [102]. Marriage for Muslims in Syria is based on the 'offer and acceptance' principle under Syria's Personal Status Law, whereby a man offers to marry a girl/woman and she or her guardian (if it is her first marriage) accepts [4]. Traditionally this has taken place in the presence of a sheikh known to both parties and two male witnesses. The marriage must then be registered with the Syrian authorities, which is a legal requirement under Syrian law. However, evidence collected by UNICEF (2014) suggests that it was common for the marriage to be registered sometime after the event, such as when a child is born or to obtain travel documents [4]. Under Personal Status Law (No.59) of 1953 and amendments (2009) the general legal age of marriage in Syria is 18 for males and 17 for females, with an exception in Article 18 (Personal Status Law (No. 59) of 1953 and amendments (2009), Art. 44) that decreases the age of the boy to 15 years old and the girl to 13 years old if three conditions are met; puberty, the approval of a judge, and the consent of a guardian (such as a father or grandfather) [2, 4]. However, even if a marriage occurs at these minimum ages, registration cannot take place until the boy is 17 years of age and the girl is 15 years of age (Personal Status Law (No. 59) of 1953 and amendments (2009), Art. 82) [4]. Personal status law in Syria also outlines several other conditions for marriage. The man is required to be "equal or equivalent to the woman" in religion and wealth as part of ensuring the marriage forms a long-term union and establishes a stable family. In addition, a dowry must be paid by the groom to a bride's male family members for the marriage certificate to be issued [2]. Men of national service age must obtain approval from the armed forces to marry [4]. IHRC and NRC 2015 draw attention to the many implications that the differences in legal processes between Syria and Jordan makes to the registration of births and marriages by Syrian refugees in Jordan. It is difficult to estimate how many marriages are unregistered in Jordan, especially those under 18 years old. However it can be assumed that estimating the prevalence of child marriage cannot only rely on knowledge of registered marriages.

IConsent

The issue of legal consent in child marriage is a contentious one. While this is highlighted by the Higher Population Council (2017) [7], it was not considered in any great depth in the literature

reviewed as part of this mapping, possibly because international law does not consider it possible for children (those under 18 years of age) to 'consent' to marriage at all (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), and the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)). Forced marriage is technically illegal in Jordan, and even those marrying under the age of 18 needs to freely give their consent (as well as from their guardian). However, whether children under 18 can be reasonably expected to give consent in the Jordanian context, whether that consent is 'informed' or valid, and the impact of social and familial expectations remains an issue that was discussed only very briefly by the Higher Population Council (2017). It is specifically the issue of consent that makes child marriage a violation of human rights, because children are not considered able to make a decision of this nature – let alone the range of negative consequences associated with child marriage. This is why any marriage under the age of 18 might be considered as a forced marriage, even if consent has been established from the child – as discussed earlier in the methodology section. Clearly the issue of consent is located in a wider context of gender inequality, child participation in decision-making, and women's empowerment. However, as establishing consent is part of the legal framework of marriage, it is important that this issue is given more attention in the context of Jordan.

Minority religious groups and child marriage

Finally, apart from a study published by the Higher Population Council (2017), none of the other items examine or comment on child marriage across the significant number of minority religious groups in Jordan. For example, the personal status law for Christian communities is divided into four Christian denominations, and there are significant differences in the legal age of marriage between the Catholic, Orthodox, Evangelical and Coptic communities [7]. As there is no other mention of child marriage in non-Muslim communities across the literature reviewed, it is difficult to know whether the rates of child marriage are similar across other religious communities in Jordan, whether the drivers and consequences are the same, and the nature of the support that young wives receive in these communities.

Chapter 6



How is child marriage understood and conceptualised in different communities in Jordan?

Only two of the items reviewed briefly examined the attitudes of Jordanians on child marriage [75, 80]. A further two measured the earliest appropriate age for the marriage of females in Palestinian communities in Jordan [89, 90]. While more of the items, with a focus on child marriage amongst Syrian refugees in Jordan, include an exploration of attitudes towards child marriage [1, 4, 37, 39, 51, 76]. These studies are summarised below.

In a study which explored the attitudes of rural women in Jordan towards family planning, Abu Atta (1989) found that most women were opposed to child marriage [80], but no further details were given in the abstract. El-Qaderi and Al-Omari (2000) report on a survey amongst women in Jordan Badia which included questions on knowledge, attitude and practices (KAP) towards family planning [75]. Unfortunately, it was not possible to access the full text which may have reported on attitudes to child marriage from this population. The Higher Population Council (2017) refers to two studies that have been written up in Arabic which partly examines attitudes towards child marriage by Jordanians. The first study explored the attitudes of female secondary school students in Jordan. This study found that although very few participants were married, the strongest personal motivation for child marriage was thought to be jealousy rather than the existence of a loving relationship. The strongest social motivation for child marriage was family poverty [7]. The second study was based on a closed questionnaire to 500 male and female students, and largely found positive attitudes to child marriage [7]. Again, household poverty was identified as one of the main drivers. The focus groups that the Higher Population Council completed themselves with young people (Jordanians, Palestinians and Syrians) found that all of the young people said that a suitable age for marriage was after they have completed their education. For some this meant secondary education, while for others this meant university education. Others also said after a person has secured employment [7].

Results from a sample survey of 13 Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan found that of 3626 participants 1.7% said that the earliest appropriate female age of marriage is 'as soon as she is mature', 6.5% said 13-17 years, and 3.5% said when her education is finished (which, in theory, should be at least 18 years of age). All other participants said the earliest appropriate

age of marriage for a female was at least 18 or older [89]. In addition, 2.4% of the 3101 Palestinian refugees interviewed, who live outside the camps, said that the earliest appropriate female age of marriage is 'as soon as she is mature', 4.3% said 13-17 years, and 13.3% said when her education is finished. All other participants said the earliest appropriate age of marriage for a female was at least 18 or older [90]. This indicates that positive attitudes to child marriage are not widespread in Palestinian refugee communities. Yet rates of child marriage in these communities are higher than these results would suggest they would be.

A study by the Jordan Communication, Advocacy and Policy Project (JCAP) 2015 found that in the sample of both Jordanian and Syrian women the mean ideal age of marriage and youngest age for a woman to get married to be 22 and 19 years respectively [51]. Yet there were important differences between certain groups. For example, women aged 15-19 proposed a mean ideal age of marriage and youngest age of marriage to be about two years less than those proposed by women in other age groups. Syrian women reported a mean ideal age of marriage of 20 years and youngest age of marriage of 18 years, compared with Jordanian women who reported 23 and 20 years for ideal age of marriage and youngest acceptable age of marriage respectively. Women with higher education, those belonging to the richest quintile, and women with a history of employment, proposed about one year later than other groups for mean ideal age and mean youngest age at marriage. UNICEF (2014) found that Syrian women said they felt the appropriate age for a girl to marry was 19 or 20 years of age, even if they themselves had married at younger ages [4]. It is unclear however where these differences are statistically significant.

In contrary, other assessments have found the 'expected' age at first marriage to be significantly lower in Syrian refugee communities. The Child Protection and Gender-Based Violence Sub-Working Group (2013) found that the majority of the key informants they spoke with, as part of their study on child protection and gender-based violence in Za'atari refugee camp, believed that the socially acceptable age for marriage for girls within the Syrian community was 15-18 years [1]. In the focus groups however, adolescent boys confirmed that the age considered normal for marriage for a girl ranged from

13 years and above, and men were often engaged after they had completed military service at 18 years old. Doedens et al 2013 also found that participants from Za'atri refugee camp and Irbid noted that the most common age to marry was approximately 15, with a range from 13 to 20, depending on the area of Syria in which they had previously resided [76]. UN Women found that 44% of all participants who completed their questionnaire consider marriage before 18 years of age as normal and 65% felt that the average age at marriage had not declined since arriving in Jordan [37]. Syrian refugees also told IRC (2014) that child marriage was not a new phenomenon and had been part of their life in Syria prior to the conflict[2]. The authors of a number of studies, where child marriage was not raised as a concern by Syrian refugees, believe that this might be because it is not seen as problematic by many Syrian families but as a traditional practice [19, 20]. Washington and Rowell (2013) found that over 65% of adult women included in a baseline assessment by CARE Jordan had had their first child before they were 18 years old, meaning that all of these women would have been married before 18 years of age. Rather than being stated explicitly by participants, the survey team concluded that many of these families probably felt that marrying daughters under 18 years of age was part of their culture and not a result of conflict or displacement – and had therefore not raised it as an issue as part of the assessment [19]. This is supported by the study completed by UN Women [37]. Finally, International Medical Corps (IMC) and UNICEF (2014) completed an assessment of the mental health, psychosocial and child protection needs for Syrian refugees in Jordan and found that 44% of Syrian participants identified the normal age of marriage for girls as between 15 and 17 years old, while 6 per cent identified 12 to 14 years old as the average in their community [39].

While the literature highlights that Syrian communities may not problematise child marriage and therefore consider it a 'normal' traditional/cultural practice [37, 88], there is also evidence to suggest that some parts of the Syrian community do see child marriage as a 'problem' or undesirable event [4]. The sexual and gender-based sub-working group (2014) report that many parents have reported to humanitarian workers that being a refugee in Jordan is not an appropriate environment to get married due to financial constraints, limited social networks and differences between cultural norms in

Syria and Jordan [87]. In focus groups that the Higher Population Council(2017) organised to add depth to their statistical data, they found that most participants (Jordanian, Syrian and Palestinian females) agreed that the ideal age of marriage is not until a person has completed secondary school and is able to work, even though some of the participants were married before this time [7]. Spencer et al 2015 also found that many participants in their focus groups had a deep understanding of the issues associated with child marriage because they had been child brides themselves, and many were not supportive of the practice [18]. A Care Jordan baseline assessment also found that although some women in their focus groups were supportive of child marriage, many did not agree with the practice and felt that these offers of marriage, and the suggestion that Syrian girls could be married for low dowries, offensive and inappropriate [19]. Another Care Jordan baseline assessment in 2012 found similar protestations from Syrian refugees who were offended that Syrian women had a reputation for becoming cheap brides, and felt that this narrative was being magnified by Jordanian communities rather than Syrian communities [20]. Similarly, the Interagency Child Protection and Gender-Based Violence assessment also found that Syrian refugees in their study said they would not accept an offer of marriage from a man outside of the community for their young daughters, less so because of their age but more because of matters of pride and being disrespected for being refugees [1]. Indeed McGrath (2014) suggests that child marriage is not a real issue for Syrian refugees, but is more to do with the humanitarian aid agenda [78]. A UNHCR report on the situation of Syrian refugee women across Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt found that 13 mothers (out of 135) had received proposals for their daughters under 18 years old and all had refused. When asked why, the mothers said that their daughters were too young to marry, and they needed an education. The report adds that women "resented the image being perpetuated of Syrian girls as 'easy and cheap'." [21].

Analysis and discussion

Cultural heterogeneity in desirable age at marriage

While the JCAP (2015) study shows that there is a small but notable difference between Jordanian and Syrian communities in desirable age at first marriage, there are clearly big differences in opinion within both of these communities. While child marriage could be considered a 'cultural' or a 'traditional' practice in Syria, it should be by no means assumed that all Syrian families support the practice of marriage under 18 years of age for their daughters and actively pursue it. While marriage is legal for women from 13 years of age in Syria in special circumstances [4], at least 1 in 5 Syrian women will marry before they turn 18 years of age [93], and there are supportive attitudes within parts of the community [1, 2, 19, 37]; the literature also shows that some parts of the Syrian community find child marriage problematic [18, 20, 21]. The literature appears to show that Syrian women involved in focus groups or interviews often voiced their disapproval of child marriage, and offense at it being considered part of their culture. The fact that attitudes to child marriage are not homogenous challenges the conception that child marriage is 'just' about culture and a 'tradition' in Syrian families and would be taking place anyway despite the conflict – particularly as rates of child marriage in Syrian refugee communities are now higher than they were in most parts of Syria [7]. Unfortunately, other than for those living in more rural conservative areas, there is not enough data to predict who might approve or disapprove of child marriage, the main reasons for this approval or disapproval, whether there is a clear gender divide and how this is negotiated within families. There are no studies, for example, that ask husbands of those married to girls under 18 about their experiences, perspectives and attitudes – which are essential for informing programmes that work with men and boys. It is also very difficult to see whether there has been a change of attitudes since arriving in Jordan, and the impact of prolonged displacement on attitudes towards child marriage.

It is also important to understand who is leading and reinforcing the dominant cultural messages, such as that child marriage is a normal, acceptable and positive aspect of our cultural traditions. Save the Children (2014) found that in focus groups completed during the Amani campaign, young women indicated that they were concerned about child marriage but

their concerns were often dismissed by their fathers who are more likely to be in favour of child marriage [12]. Therefore, it is important to be aware of the multiple discourses and perspectives that hide under the surface of 'culture', and whose purposes 'culture' is serving.

Changes in social narrative of child marriage in Jordan

The social narrative of child marriage in Jordan is an interesting comparison, taking into account the steady increase in average age of first marriage across the last 40 years, and the decline in overall proportions of child marriage. It is no longer socially normal or expected that Jordanian women will marry before they have completed their education or under the age of 18 years of age, although it does still occur in some communities. Jordan is one example in the MENA region which shows there has been a cultural change in expected age at first marriage, but still allows families the autonomy to agree to proposals at any age from 15 years. Jordan has one of the highest educational attainment for both men and women in region yet also a high achieved and ideal family size [44]. UNICEF (2014) data shows that while proportions of child marriage have decreased a lot in 40 years, over the past 10 years they have remained constant at about 12% of all registered marriages, and approximately 8% of all 20-25 year olds will have married before 18 years of age [4]. This supports the conclusion by Gebel and Heyne 2016 that the increase in average age at first marriage in Jordan is not due to a change in traditional values as it has been in the West [10]. Women have been included in the overall expansion of education in Jordan, and access to employment opportunities, yet gender norms regarding a woman's role in the home as wife and mother remain strong. It is expected then, that an educated and employed woman will still be active in their role as wife and mother.

Impact on community relationships

It appears that in relation to Syrian refugees, the issue of child marriage is one that can be a point of misunderstanding and conflict between communities [7, 20, 21]. International Medical Corps and UNICEF (2014) highlight the issue of how Syrians are perceived by Jordanians, and how they fear their children being led astray by child marriage [39]. Focus groups completed by the Higher Population Council (2017) also report that many Jordanian participants

see child marriage as only occurring in Syrian or Palestinian communities [7]. Different participants from different nationalities tended to hold a different opinion about extent of child marriage across the different communities and how this is changing over time.

Conceptualisations of child marriage

The literature reviewed presents a number of different ways that child marriage is conceptualised by young people, families, communities, political and religious leaders, UN organisations, International Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs) and Jordanian Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's). Analysis shows that there are different ways of conceptualising child marriage across these stakeholders. Child marriage is considered as:

- Marriage (an important social and religious process) [2, 10]
- A legal process [4, 14, 23, 24]
- A transition to adulthood (along with education, employment, and motherhood) [10]
- The context for motherhood and childbearing [22, 25-33]
- A protective strategy for families (means of protection against rape, sexual assault, negative reputation) [4, 12, 34]
- A negative coping strategy used by families in poverty and desperation [5, 34-37]
- A negative event associated with poor outcomes [4, 5, 7, 12]
- A form of Gender Based Violence [1, 2, 13, 18, 36, 38]
- An issue of child protection [1, 37, 39]
- A violation of human rights [4, 11, 12, 37] Different actors hold and prioritise different conceptualisations of child marriage, which are sometimes difficult to hold together.

It also shows how sensitive the topic of child marriage can be with some considering it a violation of human rights and a form of child abuse, and others considering it part of an important social process – each findings the other's view offensive. It is clear then that professionals and policymakers need to recognise the different conceptualisations of child marriage, and to be able to identify them in others. We also need a better understanding of how these conceptualisation impacts on the actions and policy decisions made by individuals, families, communities, agencies and professionals.

Chapter 7



What are the drivers of child marriage in different communities in Jordan?

Many forms of Gender-Based Violence (GBV) are known to be significantly aggravated during humanitarian emergencies, including child marriage [38], especially in affected populations which use dowry and bride price [55]. As figure 1 shows, discussing the drivers of child marriage was the most frequent topic of discussion across the literature reviewed, especially in relation to Syrian refugee communities. The drivers identified by the literature are documented in figures 3 and 4 by mapping these onto an ecological framework and constructing a complex problem tree with multiple, multi-layers drivers and a broad range of consequences. the age

Figure 4: Drivers of child marriage mapped onto an ecological framework

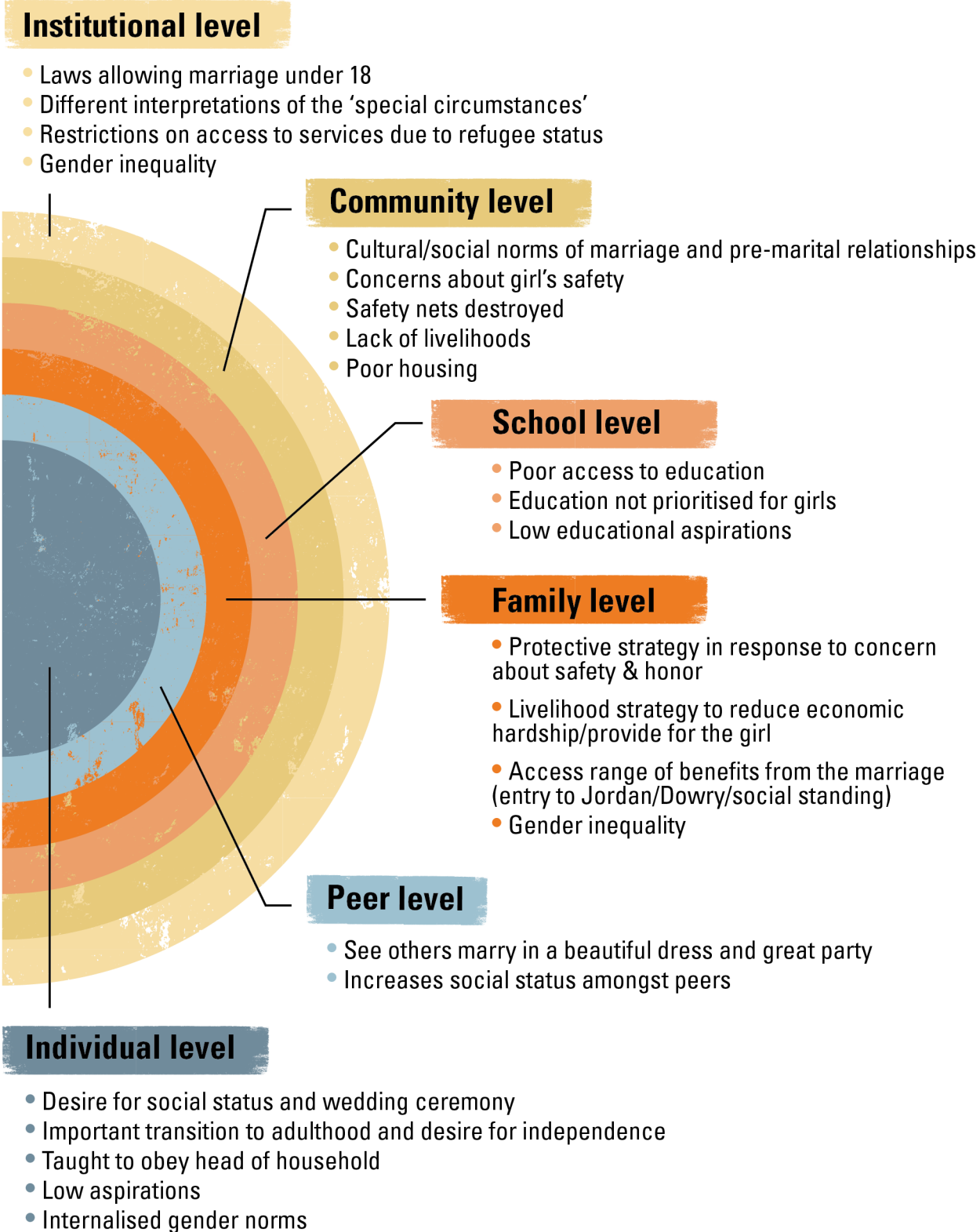
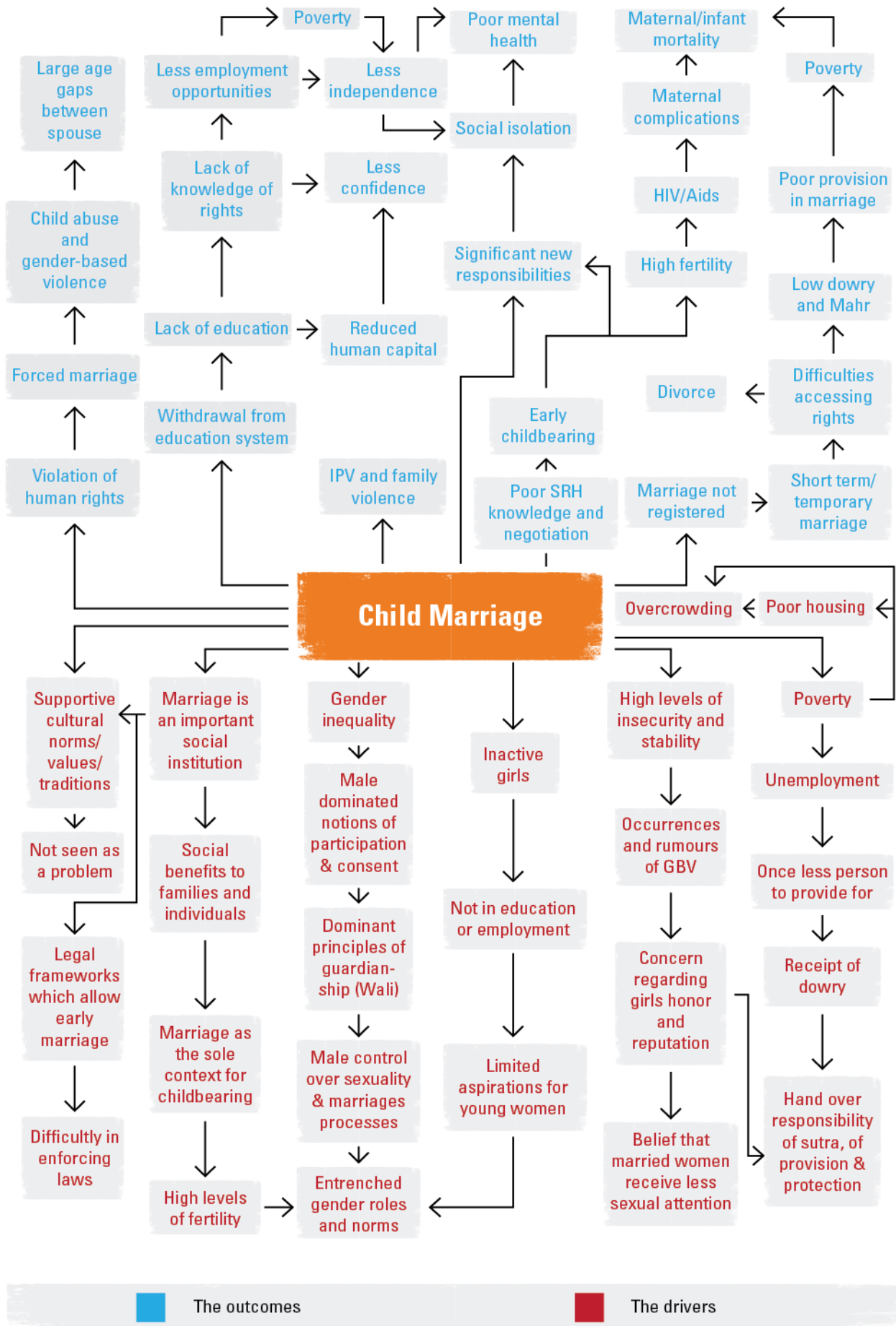


Figure 5: Problem tree developed based on the drivers and outcomes of child marriage



The literature reviewed as part of this mapping processes contributes significantly to our understanding of the impact of displacement on the extent and nature of child marriage. The literature suggests there are a number of reasons why child marriage may increase during displacement, and why it might be used as a 'negative' coping strategy [34-36, 55]. Some families have reported marrying their girls at a young age while still in Syria (before coming to Jordan) to protect them from rape and other sexual violence [4, 12]. UNICEF (2014) and Save the Children (2014) found that some refugees believed it was easier to enter Jordan as a family group, and so would seek marriage for their young men before leaving Syria in case they are turned away as single men [4, 12]. For example, refugee camps such as the Emeriti Jordanian Camp (EJC) will not accept single young men. The drivers of child marriage that were identified in the literature review are discussed below.

Social norms, traditions and culture

As highlighted in chapter 6, marriage is legal for women from 13 years of age in Syria in special circumstances [4], at least 1 in 5 Syrian women married under 18 years of age in Syria [93], and there are supportive attitudes within parts of the community [1, 2, 17, 19, 37]. Many consider child marriage as a cultural or traditional practice that occurred in Syria before the conflict and this remains a significant driver of child marriage, often also compounded by poverty and insecurity [37, 88].

Protection

Marriage is also believed to provide greater security for young women, particularly in insecure environments [12, 34, 49, 55, 87]. A number of the items reviewed report that Syrian families feel unable to protect their daughters as there may only be one adult male in the household, and he cannot escort young women to school every day or protect them from sexual harassment or ensure they are in 'honourable' contexts the whole time [7, 12, 13, 76]. Families are also living in new communities with new neighbours whom they do not know, and cannot trust will be protective. Refugee camps are often considered as particularly dangerous for young women, as well as unknown host communities. Fear for refugee girls' safety is exacerbated by overcrowding in homes and tents, financial considerations, and the questions parents and girls have about the utility of girls attending

school in the host country [2]. Families believe that if their daughters are married then they will be less likely the target for harassment, they will have an adult male to escort them and protect them, and they will have their own space in a new home [7, 12, 55]. Additionally, concerns for a daughter's safety often result in significant mobility restrictions for young women, which can result in young women welcoming marriage because they believe they will obtain a level of freedom and security that is not possible in their family home [2].

Gender inequality

It is important to recognise that concern around security and protection for young women in contexts of displacement are still associated with gender inequality, linked with traditional gender roles and norms [12, 14, 17]. Traditional gender roles include the expectation that women will become wives and mothers and take on roles of housekeeping and child care, meaning they are less in need of an education [34]. Facilitating this sooner than they might previously have done, makes child marriage an acceptable, even if undesirable, coping strategy for families. However, while the expectation is that they will remain in the home, their contribution to decision-making processes is usually limited, with male head of the households being expected to have the final say in all matters related to the household [4, 14].

Poverty

Increased levels of poverty and unemployment are also attributed across the literature as one of the main drivers of child marriage in contexts of displacement [7, 12, 13, 17, 35, 42, 52, 55, 76, 77, 87]. It is estimated by the UNHCR that, partly due to the protracted nature of the 'crisis', 86% of Syrian refugees now live below the poverty line, predominantly in host communities, facing challenges in accessing sufficient health and education services, and securing reliable livelihoods [103, 104]. Reducing the number of mouths to feed and creating more space in a house is seen as a significant motivation for families to seek marriage for their daughters [4]. In some refugee camps, new caravans or tents are provided for newly-wed couples which might act as an incentive. Child marriage can be seen by families as a way of relieving financial burdens, particularly in large families, and benefit them both financially and socially. Marriage is used as a means of 'providing for', 'protecting' and sustaining a girl's 'honour' [55]. Particularly in contexts of instability;

parents want to ensure marriage arrangements are not left too late so that young women are not alone and unsupported when the parents die [55, 93]. Female headed families in particular may be looking for a male to 'provide' for their daughters in the absence of a male head of household.

Perceived religious practice

It is also important to recognise that marriage from 15-17 years of age is legal in Jordan under 'special circumstances', and that marriage from as young as 13 years is also legal in Syria. UNICEF (2014) and the Higher Population Council (2017) highlight the high percentages of marriages being granted under 18 years of age in Jordan, which indicates that 'special circumstances' are being widely interpreted [4]. Interviews with sheikhs, imams and shari'a court judges in Jordan found a great variety in practice around interpretations of the official guidance [4]. Some were of the opinion that it can be a solution for sensitive social issues, or for young women living with extended family members. It might also provide protection for women against 'honour' crimes. However, others felt that the legal age of marriage should be increased to the benefit of the girls and their families as well [4]. There is much discussion across the Islamic world about how and where to set the minimum age of marriage [7, 47]. Pettitore (2015) notes in his analysis of the family laws changes in both Jordan and Morocco, that the chief justice of the Shari'a Courts in Jordan has to balance a re-evaluation of modern life with practicality, custom and Shari'a law. 'The resulting law drew from different schools of Shari'a based on preponderance of evidence and the best interest of individuals, consistent with the principles of Islam in letter and spirit'. p 33 [14] Therefore, sanctification of marriage under the age of 18 (even if only in special circumstances) by Islamic Law in Jordan and Syria could be seen as giving religious approval of child marriage. While there is no clear Islamic teaching on age of marriage at a global level (i.e. age of marriage laws are different across Muslim-majority contexts around the world), at a local level some families and communities believe that child marriage is approved by Islam [7]. Heaton (1996) highlights the importance of the Islamic context and the emphasis on women's familial roles, rather than social-economic roles which is often connected to Islamic teachings and beliefs. Islamic teaching also has a significant impact on state policies in regard to family matters in Jordan [44].

Lack of birth registration

While we know that child marriages are less likely to be registered in Jordan, especially if they occur before 15 years of age, Hanmer and Elefante (2016) suggest that non-registration of marriages and lack of birth certificates among Syrian refugees in Jordan contributes to the increased prevalence of child marriage [16]. Although it is unlikely that the current level of child marriage in Jordan is due to lack of birth certificates, IHRC and NRC (2015) do evidence the link between unregistered marriages and unregistered births, which may continue to be an issue in the future [8].

Low educational levels and inactivity in the home (not in school or employment)

Heaton (1996) found that low educational levels in Jordan is statistically associated with child marriage in Jordan, as well as those who have never worked [44]. Kradshah (2012) also found that a women's education and employment status were significant determinants of child marriage in Jordan, along with place of residence and husband's education [54]. Research by the Higher Population Council in Jordan (2017) shows that this is still the case [7].

Positive social status

In their focus groups UNICEF (2014) also found that marriage can be considered an achievement in Syrian communities, and remaining unmarried beyond a certain age may carry stigma [4]. Focus group participants in the Higher Population Council study (2017) also spoke about girls marrying soon after they become physically mature, or marrying young if they are considered particularly beautiful [7]. Women in focus groups organised by Spencer et al (2015) spoke about being focused on the wedding dress and the party, rather than the responsibilities that come with being a wife and a mother [18]. Heaton (1969) also found that women who say that large families are best or that family size is a matter for God, will tend to marry younger [44]. Marriage is also supposed to bring about 'sutra' for young women, securing their protection from hardship. This was felt to be particularly pertinent to girls who were not in school [4]. Families who are surrounded by other families who are marrying their daughters at an child stage may feel compelled to follow suit, as they may fear that they will miss out on good opportunities for their daughters [7]. Certainly the social acceptability of child marriage is also considered to be a significant

community level factor across the literature [2, 5, 37, 49, 88, 92]. Spencer et al (2015) gives many examples from focus groups where participants draw attention to social and community expectations of marriage occurring soon after puberty [18].

Analysis and discussion

Complex problem tree

The literature shows us that an analysis of child marriage constructs a complex problem tree with multiple, multi-layered drivers and a broad range of consequences (see figures 3 and 4). While not all of these drivers and consequences are relevant to every case of marriage, it is expected that some of these are relevant for most cases of child marriage in Jordan. The 'drivers', or push/pull factors related to child marriage are multiple and complex – with usually a number of them at play at any one time - such as when a proposal is received for a girl from a poor family, who is inactive at home (rather than in school) in a community where it is socially acceptable. The reasons why child marriage is occurring in one community in Jordan may be different to the reasons it is occurring in a different community. For example there may be differences in the drivers and consequences between child marriage that occurs in Syrian refugee communities (such as fear of sexual assault or a negative coping strategy), Palestinian camps (such as low aspirations for girls or securing a daughter's future) and Jordanian communities (such as poor educational access or high value of traditional gender roles). This is particularly pertinent when we consider the impact of displacement and that families may be making decisions they would not have made in Syria due to the change in their circumstances. Some reports have indicated that child marriage is common because many Syrian refugees in Jordan are from the rural and traditional areas of Dara'a, where child marriage was socially acceptable even before the conflict. However, child marriage is also common in Syrian refugees in Lebanon, some whom come from more urban and educated areas of Syria (reducing the likelihood of child marriage). Child marriage in these families is much more associated with poverty rather than 'culture' [105]. It is important to understand and distinguish between the different underpinning drivers of child marriage because each driver is likely to require a different response in order to prevent child marriage in the future.

Decision-making process

So, why do girls marry when they do? How do families and girls decide when marriage should occur? What is it that persuades a family to accept a proposal? What priority is given to all the various considerations including:

- social norms related to preferable age at marriage
 - current aspirations for the girl's future (by herself and her family)
 - the girl's current level of activity including current educational engagement
 - the girl's willingness to consider marriage
 - the girl's readiness to marry (and bear children)
 - nature of fears regarding the girl's safety and reputation
 - current household economic standing
 - family understandings of the risks associated with child marriage
 - the nature of the proposed marriage contract (including dowry and mahr)
 - the character, standing, wealth and reputation of the prospective groom
 - the character, standing, wealth and reputation of the prospective in-laws
 - and the legal requirements of marriage
- Two of the studies reviewed explicitly set out their theories around the decision-making processes which occur in families regarding marriage formation.

In their article on the transitions from school to work and the delay of first marriage in Jordan, Gebel and Heyne (2016) outline a general theoretical framework which they believe underpins the decision to marry [10]. Drawing from the life course paradigm, they recognise that individual decisions such as whom and when to marry are embedded in their societal context. Practically, this means that the institutional, cultural, and macro-structural contexts define a set of opportunities and constraints for individual and family-level decision-making [106]. Examples of these are the legal age of marriage within countries, cultural norms related to when and between whom marriage takes place, and the resources families have available to facilitate the process of marriage. Using this basic framework the decision of when and whom to marry could be considered as a two-sided, sequential choice process of young people and their families of origin [107]. The sequential nature of marriage choices is particularly pronounced in MENA countries where the shari'a structures the selection process (such as ensuring men are equally

matched to women in education and wealth) and all the different steps of marriage, and families the main drivers in the decision-making process [108, 109]. Theoretically then, the utility of marriage is determined by the benefits and costs of forming a marital union [110]. There are various benefits of marriage for both partners; monetary benefits include mutual income support, and the cost-sharing advantages of joint household formation. Sharing a home outside of marriage, even with friends for example, is socially and morally hindered. In addition, the non-monetary benefits of marriage include the opportunity for long-term intimacy, emotional support, and having children. This is particularly relevant in MENA societies, where sexual relationships outside marriage and out-of-wedlock births are forbidden, and where strict regulations on divorce guarantee the relative longevity of marriages. Strict cultural and traditional values ensure that they benefits can only come from marriage formation, and if there are concerns regarding a girl's honour or reputation, then marriage is likely to occur earlier [10]. Gebel and Heyne (2016) also note that marriage costs are also very high in MENA countries, not only in relation to the direct economic costs associated with marriage formation, but also the long-term costs of marriage such as childbearing. For women in particular, there are high opportunity costs as it is likely to mean the end of education and limited involvement in the employment sector, plus a heavy load of household responsibilities [10]. In theory then, individuals and families weigh up the costs and benefits of marriage, based on the social contexts in which they are located (nation, region, religion, community, household) when making and receiving proposals. This assumes a rational and linear decision-making process and a standardised set of costs and benefits as summed up by Gebel and Heyne (2016) p63;

Fowler (2014) makes a similar hypothesis in her dissertation. Fowler (2014) hypothesises that when making decisions about marriage Syrian families weight up the costs and benefits of marriage and, therefore, if they knew the severity of the risks related to child marriage, they would be less likely to choose to marry their daughters under the age of 18 [42]. However, through her findings Fowler discovered that perception of the costs and benefits of marriage were in no way standardised across Syrian refugees, largely depending on their situation in Jordan. Fowler (2014) had assumed that if you educate families on the risks of child marriage they would choose not to marry their daughter as a child,

but instead found that knowledge of the health risks did not always outweigh other factors which contribute to the decision-making process [42].

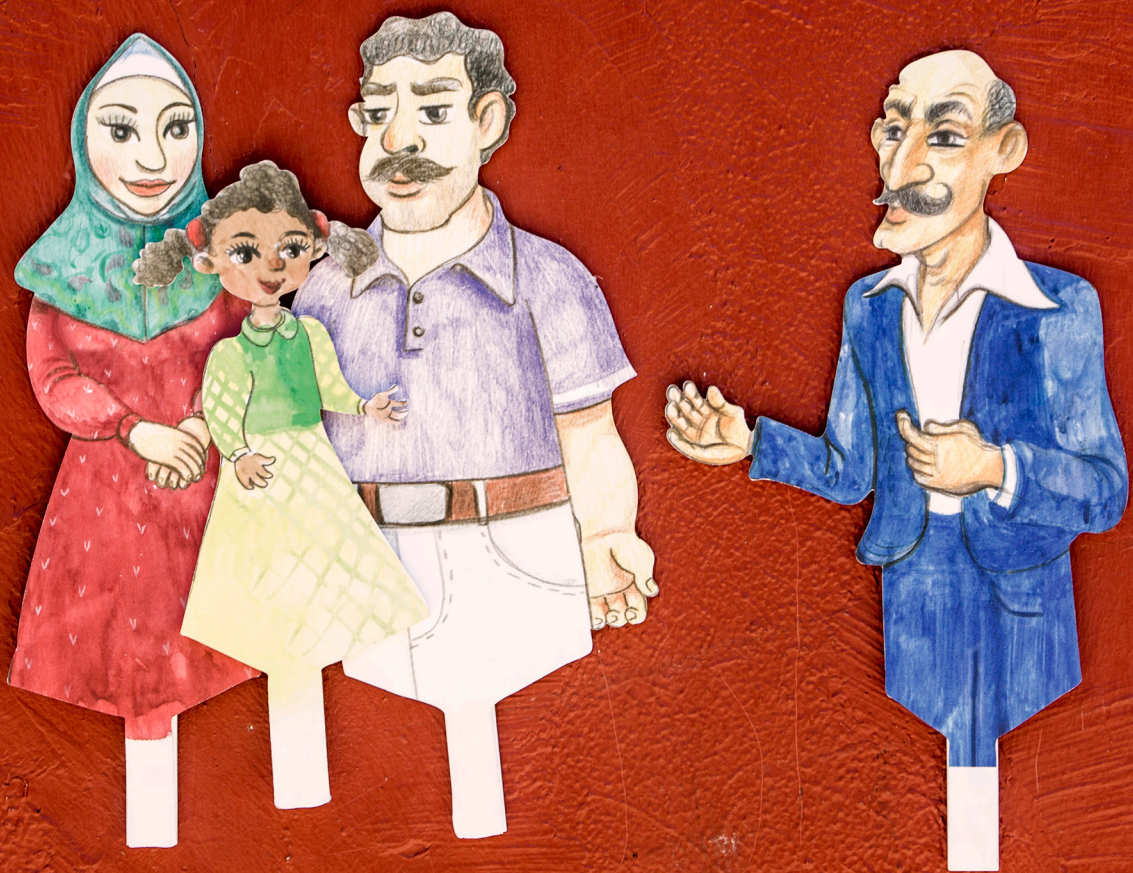
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Challenging cost benefit models of decision-making

Wider literature related to risky decision-making processes has repeatedly shown that a standardised linear rational cost benefit analysis is rarely fit for purpose [40, 41], particularly when taking into account complex social processes, the context of displacement and in cases where head of households are making decisions which predominantly impact on another member of the household. We also know that simply 'educating' people about risks does not automatically change behaviour. Figure 4 shows that there are a wide range of drivers and consequences which may be included in the decision-making process, each of which will be given a different value or prioritisation depending on the social context of the family. A cost (or unacceptable risk) to one family, such as early childbearing, may be seen as a benefit (or an acceptable risk) by others. Child marriage is seen as protective by some families and disastrous by others. It is also important to recognise that the costs and benefits do not impact a family uniformly, and figure 4 shows that it is the young married woman who is likely to bear the brunt of the costs, and her family is likely to receive the benefits, at least in the short term. Indeed, an analysis of the short-term costs/benefits is likely to reveal different results to an analysis of the long-term costs/benefits of child marriage. While families of the girl may receive benefits in the short term (such as the dowry, passing of protection duties,

reduction in daily costs, increased social status and familial connections), there may also be significant long term costs if the marriage ends in divorce or if they never see their daughter. However, many of these 'costs' and 'benefits' are difficult to predict. For example, not all young women are subjected to domestic violence or experience maternal health complications. In addition not all families will be aware of the costs to their daughter's. Also, the value related to each driver and consequence is likely to change over time – therefore it cannot be assumed that the same cost and benefit analysis will take place at each proposal received by a family. This is particularly pertinent when we consider the impact of displacement, and that families may be making decisions they would not have made in Syria due to the change in their circumstances. Nor is the decision-making process necessarily transparent, linear, rational or conscious. Sahbani et al (2016) questions whether young women (and families?) even have a choice in relation to when and whom they marry. Is there even a decision to be made – or is the context of poverty, insecurity, traditional family values and lack of autonomy for Syrian refugees such that there are no 'real' alternatives [52]. Indeed, rather than weighing up the costs and benefits, it may be that families feel that every outcome is costly and choose what they feel is least costly when the whole family is taken into consideration. Therefore, young women often pay a high cost for the price of protection [40].

Chapter 8



What are the consequences of child marriage in different communities in Jordan?

Child marriage is a violation of human rights due to the inability of children to be able to consent to the commitment of marriage [12]. In addition, it is well documented that child marriage usually results in the infringement of the rights and protections guaranteed for children (such as educational access, control over own reproductive health, protection from violence, freedom of movement); and, as displacement has impacted on the drivers and reasons for child marriage, so too has displacement impacted on the consequences or outcomes of child marriage for Syrian refugees [4, 7, 12].

While child marriage is often seen by families as a way of protecting young women, it often results in increasing risk and vulnerability to poor health, poverty, social isolation, divorce, and intimate partner violence [2, 55]. Critically, child marriage is associated with early (and more risky) pregnancy, school drop-out and low levels of education, poor vocational training, large age gaps between partners, higher risk of intimate partner violence and divorce, difficulties ensuring reproductive health rights, higher risk of HIV infection and poor mental health [12, 42, 47, 55, 94]. Young women are often unprepared for moving to live with a new family, taking on household responsibilities and bearing children. MICS (2008) data, for example, shows that women who married at younger ages in Syria were more likely to believe that it is sometimes acceptable for a husband to beat his wife, and were more likely to experience domestic violence themselves [93]. In addition, child marriage is likely to perpetuate the cycle of poverty, low education, high fertility and poor health [47]. The consequences identified through the literature reviewed are detailed below.

Early childbearing

Marriage has been found to be shortly followed by childbearing in both Jordan and Syria [15, 44] although it is reported that child brides can find it difficult to talk openly about issues related to sexual and reproductive health (SRH) [12]. Therefore, the earlier a marriage takes place the earlier childbearing is likely to begin [24, 99]. Back in 1976 it was identified by Westinghouse Health systems that the Jordanian pattern of child marriage and prolonged childbearing provides unfavourable conditions for child survival [79]. Since this time the average age at first marriage has significantly increased, however, early childbearing is still associated with increased

health risks despite advances in maternal health care, especially in the context of displacement [7, 13]. Riccardo et al 2011 suggests that one of the reasons for the stagnation of the rate of infant mortality of Palestinian refugees across the region is due to child marriage [81]. Kradsheh (2012) findings, using DHS data in Jordan, also show that female earlier age at marriage has an important effect on their reproductive behaviour, especially on desired fertility, actual fertility contraceptive use, child mortality and foetal mortality [54]. In Zaatari camp, the proportion of deliveries in girls under the age of 18 was 8.5% for 2014, which represents an increase compared to the average for 2013 of 5%. They have also found that girls under 18 are more likely to experience obstetric and neonatal complications [12, 50].

Unregistered marriages

Legally refugees are under the marriage laws of the host country, rather than those in Syria, which can result in confusion and misunderstanding [8]. Based on Interviews and focus groups with Syrian refugees, UNICEF (2014) report that in Syria the official registration of a marriage with the authorities often took place a long time after the religious union, when registering the birth of a child or, for example, when obtaining travel documents [4]. A belief that they will return to Syria soon, coupled with a lack of documentation and a lack of knowledge of the registration process (and associated costs) in Jordan, has resulted in a high number of marriages not being registered with the Jordanian authorities [8, 12, 17]. Child marriages are at increased risk of non-registration when they occur before 15 years of age and because child brides are often unaware of the importance or need for registration, or the process, and so therefore do not advocate for registration to be undertaken [17]. Non-registration impacts on the rights of both the wife and any children she may have [4, 8, 12, 17]. It also means that marriages are not coming under the scrutiny of shari'a courts, which could put in place protective measures for young women, and also makes it difficult to register any future children (proof of marriage is needed to register a child in Jordan). In response to this, the Jordanian government have suspended fines for failing to register marriages on a number of occasions, and UNHCR have made registration services available in the refugee camps [55]. UNHCR will also support the process of couples getting their marriages and children registered when needed – as

will other organisations with a legal focus such as ARDD, Intersos and Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) in Jordan [8]. Lack of marriage registration impacts on the rights and social protection of a woman and makes it difficult to access other forms of documentation [17].

Negative community perceptions

Practices of marriage, which are different in refugee populations compared to host populations, also have the potential to cause conflict between refugee and host populations [19, 39]. News headlines about the rates of child marriage in Zaatari camp in Jordan, for example, were felt to have a negative impact on how Jordanians perceived Syrians [20, 39, 55]. In addition, rumours that refugee girls are stealing husbands from Lebanese or Jordanian girls have circulated – and concerns raised by refugee families about how their daughters will be treated by non-Syrians, and how disrespectful some of the offers of marriage have become [1].

There has been concerns raised in focus groups that child marriage amongst Syrian refugees in causing an increase in child marriage amongst Jordanians [7].

Focus groups, carried out by a number of different organisations with Syrian refugees, found that families were very concerned by rumours that men from other countries were coming into the camp to marry young girls, and reported that Jordanian men would often approach families with young daughters [19, 76]. These rumours increase the anxiety that parents have about letting their daughters move freely outside the home or attend school [19].

However, participants also indicated that some families had agreed for their daughters to marry Jordanian men in order to be 'bailed out' of the refugee camps [19, 111].

School drop out

Culturally based expectations are that married girls will not attend mainstream school in Jordan, so if young women are still in school at marriage, they will mostly likely drop out [4, 7, 13]. There is no national policy which mandates that married girl's must leave school, so each school is left to make a final decision [4]. However, few married girls continue with their education, even if this is part of the marriage contract [4]. Parents and school administrators are usually unwilling to mix 'married' and 'unmarried' girls [7, 12], and this further compounds social isolation [12].

Unsafe marriage processes

UNICEF (2014), IRC (2014) and Save the Children (2014) also suggest that displacement has changed the process of marriage, and has undermined the thoroughness of the investigations that Syrian families would make into the backgrounds of potential husbands, such as character, qualifications, religiosity which helped to reduce exploitation [2, 4, 12]. Many families have been separated from their communities in Syria, and many families frequently move about in Jordan, making it difficult to integrate into new communities. Families no longer know their neighbours and have little knowledge of the families that may make offers of marriage. The conflict in Syria, and displacement, has ruptured social and economic safety nets which were built on community ties [2]. The ability of a groom to provide short-term needs such as housing and food has become more of a priority than being a long-term provider, and marriage dowrys have fallen in value [2]. Care Jordan 2012 note concerns about low dowrys being offered to Syrian families, also low Mahr (which is the money written into marriage contract for her use or in the case of divorce). In addition to Mahr, a girl's family will usually negotiate how much more a husband has to spend on setting up a house, furniture, how much he will spend on clothing for his new wife, etc. Focus group participants suggested the amounts being offered for these are also very low [33].

Marriages would previously have been done by sheikhs known to both families, and now they are usually performed by a stranger who may not even be authorised to conduct marriages in Jordan [4, 12]. In turn, this impacts on how authorised sheikhs or religious courts determine whether marriage under 18 is appropriate, and whether it should be facilitated under the law. Some families may pursue marriage in Jordan so that their daughters will not be forced to return to Syria at any point in the future [7]. Some Syrian women have reportedly married Jordanian men under the assumption that they can better provide for them and offer them greater security. However, under Jordanian Law, non-Jordanian Arab women married to Jordanian men must wait three years for citizenship. This can place women at high risk if the relationship ceases or her husband dies, and can place young women at risk of 'temporary', 'short term' or 'pleasure marriages' [19, 77].

Intimate partner violence

The Gender-Based Violence Information Management System (GBVIMS) data in Jordan shows that those affected by child marriage are also at risk of experiencing other types of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV). During the reporting period in 2015, 4% of married children also reported physical assault (the most commonly experienced form of SGBV), 2.5% reported psychosocial/emotional abuse and 1.3% reported denial of resources. The report indicates that this is more or less consistent in 2014 and 2015 [36]. The Jordan Demographic Health Survey (DHS) in 2012, found that women who married between the ages of 15-19 years had a higher rate of intimate partner violence (IPV) than those who married later [22]. This association has also been found in many other countries (see Clark et al 2017 [53]). Clark et al (2017) used DHS 2012 data in Jordan to look at the relationship between IPV and unmet need for contraception by age at first marriage.

They found that 22% (n=1325) of all study participants reported IPV, and participants who married before age 18 years were more likely to report IPV (27.6%, N=351) compared to those marrying later (21.0%, N=974). However, the difference was not significant. Clark et al did find a statistically significant difference in unmet need for contraception for those who married under 18 years of age and had also experienced IPV and Family Violence (FV) compared to those who married later [53]. Al-Nsour et al (2009) found that early age at marriage was associated with more supportive attitudes towards IPV (wife beating) by the women themselves, based on a cross sectional survey of 356 women using public health centres in the Balka region of Jordan [74]. Spencer et al (2015) also found that participants spoke a lot about family violence, which young married are particularly at risk of when they move to live with their in-laws after marriage. The need to live with extended family due to poverty, increased the risk of incidents of physical violence and, for one participant, increased the risk of sexual violence [18].

Heaton (1996) and IRC (2014) suggest that child marriage is associated with a higher divorce rate and greater risk of widowhood [2, 44]. And instead of bringing new freedoms, child marriage can increase social isolation [47].

UNICEF (2014) data also suggests that Syrian girls are marrying men ten years or more older than them, which is associated with a greater level of disempowerment, inability to negotiate contraception

use, and increased violence or exploitation [4, 12]. This is supported by other agencies as well [5, 7].

Lack of SRH knowledge

Sexual and Reproductive Health (SRH) issues are central in relation to child marriage, as most people in the Middle Eastern region start their sexual lives within marriage. However, many men and women enter into marriage with only vague information about SRH as the information/knowledge that young people have before marriage or first birth is often limited [7, 12, 15, 24]. Reproductive health services are considered for married women only, and most women in Jordan will not be seen by a family planning service until after their first child [24]. Kradshah (2012) also found that women married as minors are less likely to discuss family planning with their husbands or use contraception [54].

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Analysis and discussion

Limited research data on outcomes

The literature reviewed draws attention to a wide range of consequences which may happen as a result of child marriage – see figure 4. However, most of the evidence in the literature reviewed in relation to the negative outcomes associated with child marriage for Jordanian and Syrian communities comes from small scale qualitative studies and reports from organisations working with adolescent girls in Jordan. While it would be possible to look at the outcomes associated with child marriage for Jordanian communities from data like DHS 2012 (and the census in 2015 to a limited extent), and for Syrians prior to the conflict from the MICS 2008 data, there appears to be no equivalent data currently available for Syrian refugees in Jordan, even from smaller scale surveys or assessments from humanitarian organisations. There are only three examples of this kind of data being used to explore the outcomes of child marriage in Jordan (Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) and obesity). While data from other countries with high rates of child marriage clearly establishes the relationship between child marriage and poor maternal health, poor infant health, school dropout, social isolation or divorce, for example, it is difficult to know how much this literature reflects the outcomes in Jordan as there is little from countries in the region. The literature reviewed could not confidently present the extent of the negative consequences, which groups are at risks of which outcomes, how these outcomes might change over time and the impact of multiple or cumulative risks or negative outcomes.

We are also unclear on the exact nature of cumulative risks and how various risks are prioritised in families, although it is likely that child marriage may be seen as an acceptable risk in families struggling to feed their daughters and keep them safe. There has been some research globally which has highlighted the severity of poor outcomes for girl's who marry under 15 years of age, compared to those who marry from 15-17 years of age[112]. While all marriage under 18 is considered a violation of human rights, it is helpful to better understand the nature of the negative consequences for girls, and the difference that age or level of education, or level of family support might make.

One of the consequences that is yet to receive

significant attention in the literature, is the impact of child marriage on the process of resettlement in a destination country (such as the USA, Australia, Canada or a European country), especially those that have strict laws regarding age of marriage (e.g. Sweden). The UNHCR guidelines on the resettlement of married children states that the 'UNHCR does not, in principle, submit cases of refugees under the age of 18 years old ("refugee child") in child marriages'p4 [43]. However, there is a whole assessment process to determine whether an application should be made before or after the married child turns 18 years of age.

Chapter 9



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What do we know about the relationship between child marriage and education in different communities in Jordan?

Education has long been associated with age at first marriage in Jordan. The Department of Statistics Jordan (1979) and Kalaldehy (1982) found that based on data from the World Fertility survey conducted in 1976, women with relatively high education levels in Jordan tended, in general, to marry later [69, 71]. Especially those in urban areas [69]. Abdel-Aziz (1983) also found the same using the same data, predicting that fertility levels would eventually decline as educated women came to comprise a larger proportion of the childbearing population [68]. Over a decade later, using Demographic and Health Survey Data (DHS), Heaton (1996) also found that child marriage is associated with lower educational attainment and lower rates of employment [44]. Indeed, every DHS survey since 1990 has shown that, on average, women who have attended more than secondary education marries 5 or 6 years later than women with no education or primary education [29]. The most recent census data, presented by the Higher Population Council (2017), continues to show that those with a primary or elementary level of education are much more likely to marry before the age of 18 years for both Jordanians and Syrian refugees [7]. They concluded that, for both Jordanian and Syrian women, those who are not in education or looking for employment are likely to marry under 18 years old.

A study by Gebel and Heyne (2016) helps us to better understand the relationship between education and child marriage [10]. They followed four birth cohorts between 1950 and 1989 using the Jordan Labour Market Panel Survey 2010 to examine the transition from education to first marriage, and employment to first marriage. Following these four cohorts, allowed them to examine any changes over time between those born in 1950 compared to those born in 1989. The study did not include any Syrian refugees. Gebel and Heyne (2016) predicted that participation in education would increase the age at which a person marries, because being a student is incompatible with marriage (and the roles of husband/father or wife/mother). They also predicted that the higher level of education a person achieves the greater delay to first marriage, particularly for those who have invested in education in order to join the labour market. Highly educated women may also expect future husbands to spend more on marriage. Finally, they predicted that due to the expansion of education in Jordan from the 1950s, they expected to see a growing trend of increased education and delayed marriage across the

cohorts from 1950 to 1989, particularly for women[10].

Using event history analysis, they found that all persons with intermediary and university education first marry at a later age than those with only primary education. They also found that women who are inactive (not in education or employment) are much more likely to marry earlier than women who have a job or who are unemployed job seekers. Within those who work, women working in the public sector marry earlier, although not as early as those who are not in employment or education. It was suggested that this is because the public sector is more compatible with roles of wife/mother. Gebel and Heyne (2016) also found a number of cultural and socio-economic family background variables that impacted on when the transition to marriage occurred. Those with parents who have no education tend to marry earlier than those whose parents have a higher education. Women with parents who have a 'higher occupational' position tend to marry later, and those with a higher number of siblings tend to marry earlier. They also found that growing up in an urban area increases the likelihood of marrying earlier, and suggests this may be due to the high proportion of Palestinians who live in the urban areas [10]. Gebel and Heyne (2016) conclude by saying that the change in marriage patterns, and the delay of first marriage by Jordanians, can be partially explained by education and employment, but not fully.

Analysis and discussion

Most of the literature that examines the relationship between education and age at first marriage is based on large scale standardised datasets with Jordanian citizens rather than Syrian refugees [4, 10, 13, 22, 29-33, 44, 45, 68, 70-72]. In this literature, high levels of education are statistically associated with later age at first marriage, and low levels of education are associated with child marriage [7, 10, 22, 29-33, 44, 45, 69]. However, it is not entirely clear, in both the Jordanian and Syrian communities, the extent to which this is because girls are leaving school to marry or whether girls are already out of school before they marry, which then increases their likelihood of marriage. Also, it is not clear whether just being in school reduces the likelihood of a proposal being accepted or whether the nature or level of the education a girl receives (or her family) or her aspirations (or that of her families) also make a difference to the likelihood of proposals accepted. Further exploration into this relationship will develop more sophisticated intervention regarding education and child marriage, which the literature reviewed often highlights as one of the key factors for preventing child marriage (see chapter 10). Are we certain, for example, that we know the answer to this question:- 'If we facilitated access to education for all girls in Jordan (including Syrian refugees), would we wipe out child marriage in Jordan?' A number of the recommendations in chapter 10 highlight the role of the education system, schools and teachers in preventing child marriage, and these strategies need further development. Education appears to have the largest influence in preventing child marriage, not just in Jordan but globally, and therefore needs further investigation in Jordan.

Chapter 10



What are the recommendations for preventing child marriage and caring for those affected by child marriage in different communities in Jordan?

Twenty-three of the items identified by the systematic mapping contained some recommendations for reducing rates of child marriage or some of the risks associated with child marriage [1, 2, 4-7, 11-14, 16-18, 24, 36, 42, 47-53]. Almost all of the recommendations are aimed at work with Syrian refugee communities in Jordan. Here is a summary of the recommendations made:

Expansion of support to prevent Gender-Based Violence (GBV)

Scale up and increase activities as recommended by the SGBV Sector Working Group (SWG) and the GBV-IMS Task Force [7, 13]

- Conduct activities and research with men and boys to understand how men and boys could be better integrated into violence prevention, and involve men in the process [4, 5, 7, 17, 18, 52]
- Support families to cope with the stress of displacement and inactiveness due to inability to work [5]
- Intensive work with communities to find alternative coping strategies in contexts of poor living conditions and insecurity [5]
- Health sector screening for gender-based violence [53]
- Increasing camp and community security [11]
- Reinforce and systematize the combination of GBV services with parenting skills classes and services for children [18]
- Implementation of the IASC guidelines to develop Standard Operating Procedures (SPOs) to coordinate across GBV and child protection services, and a formal evaluation of this coordination should be conducted [18]
- GBV training targeted at young women tailored to the specific risks they face [13]
- Ensure access to GBV services for young women, including services which aim to increase empowerment amongst young women [48]

Strengthening laws which prohibits child marriage [53]

- Advocate with the Jordanian Government to release a new amnesty for informal marriage penalty fees [17]
- Draw up, in consultation with women's groups, a civil rights law to govern issues of marriage, divorce, child custody etc [11]
- Reforming family laws (not just age of marriage, but wider laws about 'guardianship' and women's rights) [47]

- Enforcing the legal age of marriage, and strengthening the protection mechanisms for girls in the Directive under which marriage of children between the ages of 15–17 is permissible. This could include developing a specialised panel, which would form an assessment of the best interests of the child in relation to each proposed marriage under 18 years old. Experts with a social work background could be included [2, 7, 17, 47]
- Instituting regular monitoring of implementation of the Chief Justice's Directive on child marriage [4, 17]
- Fully implement Article 306 of the Penal Code on verbal harassment, and disseminate information about this law to women and girls from host and refugee communities [2]
- The Department of the Chief Justice should ensure that child marriage cases that have been refused by one court cannot apply in another [2, 4, 13]
- Shari'a Courts should ensure that marriage contracts involving girls include a clause ensuring their continued education [2]
- Continue advocacy efforts for the abolishment of the Article 308, which allows for the pardon for the perpetrator in cases of rape after marriage for girls under 18 [7, 36]
- increase the minimum age at which the shari'a courts can provide discretionary permission to marry from 15 to at least 16 years [4, 6]
- Revise article 5 of the Personal Status Law to revoke judicial exceptions to marry girls below the age of 18 [11]
- Birth registration to reduce rates of child marriage [16]
- Girls granted with permission to marry should automatically be provided with support services which aim to mitigate the negative consequences of child marriage [4]

Strengthening broader social policy response for the main drivers of child marriage

- Ensure that the Jordan Response Plan (JRP) addresses child and forced marriage in its programming, planning, and response [13]
- Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger [47]
- Ensure that government policies and the legal framework prioritize women and girls access to basic services, including access to protection, health and legal support. [13, 47]
- Use international and regional institutions with standing (such as the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation) to support messages about child marriage and keep it high on the political agenda [47]

- Issue instructions that define the specific education and health rights of married children [13]
- Ensure that the Education Working Group, the Child Protection Sub Working Group, and the SGBV Sub Working Group work jointly and cohesively towards ensuring the protection of adolescent girls [13]
- Better examine the link between poverty and child marriage, and develop livelihood strategies in response to this [4, 7]
- Ensuring all sectors responding to child marriage have sufficient capacity to do so, and that all institutions have the required skills and capacities [7]

Expansion of adolescent sexual and reproductive health care

- Capitalize on the political support for reaching adolescents [24]
- Improve access to SRH services and quality of SRH services for adolescents [7, 47, 50]
- Improve access to maternal health care for young pregnant women [42]
- A holistic approach to adolescent health [24]
- Provide SRH information to adolescents [24, 53]
- Support healthcare workers to give awareness sessions and messages about child marriage [7]
- Promote premarital counselling [24]
- Conduct research on sexual behaviours of young people and special stakeholders [24]
- Continuation of community outreach activities with an emphasis on family planning programming and improving health care, seeking behaviour to address reproductive health needs and decrease high risk pregnancies and associated complications [50]
- Health Sector actors need to link with Child Protection (CP) and strengthen interventions to reduce child marriage [50]
- Strong advocacy, including no compliance - no aid policies, to ensure government and humanitarian agencies disseminate knowledge of reproductive biology and awareness of health and rights in young girls living in refugee camps [52]
- Challenge taboos and traditions regarding sexual reproductive health and sexuality for young women [52]
- Increase efforts to prevent child pregnancy among young married girls, for example by providing targeted preconception counselling to couples with young brides, and their parents [6]
- Campaigns which raise the awareness of the effects of child marriage could also include more education about safe sex (to prevent HIV/AIDS), family planning (to prevent child pregnancy), and domestic violence [42]

Strengthen the education system to reduce child marriage:

- Ministry of Education to ensure that schools are inclusive and address the specific needs of each student, particularly victims of child marriage so they may continue to pursue their education [13]
- Ministry of Education to ensure a gender-sensitive approach to education and learning, and that protection measures are in place to prevent child marriage [13]
- Further develop systems to keep young women in school, and work activity with any families who withdraw their child from school [6, 12, 47, 52]
- Engage education actors in strengthening of the PTAs (Parent-Teacher Associations) to address cultural obstacles to schooling (e.g. lack of parent support, discrimination, child labour, child marriage) [1]
- Encourage peer to peer education and peer support groups on issues relating to child marriage, in particular on current laws as well as health and social consequences [1, 18, 49]
- Develop a public advocacy programme specially focused on the link between child marriage and education [4]

Strengthen community-based engagement and activities:

- Raising public awareness of marriage laws and consequences of child marriage which includes active engagement of parents and young women [4, 6, 7, 12, 17, 47-49]
- Raise awareness in the Syrian refugee community on the importance of registering marriages at the courts, and the problems with unofficial Sheikh marriages, highlighting the differences in the law in Jordan, the inevitable legal problems the family will face, and large penalty [17]
- Continue to provide awareness raising on issues relating to child marriage, in particular on current laws, health, and social consequences [1]
- Engage and educate religious leaders with issues relating to child marriage such as laws, health and social consequences [1, 47-49]
- To support community engagement with sexual and reproductive health [50]
- Strengthen naturally occurring refugee support networks between women and support organisation of new groups [18]
- Involve women from a local community in purposeful

- campaigns to raise awareness of child marriage [7, 17]
- Promote gender inequality and women's empowerment [47]
- Conduct surveys or focus group discussions with Refugee Outreach Volunteers to identify best practices and how they can effectively engage women and girls and be scaled up [18]
- Education on alternatives to child marriage for young women [18]
- Include women who were married under 18 years of age in community awareness raising activities [7]
- Community awareness activities need to include a realistic portrayal of the roles and responsibilities and challenges related to marriage to ensure girls have more knowledge about the nature of marriage [7]

Developing and extending direct services to young women impacted by child marriage including health and legal services and encouraging educational access

- Develop a national action plan should be developed to guide responses to child marriage in Jordan [7]
- Build capacity of service providers to better respond to child marriage [17, 36]
- Create safe spaces for young women to verbalise their experiences and their stresses [18]
- Suitable provision of child protection and GBV services to reduce the consequences of child marriage [7, 18]
- Ensure cases of child marriage are detected and suitable access is given to a full range of necessary services, including equal access to both Jordanian and Syrian girls affected [7, 13, 17]
- Develop data and monitoring systems to help improve policies and programs related to child marriage [7]

Sufficient funding and capacity building from donors in the international community to enable work with young women, including their meeting basic needs, security and protection, educational access and health needs [2, 11, 12, 52]. This also includes re-examining collective efforts to gain political commitment [13, 47], create and enact policies, provide services, implement programs and interventions on reproductive health to reduce the percentage of girls who marry as children and experience child pregnancy.

Request for donors to:

- Fund and support in-depth assessments across the region to improve the evidence base and enable a greater understanding of the extent and causes of marriage among Syrian children, so that we can

- collectively improve our prevention and response [12]
- Fund programmes to identify children at risk, receive reports of child marriage and other child protection incidents, and take action to protect children, including advocacy with parents, especially fathers, to stop child marriages taking place [12]
- Fund programmes to support survivors of child marriage, such as access to age-appropriate education, case management, psychosocial support, economic and reproductive health services [12]
- Fund and support community-based initiatives to change social norms and attitudes towards child marriage. These programmes should focus on the positive effects of marrying after 18, support refugee advocates of change, especially women and girls, and find creative ways to engage men in this dialogue [12]
- Invest in programmes that work with religious and community leaders across the region officiating and authorising child marriages, in order to raise awareness of the harmful nature of child marriage and prevent this practice from occurring [12]
- Invest in long-term programmes that address the underlying causes of child marriage – programmes such as economic and social empowerment of women and girls, livelihood opportunities and incentives to at-risk families – as this will be critical to reducing the financial pressures that contribute to increased incidence of child marriage among vulnerable households [12]
- Invest in girl-sensitive education programmes to ensure more refugee girls go to school and stay in school, and to improve refugee girls access to education by removing economic barriers (through initiatives such as scholarships, free access and transport) and other key push factors, thus reducing the likelihood of child marriage. Programmes and activities developed and implemented for Syrian refugees and host communities should also take into account the needs of both boys and girls [12]
- Increase support to host governments – including funding, technical support and capacity building – to better enable them to address the issue of child marriage in host communities and refugee camps. This includes strengthening the implementation of legal frameworks and procedures related to child marriage, and involving government actors in prevention campaigns on child marriage [12]

Design and strengthen programmes for adolescent young women

- Ensure programmes link lack of education, child marriage and fear of harassment and violence [2]
- Ensure programmes include girls with disabilities [2]
- Create viable alternatives to child marriage for young women, such as targeted incentives for families to maintain girls in school and/or job training programs, to relieve pressures on families to engage in child marriage [18]
- Specific needs and nature of the life of an adolescent women to be prioritised and included in aid planning in refugee camps and community plans for refugees, including the sensitivity of sexual and reproductive health, community expectation, future aspirations and sensitivity of their movement and 'reputation' [13, 52]
- Strengthen programs to empower girls with information, skills and support networks [6, 12]
- Invite women married before the age of 18 to speak with young girls about their experiences to create awareness of child marriage [7]

Analysis and discussion

Defining aims and objectives of responses to child marriage

Despite what might seem like a large degree of consensus about intervention in response to child marriage, there is actually a huge difference between some of the aims and objectives of these recommendations (i.e. prevention of any marriage under 18, delaying marriage for as long as possible or mitigating the negative consequences of child marriage), the level at which they target their intervention (i.e. legal systems, communities, households or individuals) and degree to which social change is required and root causes are tackled. In relation to legal change, for example, most of the recommendations call for a better implementation and regulation of the current 'special circumstances' directive which allows marriage under 18 years of age, but do not call for any changes to this clause. Two reports recommend for the age of marriage in special circumstances to be increased from 15 to 16 years of age, and two reports explicitly recommends advocacy to remove the special circumstances altogether, so that no marriage under 18 years of age is ever legal in Jordan. Some of the recommendations are about reducing the drivers which lead to child marriage. For example, some are about preventing any marriage

under 18, some are about delaying marriage even if it is from 15 to 17 years, and some are about reducing the severity of the consequences once a marriage under 18 years of age has taken place. It may be that all of these objectives are appropriate and needed, but it is not clear if organisations are distinguishing their objectives and reflecting these in their theory of change or indicators of change.

Multi-sectorial engagement with child marriage

- Roudi-Fahimi and Ibrahim (2013) map child marriage in relation to the MDGs, and find a link with
 - MDG 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
 - MDG 2: Achieve universal primary education
 - MDG 3: Promote gender equality and empower women
 - MDG 4: Reduce child mortality
 - MDG 5: Improve maternal health
 - MDG 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
 - MDG 7 and MDG 8: ensure environmental sustainability [47]

Similar mapping could be done with the sustainable development goals.

It is clear from the literature reviewed, and the combined recommendations outlined in this chapter, that responses to child marriage will require action at multiple levels by multiple sectors (see figures 5 and 6). As Save the children (2014) states 'Experience in Jordan suggests that with a concerted effort it is possible to prevent some child marriages, and to reduce the risks of those marriages that do take place. But changing this practice requires sustained, integrated, coordinated efforts by all partners.'

While a multi-sector response seems entirely appropriate, this raises four main concerns:

- 1- Are there enough policymakers and professional across these sectors with specialised knowledge on child marriage (recognising the complexity as outlined through this report)?
- 2- How can different sectors and programmes play to their strengths (and work within their limitations) while recognising that different responses to child marriage are needed at different levels across different sectors?
- 3- How is knowledge shared across sectors or programmes, and what is the nature of partnership working?
- 4- What objectives, conceptual models, understandings of child marriage and theories of change underpin the work of these sectors? Are they at cross purposes or giving mixed messages to individuals, families and communities?

Figure 6: Examples of intervention mapped onto an ecological framework of the drivers of child marriage

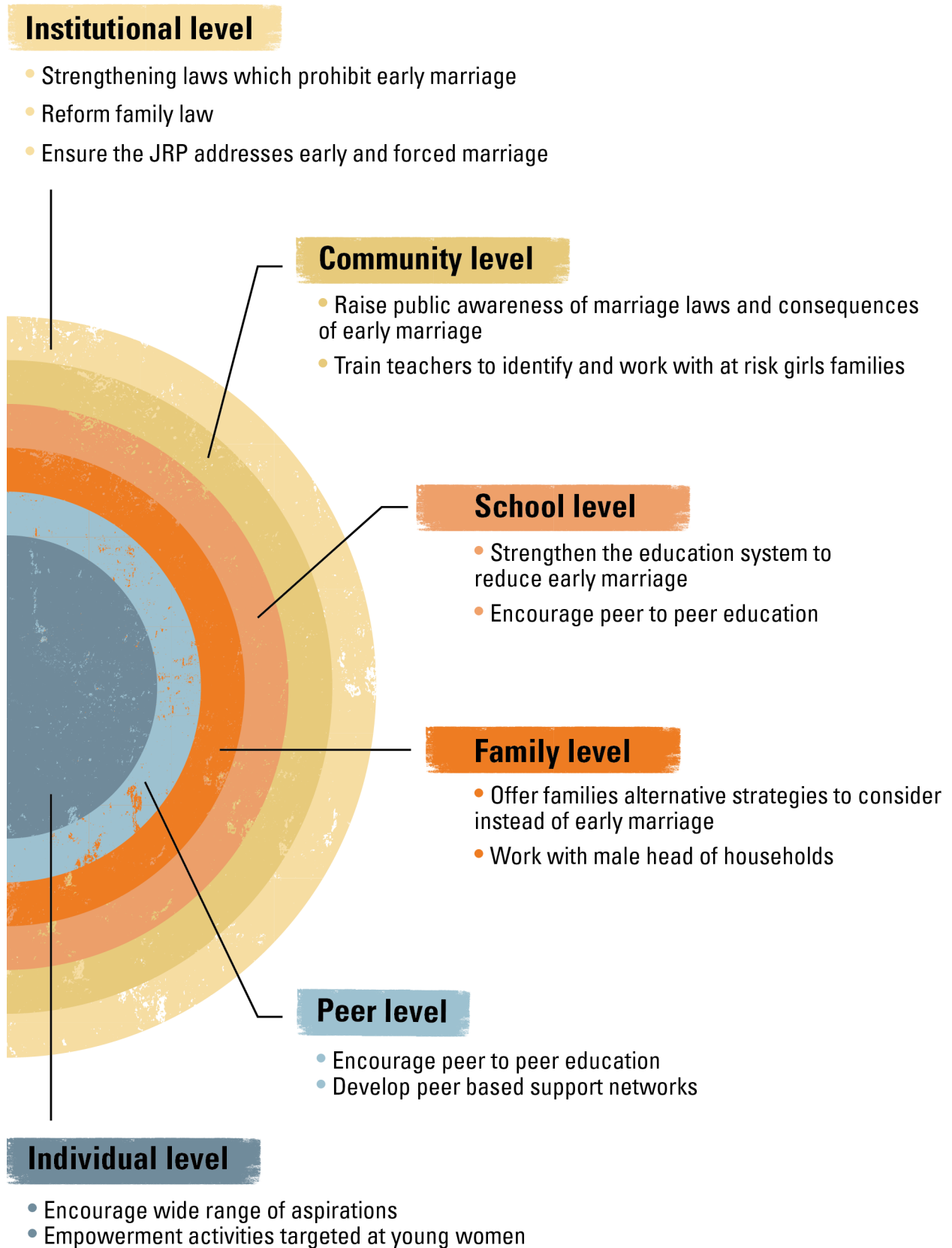


Figure 7: Mapping sectors and stakeholders on to the child marriage problem tree



Chapter 10



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What are the current interventions in response to child marriage with different communities in Jordan?

While useful examples are given of the current policy and practice response to child marriage in Jordan (especially in the Syrian refugee communities), the literature identified in no way gives a comprehensive systematic overview of the current work being undertaken to reduce the rates of child marriage, or reduce the risks associated with child marriage across the different communities in Jordan. A summary of the interventions identified by the literature reviewed as part of this systematic map can be found in Table 1. Most refer to intervention in response to child marriage in Syrian refugee communities in Jordan.

Table 1: Summary of interventions in response to child marriage from the items reviewed for the systematic map

Author	Intervention reported on
Hardee et al 2004 [15]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Shabab 21 campaign run by the National Population promotes reproductive health information and life planning skills for young men and women - The Ingaz Youth Economic Opportunities Program aims to enhance the leadership skills, networking, volunteerism, and employability of Jordanian youth • The Ministry of Health (MOH) launched a hotline in 2001 to provide young persons with medical information and counselling on HIV/AIDS and other reproductive health issues. The MOH also conducts home visits • School-based health education contributes to the dissemination of reproductive health information through the curricula • A few community-based interventions are making inroads in terms of providing important reproductive health information to youth (e.g., Festivals of Innovative Youth) • The Jordan Association for Family Planning and Protection and the Ministry of Youth and Sports are collaborating on a project called Youth to Youth for Safe Reproductive • Health, the project focuses on awareness raising • Groups such as the Higher Council for Youth (leadership program), the Ministry of Education (involvement in productive activities for girls and boys), and the Jordan University of Science and Technology (awareness raising workshops on various topics, including women’s issues) are undertaking programmatic initiatives.
Interagency child protection work group and interagency GBV working group (2014) [83]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Armani campaign (Interagency child protection and GBV campaign) which ran in Jordan in April 2014 included various messages to different community groups on child marriage.
Save the Children (2014) [12]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Awareness-raising sessions on child marriage ran at an activity centre, run by Save the Children and UNICEF in Za’atari refugee camp and in host communities • Across the region Save the Children child protection teams respond to issues related to child marriage and forced marriage, referring cases of gender-based violence to specialised agencies so that victims get specialist support. • No Lost Generation was launched as an initiative between UNICEF, UNHCR, Save the Children, World Vision, Mercy Corps and other partners in October 2013. The initiative aims to help Syria’s children, both within Syria and in neighbouring countries, to gain access to good-quality education, find protection from exploitation, abuse and violence, and access psychological care
UNFPA (2014) [82]	<p>‘During the reporting period a total of 1,015 reproductive health awareness sessions and campaigns took place, targeting 2,796 beneficiaries with messages related to reproductive health and family planning, breast feeding and care for newborns, post-delivery psychological problems, early marriage, sexually transmitted infections and HIV/AIDS, domestic violence and other forms of gender based violence, and stress and anger management.’ p4</p> <p>‘UNFPA co-chaired the SGBV sub-working group in coordinating the 16 Days of Activism under the theme of “Together Against SGBV and Early Marriage: Protecting, Preventing, and Responding” and building on the on-going inter-agency child protection and sexual and gender-based violence awareness-raising campaign “Amani”.’ p5</p>

Author	Intervention reported on
UNHCR (2014) [21]	UNHCR and partners identify and monitor child marriage cases, provide counselling to families on its negative effects, and undertake advocacy and awareness raising campaigns in all three host countries. The International Rescue Committee also has mobile teams that conduct outreach and counselling in Jordan and Lebano
UNICEF (2014) [4]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Several NGOs and international organizations working in Jordan have activities aimed to prevent and respond to child marriage (provision of legal aid and medical support to empowerment projects) • Forced and Child Marriage Task Force (FEMTF) serves as a platform to exchange information, provide technical support, develop joint actions to address the issue of forced and child marriage, build capacity of different stakeholders and develop joint actions and strategies. Referral pathways have been established in both camp and urban settings, for Syrians and Jordanians to access support for child marriage cases, covering medical/health care, psychosocial support, protection services and legal assistance
UNHCR, UNICEF and WFP (2014) [49]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Launch of Standard Operating Procedures for GBV (which includes forced marriage) in July 2013 • Interagency Task Force in Forced and Child Marriage established in November 2013 chaired by UNHCR and UNICEF • Training provided to all SRCD officers working in the refugee camps on GBV and protection in November 2013 • Inclusion of forced marriage (which includes child marriage) in GBV sub-working group thematic priorities in 2014. Key components of this strategy include: increased capacity development and engagement, using community structures, safe and confidential disclosure through outreach, including through mobile teams, and the expansion of safe spaces and innovative partnerships with local institutions to facilitate SGBV survivors to access culturally appropriate and survivor-centred information and services, and the roll-out of the Gender-Based Violence Information Management System (GBVIMS). • The Family Protection Department in Jordan provide multi-sectorial response services to survivors of GBV • Safe spaces in Zaatari refugee camp operated by UNFPA and IRC for GBV survivors • In Zaatari camp the SRCD systematically refers all single women seeking to be "bailed out" of the camp to UNHCR for protection counselling.
Sexual and gender-based Violence sub-working group (2015) [86]	'With the support of the humanitarian community the Jordanian government organized a round table with relevant national and international institutions and actors to look into ways of reducing the risk and mitigating the consequences of undocumented marriages, including early and forced marriage. Among the recommendations that were submitted to the Cabinet and implemented was the exemption of fines for the registration of undocumented marriages conducted in Jordan by Syrian refugees. As of 31 December 2014, the initial exemption period, 1,947 couples (including 1,032 couples in Za'atari Camp alone) benefitted from the exemption and officially registered their marriages in the Sharia Court. Following the advocacy of the humanitarian actors, the exemption period was extended from 13 May to 13 July, 2015. Working with the government will continue during the second half of the year.' p3
Spencer, D. (2015)[55]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Care International have a multi-sectoral protection programme in Jordan which provides clients with services that help address specific economic and social vulnerabilities and as such reduces stressors on families, and thus helps prevent child marriage. There case workers also detect cases of GBV and provide referral to specialised agencies for these cases.
UNICEF 2015 [84]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UNICEF supported several international media missions to highlight increasing child marriage cases among Syrian refugees in 2015 • In 2015 UNICEF Jordan implemented key components of the child marriage action plan that was developed in 2014 (such as reducing risks, and mitigate the consequences of child marriage for Jordanians and Syrians) • Key activities in 2015 for reducing child marriage included: community awareness-raising and mobilisation, empowerment of vulnerable adolescent girls through eight dedicated Makani centres for girls and women, comprehensive case management services and advocacy with duty bearers. • 713 girls and boys, at risk of child marriage or already married, also received case management services for child protection and gender-based violence risks

Barriers

A number of the items reviewed as part of the mapping process also identified several barriers to providing awareness sessions and services in response to child marriage. According to UNICEF (2014) there are no existing provisions addressing the specific health and educational needs of married children in Jordan nor any guaranteeing their rights [4]. Both Sahbani et al (2016) and UNICEF (2015) highlight that although many awareness sessions and groups are held about child marriage or sexual and reproductive health, girls participation in such activities can be very poor [52, 84]. The movement of girls and young women can be severely restricted, as it is often felt unsafe and unaccepted for girls and young women to move about freely without being accompanied. Therefore, unless arrangements can be made for their safe travel, girls will not be able attend sessions. In response to these challenges, a number of online learning courses were introduced in collaboration with EDRAAK, the Queen Rania Foundation's online learning platform. Female participation in the programme increased compared to last year due to the day care facilities operated in Za'atari and Azraq camps [84].

Other authors highlight several other barriers related to the sensitivity of child marriage within Jordan. Chynoweth (2014), in relation to Iraq refugees in Jordan, found that some faith-based non-governmental organisations would not provide family planning or maternal health services to girls who could not produce a marriage certificate. Many girls have no official marriage certificate, or have lost it in the process of displacement, which left some girls without access to SRH services [113]. Doedens et al (2013) reports that one key informant was concerned about how advocacy messages in relation to child marriage (especially in relation to concerns that foreign men come to the refugee camps to find wives) are developed and implemented. They felt that strong messages, without recognising the sensitivity of child marriage, can have a backlash in Syrian communities and fuels negative stereotypes [76]. The interagency GBV working group (2015) said that one of their biggest challenges is intervening in the private sphere with an issue that had broad cultural acceptance [36]. Sahbani et al (2016) are also concerned that even when girls can attend 'awareness' or 'empowerment' sessions, the extent to which girls can choose and contribute to decisions in a family is often limited [52]. They also note that child marriage may even be welcomed by

some young women, who see it as an opportunity to escape from restrictive family contexts [52].

Analysis and discussion

National strategy in response to child marriage

It is clear that the research methodology underpinning this systematic map is unable to gather literature which gives a full overview of all the responses to child marriage in Jordan across many different sectors and organisations. However, the literature indicates however that many different agencies are doing different activities in different sectors with different target groups. It also indicates that some coordination is being managed by the Child Marriage Task Force in Jordan and that a National Action Strategy in response to child marriage is currently being developed. A policy brief by the Higher Population Council (2017) indicates that the following policy areas will be a priority in the developing strategy:

Address the reasons that lead girls to drop out of school and make education compulsory up to the secondary level

- Develop and implement a comprehensive awareness plan on child marriage and its negative side effects on individuals, families, children and the society as a whole

- Provide financial support as well as family guidance and counselling to families that seek to marry off their daughters due to poverty and poor financial conditions

- Abolish the exception in paragraph (b) of clause (10) of the Civil Status Law

- Enhance remedies and prevention programs and services related to child marriage

- Re-orient the focus of scientific research towards identifying gaps in interventions aimed at protecting girls, and treat child marriage as a serious matter

The developing national task force and national strategy offer a platform for multi-sector coordination and collaboration, as well as the implantation of a strategy at different levels across different sectors. However further research evidence is needed to identify approaches, programmes and activities that are affect in both preventing child marriage and caring for those who are married before 18 years of age. No project evaluations were identified through the literature mapping process and so it is difficult to assess how appropriate and how effective

the various interventions highlighted have been. Certainly interventions have not made a difference to the national statistics which show a steady increase child marriage from 2011 until 2015.

Evidence-based interventions

A systematic review published by the International Research Centre on Women which reviewed child marriage prevention programs that have documented evaluations [46]. Although the number of programmes developed in response to child marriage has increased over the past 10 years, only a few have been systematically evaluated. They included an analysis of 23 programmes in the report, most in South Asia, but also one programme based in Egypt. They summarised that programmes have generally deployed one or more of five core strategies to prevent child marriage which include:

- 1- empowering girls with information, skills and support networks
- 2- educating and mobilizing parents and community members
- 3- enhancing the accessibility and quality of formal schooling for girls
- 4- offering economic support and incentives for girls and their families
- 5- fostering an enabling legal and policy framework

Unfortunately the review found that most evaluation designs were weak, making it difficult to be confident about the results of the evaluations. The most consistent and significant results for reducing child marriage were found in programmes promoting information, skills and networks for girls in combination with community mobilization [46]. There clearly remains a need to evaluate the programmes developed to prevent or respond to child marriage in Jordan to contribute to the national, regional and global knowledge based of what actually prevents child marriage.

The INSPIRE strategy to end violence against children provides a summary of seven evidenced based strategies that can be used in all contexts globally to prevent violence against children, including,

Implementation and enforcement of laws

Norms and values

Safe environments

Parent and caregiver support

Income and economic strengthening

Response and support services Education and life skills
These strategies could be used to provide a multi-level and multi-sector response to child marriage drawing on evidence-based approaches within each of these strategies [114]. A handbook is due to be released in 2018 to support practical implementation of these strategies which needs to be supported by a rigorous research process to continue to build the evidence based, and support contextualisation in different regions of the world or contexts like humanitarian aid.

Chapter 12



Knowledge gaps and conclusions

While it could be argued that there is a significant amount of research and other literature on child marriage in Jordan, there remain gaps which have been identified through this systematic map. While six of the items reviewed have focused specifically on child marriage in Jordan [4, 7, 12, 37, 53, 54], the majority of studies and other literature reviewed include child marriage as one of many population or protection concerns. Questions which remain unanswered in relation to child marriage and intervention strategies include:

- What is the theory of change for reducing child marriage in Jordanian and Syrian refugees? And is it fit for purpose for use with multiple groups over time?
- How are interventions/programmes being evaluated, taking into account the complexity of the drivers of child marriage (i.e. not a linear relationship between poverty and child marriage, or education and child marriage) and what are their impacts?
- Do we know 'what works' to prevent child marriage and reduce the negative consequences of child marriage?
- How effectively is the multi-sector and multi-level work being coordinated and communicated? Are sectors working to their strengths but together for a common goal and agenda?
- Do we have a map of all the interventions related to the drivers and consequences of child marriage in Jordan ... what, where, who, target level, outcomes?
- Is every level and every sector sufficiently covered in terms of intervention? Are root causes challenged as well as the severity of the consequences reduced?
- What do we know about the protective strategies used by individuals, families and communities, to secure safe marriages for women over the age of 18 years?
- What do we know about the families who actively delay marriages?
- How do we engage with contexts that are both risk inducing and protective – such as families or refugee camps?
- How comfortable do all actors feel with the different discourses associated with child marriage and the different agendas?
- How are we constructing a huge human rights, social justice and social development agenda in relation to what can be considered a very personal, family based private process? How do we build the legitimacy to act?
- What are the roles and responsibilities of different faith-based actors within Jordanian, Palestinian and

Syrian communities?

- What positive message could be communicated to prevent child marriage?

Some of these questions will be addressed in the second phase of the research, which involves empirical data collection to improve knowledge and develop a contextually and culturally relevant framework of risk and protective factors associated with child marriage and childbearing in the context of displacement in both Jordan and Lebanon. Data collection methods include:

- qualitative narrative interviews with married and unmarried girls and their families
- focus groups with girls and boys, mothers and father
- a questionnaire to all households receiving case management services
- qualitative interviews with a range of professionals, agencies, community leaders and faith-based actors
- a mapping of the policy on child marriage in Jordan.

Data collection is already underway. Please contact Dr Aisha Hutchinson (aisha.hutchinson@beds.ac.uk) or Tdh Jordan for an update on the progress of this research and any further publications.

While this map has drawn on 'old' literature, this analysis aims to equip policy makers and programme coordinators in their role by presenting the evidence in response to the key questions asked about child marriage in Jordan, and critically engaging with evidence and the quality of the evidence. The aim is that this mapping will support the development of the National Action Plan in response to Child Marriage which is being led by the Jordanian Government and supported by, and the UNICEF regional action plan on child marriage.

Annex 1: Literature identified: Evidence tables

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
1	Arab Renaissance for Development and Democracy (2017) Opinion Paper on the Recent Regulations Granting Marriage Permission to those between 15 and 18 years, Amman, ARDD.	<p><i>Summary of methodology</i> This is an opinion piece based on organisational and professional legal knowledge</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> The paper reviews the recent regulations granting permission to marry between 15 and 18 years in Jordan and gives some analysis of these, and recommendations for future implementation</p>	<p>Full text accessed No methodology section</p> <p><i>Report checklist</i> Authority: ✓ Accuracy: ✓ Coverage: ✓ Objectivity: ✓ Date: ✓ Significance: ✓</p>
2	Clark, C.J., Spencer, R.A., Khalaf, I.A. Gilbert, L., El-Bassel, N., Silverman, J.G. and Raj, A. (2017) 'The influence of family violence and child marriage on unmet need for family planning in Jordan', The Journal Of Family Planning And Reproductive Health Care, 43(2), p105-112	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Using nationally representative data from the 2012 Jordan Population and Family Health Survey they examined unmet need by exposure to IPV and FV by women's age at marriage (<18, 18+ years).</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Twenty two percent (n=1325) of study participants reported IPV and participants who married before age 18 years were more likely to report IPV (27.6%, N=351) compared to those marrying at or after reaching the age of majority (21.0%, N=974). IPV increased the odds of unmet need by 87% [adjusted odds ratio (AOR) 1.87; 95% confidence interval (95% CI) 1.13-3.10] and 76% (AOR 1.76; 95% CI 1.30-2.38) among women who married prior to and after the age of 18 years, respectively. Women married as minors who experienced IPV and FV had a four-fold higher likelihood of having an unmet need (AOR 6.75; 95% CI 1.95-23.29) compared to those experiencing only IPV (AOR 1.49; 95% CI 0.84-2.38).</p>	<p>Full text accessed Methodology section</p> <p><i>Survey checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Data is nationally representative for Jordan in 2012</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>
3	Higher Population Council (2017) A study on Child marriage in Jordan, Higher Population Council Jordan: Amman. http://kvinfo.dk/sites/default/files/hpc_child_marriage_eng.pdf Accessed 29/11/2017	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> The report is based on a study that statistically examines child marriage from annual reports of the Supreme Judge Department, and the Jordan Population and Housing Census 2015, in addition to the evidence is also gathered from focus groups discussions with Jordanians, Syrians and Palestinians in Jordan.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> The report outlines the statistical analysis of child marriage from the Supreme Judge Department, and the Jordan Population and Housing Census 2015, particularly highlighting the prevalence of child marriage and increase over recent years. Various variables that impact on the rates of child marriage are also presented (such as education, employment, health insurance spousal age gap etc). The data is presented by different nationalities (Jordanian, Syrian and other). Focus groups results are then presented with qualitatively examine child marriage in Jordan.</p>	<p>Full text accessed Methodological section included <i>Quantitative checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? unclear Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓ How far can the results be applied? These are national representative statistics Results fit with other studies? ✓</p> <p><i>Qualitative checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Qual methodology appropriate: ✓ Appropriate design: ✓ Appropriate recruitment: ✓ Data collection methods: ✓ Relationship with participants: ✓ Ethical issues considered: ✓ Data Analysis rigorous: ✓ Clear statement of findings: ✓ Value of the research: ✓</p> <p>Gives to depth to other quantitative studies and largely descriptive about day to day life for the woman alone</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
4	<p>Higher Population Council (2017) Policy brief: Child Marriage in Jordan, Amman, Higher Population Council. http://www.share-net-jordan.org.jo/sites/default/files/Policy%20Brief%20-%20Child%20Marriage%20in%20Jordan%202017.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 02/12/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> The report is based on a study that statistically examines child marriage from annual reports of the Supreme Judge Department, and the Jordan Population and Housing Census 2015, in addition to the evidence is also gathered from focus groups discussions with Jordanians, Syrians and Palestinians in Jordan.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> The policy brief outlines the main findings from the full report on child marriage in Jordan, and covers the main challenges of addressing child marriage in Jordan as well as the main policy recommendations.</p>	<p>Full text accessed</p> <p>No methodology section although the full methodology section can be found in the full report</p> <p>See methodology review for the full report</p>
5	<p>International Rescue Committee (2017) Tackling Early Marriage Amongst Adolescent Girls in Jordan: A policy brief, IRC: Amman</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> The report is a policy brief based on organisational and professional knowledge.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Policy brief which outlines the experiences of IRCs clients in relation to early marriage, drivers and consequences. It then goes on to discuss policy and practice, recommended policy and program actions</p>	<p>Full text accessed</p> <p>No methodological section</p> <p>Policy brief</p> <p><i>Report checklist</i> Authority: ✓ Accuracy: ✓ Coverage: ✓ Objectivity: ✓ (policy brief) Date: ✓ Significance: ✓</p>
	<p>Swan, G. (2017) <i>Undocumented, Unseen, and at Risk: The situation of Syrian Refugees lacking civil and legal documentation in Jordan</i>, International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC).</p> <p>https://www.icmc.net/sites/default/files/documents/resources/jordan-syrian-refugees-legal-documentation-final-2.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 05/12/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> The report was informed by both qualitative and quantitative data. Quantitative data was extrapolated and analysed from the database of ICMC to identify trends in data (49 cases were reviewed and analysed), while qualitative data tools such as one focus group discussion and 7 semi structured interviews were used to triangulate quantitative data.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Lack of marriage registration due to 'Sheikh only' marriages that occur before the legal age of marriage are incredibly problematic in Jordan. Without marriage registration a child cannot be registered resulting in a risk to them obtaining their legal rights. The report outlines the issues for Syria refugees without a registered marriage in Jordan.</p>	<p>Full text accessed</p> <p>Methodological section included</p> <p><i>Quantitative checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ? Appropriate selection process: ? Unclear Appropriate sampling strategy: ? Unclear Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? unclear Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓ How far can the results be applied? These are not representative in any way Results fit with other studies? ✓</p> <p><i>Qualitative checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Qual methodology appropriate: ✓ Appropriate design: ✓ Appropriate recruitment: ? unclear Data collection methods: ✓ Relationship with participants: ✓ Ethical issues considered: ? Unclear Data Analysis rigorous: ✓ Clear statement of findings: ✓ Value of the research: ✓</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
6	<p>Care International (2016) Six Years into Exile: The challenges and coping strategies of non-camp Syrian refugees in Jordan and their host communities, Amman, Care International. https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/2016AssessmentoftheSituationofUrbanSyrianRefugees%26VulnerableJordanians-FullReport.pdf (accessed 29/11/2017)</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Qualitative and quantitative data was collected on the needs, coping strategies, and perceptions of Syrian urban refugees and vulnerable Jordanian host communities residing in Amman, Irbid, Mafraq, and Zarqa (including Azraq town). A quantitative survey administered to 1,608 urban Syrian refugee households and 471 Jordanian households. All were CARE beneficiaries. Qualitative interviews completed with 12 key stakeholders and 24 focus groups with Syrian and vulnerable Jordanian men and women</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Almost four times the number of Syrian minors married in 2016 (54 in total) than in the previous year (14 in total). In 2015, the 13 out of 14 total married minors were girls, whereas in 2016 only 33 out of the total married minors were girls, showing an increase in male minor marriage.</p>	<p>Full text accessed Methodology section included</p> <p><i>Survey checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓ How far can the results be applied? Results fit with other studies? ✓</p> <p><i>Qualitative checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Qual methodology appropriate: ✓ Appropriate design: ✓ Appropriate recruitment: ✓ Data collection methods: ✓ Relationship with participants: ✓ Ethical issues considered: ✓ Data Analysis rigorous: ✓ Clear statement of findings: ✓</p> <p>Value of the research: ✓</p>
7	<p>Gebel and Heyne (2016) 'Delayed transitions in times of increasing uncertainty: School-to-work transition and the delay of first marriage in Jordan', <i>Research in Social Stratification and Mobility</i>, 46, p61-72</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> This paper describes and analyzes determinants and changes of the timing of transition to first marriage in Jordan for four birth cohorts born between 1950 and 1989; using large-scale, nationally representative life history data from the Jordan Labor Market Panel Survey 2010 and applying event history analyses.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> They found clear gender differences in marriage patterns and a general trend toward a delay of first marriage in Jordan. Regarding the determinants of individual marriage timing, they found for both men and women that individual education enrollment delays marriage, whereas the effect of the education level is hump-shaped and less pronounced. Inactivity and unemployment delays first marriage for men whereas inactive women experience early marriage. Men and women in public sector jobs make faster transition to first marriage than those in informal jobs. Regarding the changes across cohorts, our results show that the educational expansion partly explains the increasing marriage age of women but not for men. Changes in labor market activities and job quality across cohorts can only in part explain the increasing marriage age in Jordan. Popular explanations that the delay of marriage is caused by rising marriage costs or the marriage squeeze can be rejected. (p1 abstract)</p>	<p>Full text accessed Methodology section included</p> <p><i>Survey checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Representative longitudinal survey data</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
8	<p>Hanmer, L. and Elefante, M. (2016) The role of Identification in Ending Child Marriage: Identification for Development (ID4D), World Bank Group. http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/ (accessed 29/11/2017)</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Case study of child marriage among Syrian refugees in Jordan and the role of birth and marriage certificates.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> The context of displacement places increased risks in relation to early marriage. High levels of poverty put economic pressure on families making the bride price an incentive for early marriage. There are increased levels of sexual violence during conflicts which represents a threat of girls 'honor', so early marriage can be seen as protective. The status of marriage is also an incentive – some families believing family groups are more likely to be given entry into Jordan or will allow families to move out of the camps. There are also challenges in applying domestic laws to refugee populations, for example, girls without birth certificates/family book cannot prove their age and are therefore not protected from the minimum age of marriage in Jordan. Registering marriage for foreigners in Jordan is lengthily and costly. As a result of these challenges there are many children not registered in Jordan (up to 30%) and have no birth certificates.</p>	<p>Full text accessed No methodological section</p> <p><i>Report checklist</i> Authority: ✓ Accuracy: ? Not entirely sure what the aims/objectives of the report are Coverage: ✓ with a case study presented on Syrian refugees in Jordan Objectivity: ✓ Seems like an advocacy document or position paper Date: ✓ Significance: ✓ However, still not convinced by strength of main argument</p>
9	<p>Jordan Communication Advocacy and Policy Activity (JCAP) (2016) Family Planning among Syrian Refugees in Jordan, Amman: JCAP. http://www.tawasol-jo.org/sites/default/files/family_planning_among_syrian_refugees_in_jordan_0.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 29/11/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> This study is based on both published and unpublished reports or presentations collected from November 2015 through February 2016 from multiple sources within Jordan. The authors reviewed approximately 60 documents, of which they retained 43 documents relevant to this report (provided in the reference section). The authors also performed an in-depth review of the findings from JCAP's Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices toward Family Planning and Reproductive Health among Married Women of Reproductive Age in Selected Districts in Jordan survey of 2015.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> The report draws attention to the findings from other studies in Jordan on child marriage, particularly highlighting the increase in Jordan, the impact of displacement and associated issues. The report includes a whole section on child marriage (p20).</p>	<p>Full text accessed Methodology section included</p> <p><i>Literature review checklist</i> Clearly focused question: ✓ Right type of papers found: ✓ (missing academic papers) All important papers included: ✓ (missing many on early marriage) Meta-analysis appropriate: X How precise are the results: ✓ Application of results: ✓ All important outcomes considered: ✓ Ethical considerations: ✓</p> <p>Unclear search strategy and parameters etc</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
10	Sahbani, S., Al-Khateeb, M. and Hikmat, R. (2016) 'Early marriage and pregnancy among Syrian adolescent girls in Jordan; do they have a choice?' Pathogens and Global Health, v110(6), p217-218	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Editorial piece on early marriage and pregnancy among Syrian adolescent girls in Jordan.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Discussion of strong social and cultural norms on values on adolescent sexual and reproductive health and the level of need in Jordan for Syrian refugees. It is recognised that although child marriage was already an acceptable practice inside Syria before the crisis, the strains felt upon families has led to a dramatic increase in this phenomenon.</p>	<p>Full text accessed No methodology section Editorial piece</p> <p>Unable to make methodological assessment</p>
11	UNICEF (2016) UNICEF Annual Report 2016 Jordan, Amman, UNICEF. https://www.unicef.org/about/annualreport/files/Jordan_2016_COAR.pdf Accessed 01/12/2017	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Annual report of UNICEF activities in Jordan</p> <p><i>Findings related to early marriage:</i> Early marriage recognised as a key issue for children, especially Syrian refugees. The report describes some of the key activities UNICEF support/facilitated in response to child marriage in Jordan</p>	<p>Full text accessed No methodological assessment UNICEF annual report</p> <p><i>Report checklist</i> Authority: ✓ Accuracy: ✓ Coverage: ✓ Objectivity: ✓ Date: ✓ Significance: ✓</p>
12	Gender-Based Violence Information and Management System (GBVIMS) (2015) Gender-Based Violence Information and Management System (GVBIMS) Annual Report 2015, GBVIMS Task Force, https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/GBVIMS2015AnnualReport.pdf (last visited 27/09/2017)	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> This report provides information on incidents of child marriage from the Gender-Based Violence Information and Management System during 2015.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> According to GBVIMS standard classification, incidents of early marriage are classified under the category "forced marriage". Of all GBV survivors, 32.7% reported forced marriage. The GBVIMS data continues to suggest that survivors of early marriage may be at risk of other types of SGBV. During the reporting period, 4% reported physical assault (the most commonly experienced form of SGBV), while 2.5% reported psychosocial/emotional abuse and 1.3% reported denial of resources. The pattern remained more or less consistent in 2014 and 2015. According to the assessment results, one of the biggest challenges faced by the caseworkers seeking to reduce or to respond to early marriage is how to intervene effectively in a private sphere issue that has broad cultural acceptance.</p>	<p>Full text accessed No methodology section Annual report</p> <p><i>Report checklist</i> Authority: ✓ Accuracy: ✓ Coverage: ✓ Objectivity: ✓ (annual report) Date: ✓ Significance: ✓</p>
13	Health Sector Working Group (2015) Health Sector Humanitarian Response Strategy, Amman: Health Sector Working Group. https://www.alnap.org/system/files/content/resource/files/main/310-healthsectorstrategyupdatefinal14-06-2015.pdf Accessed 29/11/2017	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> This document, which is periodically updated, outlines the implications of the Syrian refugee crisis on the national health system.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> In Zaatari camp the proportion of deliveries in girls under the age of 18 was 8.5% for 2014 which represents an increase compared to the average for 2013 of 5%. Girls under 18 are more likely to experience obstetric and neonatal complications.</p>	<p>Full text accessed No methodology section Strategy document</p> <p><i>Report checklist</i> Authority: ✓ Accuracy: ✓ Coverage: ✓ limited in relation to early marriage Objectivity: ✓ strategy document Date: ✓ Significance: ✓</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
14	<p>International Human Rights Clinic and Norwegian Refugee Council (2015) Registering rights: Syrian refugees and the documentation of births, marriages, and deaths in Jordan, IHRC and NRC. http://hrp.law.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Registering-rights-report-NRC-IHRC-October20151.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 29/11/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> The report is based on a literature review of best practices and international law around civil documentation as well as structured interviews with 56 families living in 45 households in the north of Jordan and other data collected through the NRC database.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> A whole chapter outlines issues relating to marriage registration (issues, causes and consequences). Most of the document raises the issues, problems, prevalence and consequences related to lack of marriage registration.</p>	<p>Full text access Methodology section included</p> <p><i>Qualitative checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Qual methodology appropriate: ✓ Appropriate design: ✓ Appropriate recruitment: ✓ Data collection methods: ✓ Relationship with participants: ✓ Ethical issues considered: unclear Data Analysis rigorous: ✓ Clear statement of findings: ✓ Value of the research: ✓</p> <p>Largely descriptive – highlighting issues and experiences</p>
15	<p>International Rescue Committee(2015) Adolescent Girls Assessment: Needs, Aspirations, Safety and Access, Amman: IRC. https://www.rescue.org/sites/default/files/document/706/ircjordanadolescentassessment2015education-highlights.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 29/11/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> The assessment aimed to identify concrete actions the IRC could take to better respond to the needs of Syrian and Jordanian adolescent girls. Both qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis methods were used to answer the assessment questions including a Staff survey; Survey among 697 adolescent girls (who do not access IRC services); Survey among 184 adolescent girls (who do access IRC services); 6 FGDs with adolescent girls (who do not access IRC services) contacting girls on their waiting lists; 6 FGDs with adolescent girls (who do access IRC services); 6 FGDs with caregivers (who do access IRC services); Interviews with 8 other organizations providing specific activities/ services for adolescent girls and a literature review.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Child marriage came up in many different interviews and focus groups. Around 9% of the surveyed girls were married. Among the FGD participants, a couple of girls were married and had children. For these girls, being a housewife is a “full-time job”. In general, caregivers who come from more conservative backgrounds were very direct in articulating their desire for their girls to settle down and get married with a decent husband who can protect them. The early marriage issue was debated among the attendees of FGDs, with some Syrian fathers saying they are okay with their daughters marrying at the age of 14 and 15 because this is part of the culture and the natural development of a woman. However selecting a husband for their daughters was perceived as being difficult by fathers, especially as they are not in their home country and are surrounded with many new people. A second major fear for caregivers for their daughters is that that they will go through divorce or a bad marriage. (p33)</p>	<p>Full text accessed Methodology section included</p> <p><i>Survey checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ but not much about early marriage Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? The survey sampling methods were not representative of the regions surveyed and included a low number of Jordanian girls</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p> <p><i>Qualitative checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Qual methodology appropriate: ✓ Appropriate design: ✓ Appropriate recruitment: ✓ Data collection methods: ✓ Relationship with participants: ✓ Ethical issues considered: ✓ Data Analysis rigorous: ✓ Clear statement of findings: ✓ early marriage not a major part of the study however Value of the research: ✓</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
16	<p>Jordan Communication Advocacy and Policy Project (JCAP) (2015) Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practices toward Family Planning and Reproductive Health among Married Women of Reproductive Age in Selected Districts in Jordan, Amman: JCAP.</p> <p>http://www.tawasol-jo.org/sites/default/files/knowledge_attitudes_and_practices_toward_family_planning_and_reproductive_health_among_married_women_of_reproductive_age_in_selected_districts_in_jordan_.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 29/11/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> To guide activity design and measure program impact, the Jordan Communication, Advocacy, and Policy Project (JCAP) conducted a population-based survey to measure knowledge, attitudes, and practices with respect to fertility choices and FP practices in Jordan. The sample, based on the 2004 Jordan Census frame updated by Department of Statistics (DOS), covered eight JCAP intervention districts and sub-districts, and eight matched control sites.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> The report gives results of median age of marriage across different communities in Jordan and looks at the impact of this by educational level, wealth, residence and employment status. They also report on the mean ideal age of marriage and age at first birth by different nationalities and different age groups. Syrian women had a lower median age of marriage than Jordanians and a lower mean ideal age of marriage.</p>	<p>Accessed full text Methodology section included</p> <p><i>Survey checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓ How far can the results be applied? Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>
17	<p>Prettitore, P.S. (2015) Family Law Reform, Gender Equality, and underage marriage: a view from Morocco and Jordan, The Review of Faith and International Affairs, 13(3), 32-40.</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Report from Sexual and Gender-Based Violence Sub-Working Group on SGBV amongst Syrian refugees in Jordan. Draws on published reports and work carried out by the working group.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Overview of child marriage in Jordan and main issues of concern as well as interventions.</p>	<p>Full text accessed No methodological section</p> <p><i>Report checklist</i> Authority: ✓ Accuracy: ✓ Coverage: limited Objectivity: ? Date: ✓ Significance: ✓</p>
	<p>Spencer, D. (2015) "TO PROTECT HER HONOUR": Child marriage in emergencies – the fatal confusion between protecting girls and sexual violence, London: Care International UK.</p> <p>https://insights.careinternational.org.uk/media/k2/attachments/CARE_Child-marriage-in-emergencies_2015.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 05/12/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> No methodology section, however the report appears to draw from published literature and unpublished research completed by Care International, such as focus groups.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> The report draws on already published material about child marriage in Jordan and draws on unpublished focus groups completed by Care International. The report is focused on the fact that many families pursue child marriage to protect their daughters although it actually places them at more risks.</p>	<p>Full text accessed No methodology section included</p> <p><i>Report checklist</i> Authority: ✓ Accuracy: ? limited details about in-house research that is referred to Coverage: ✓ Objectivity: ? this appears to be an advocacy piece for donors Date: ✓ Significance: ✓</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
18	<p>Spencer R A; J Usta A. Essaid, S. Shukri, Y. El-Gharaibeh, H. Abu-Tale (2015) Gender Based Violence Against Women and Girls Displaced by the Syrian Conflict in South Lebanon and North Jordan: Scope of Violence and Health Correlates, Alianza por la Solidaridad</p> <p>https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/GBV-Against-Women-and-Girl-Syrian-Refugees-in-Lebanon-and-Jordan-FINAL.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 29/11/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> This report presents the results of research conducted with female refugees living in North Jordan and South Lebanon who are Syrian Nationals (SN) and Palestinian Refugees from Syria (PRS) as well as gender based violence (GBV) case workers who provide services to refugee women and girls who experience GBV. The study uses a mixed-methods design involving surveys of 385 patients seeking primary health care, 8 focus group discussions (94 participants) , and 11 interviews with GBV survivors and 10 service providers.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> In the surveys, early marriage was fairly common; almost half (46.6%; n=179) reported being married prior to age 18. Nine percent (n=35) reported having at least one child under the age of 18 married since arriving to the host country. Many participants in the FGDs had a deep understanding of the issues associated with child marriage because they had been child brides themselves. In the FGDs, child marriage or marriage under the age of 18 was perceived as increasing in regularity among Syrian refugees with the age gap between the child bride and the adult husband increasing over time.</p>	<p>Full text accessed Methodology section included</p> <p><i>Survey checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Survey population not representative of wider Syrian refugee population in Jordan and Lebanon</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p> <p><i>Qualitative checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Qual methodology appropriate: ✓ Appropriate design: ✓ Appropriate recruitment: ✓ Data collection methods: ✓ Relationship with participants: ✓ Ethical issues considered: ✓ Data Analysis rigorous: ✓ Clear statement of findings: ✓ Value of the research: ✓</p>
19	<p>UNICEF (2015) UNICEF Annual Report 2015: Jordan, Amman: UNICEF https://www.unicef.org/about/annualreport/files/Jordan_2015_COAR.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 29/11/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Annual report of UNICEF activities in Jordan</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Early marriage recognised as a key issue for children, especially Syrian refugees. Across the year UNICEF Jordan implemented key components of the early marriage action plan that was developed in 2014. The report outlines these activities.</p>	<p>Full text accessed No methodological assessment UNICEF annual report</p> <p><i>Report checklist</i> Authority: ✓ Accuracy: ✓ Coverage: ✓ Objectivity: ✓ Date: ✓ Significance: ✓</p>
20	<p>Equality Now (2014) Protecting the girl child: Using the law to end child, early and forced marriage and related human rights violations, Equality Now. https://www.equalitynow.org/sites/default/files/Protecting_the_Girl_Child.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 29/11/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> This is an advocacy brief which is compiled of case studies from around the world on child marriage.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Includes main global causes and consequences of child marriage and places the issue of child marriage in Post-2015 Development Framework and outlines how to use international and National law to end child, early and forced marriage. A short case study is presented on Jordan including the experience of any early marriage, and laws related to early marriage in Jordan.</p>	<p>Full text accessed No methodological section outlined in the report Advocacy brief</p> <p><i>Report checklist</i> Authority: ✓ Accuracy: ✓ Coverage: ✓ Objectivity: ✓ It is an advocacy brief Date: ✓ Significance: ✓</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
21	<p>Fowler (2014) 'Syrian Refugee Families' Awareness of the Risks of Child Marriage and What Organisations Offer or Plan in order to Raise Awareness', Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection. Paper 1925.</p> <p>h t t p : / / digitalcollections.sit.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2948&context=isp_collection</p> <p>Accessed 29/11/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> This study interviewed Syrian refugee families attending health clinics in Irbid and key informants at a health clinic, UNICEF and UNFPA.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Syrian refugees' perception of early marriage largely depends on their situation in Jordan, such as their ability to provide for their family, their feeling of safety, and their access to services like health and education. Since these situations vary greatly between areas where refugees reside, whether that includes a refugee camp or urban setting, no one solution can prevent early marriage for a majority of refugees unless organizations find a way to feasibly provide safety and money to these refugees in their desperate state. Therefore, to prevent many of the negative consequences of early marriage, organizations who work with refugees should focus on how to prevent health issues like early pregnancy rather than how to prevent early marriage</p>	<p>Full text accessed Methodology outlined</p> <p><i>Qualitative checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Qual methodology appropriate: ✓ partly Appropriate design: ✓ partly Appropriate recruitment: ✓ partly Data collection methods: ✓ Relationship with participants: ✓ Ethical issues considered: ✓ Data Analysis rigorous: ✓ partly Clear statement of findings: ✓ Value of the research: ✓ some limitations</p>
22	<p>Interagency child protection work group and Interagency GBV working group (2014) Amani Campaign: Interagency child protection and GBV campaign, Jordan, April 2014, Interagency child protection work group and Interagency GBV working group</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Campaign guidance pack</p> <p>Overall message: 'Let's work together to make our communities safer. Everyone has a role to play in keeping girls, boys, women and men safe'.</p> <p><i>Findings related to early marriage:</i> Early marriage is one of the key aspects of keeping everyone safe and supporting messages for children and adults are outlined.</p>	<p>Full text accessed. Campaign guidance pack No methodological section</p> <p><i>Report checklist</i> Authority: ✓ Accuracy: ✓ Coverage: ✓ Objectivity: ✓ Campaign guidance pack Date: ✓ Significance: ✓</p>
23	<p>International Medical Corps and UNICEF (2014) Mental health/ psychosocial and child protection for Syrian Adolescent Refugees in Jordan, International Medical Corps and UNICEF.</p>	<p><i>Methodology:</i> The purpose of the assessment was to assist in informing services that optimally encourage adolescent development, safety, and well-being. The assessment used mixed qualitative and quantitative methods with 2,028 Syrian adolescent refugees in five areas (Irbid, Mafraq, Ramtha, Za'atari, and Zarqa) as well as interviews with key informant interviews; 16 focus groups with Syrian mothers and fathers, and Jordanian mothers and fathers; and 505 individual interviews with Syrian parents. Snowball and convenience sampling were main techniques used.</p> <p><i>Findings related to early marriage:</i> The Key informant interviews identified early marriage as a child protection issue that adolescents face in non-camp settings and stated that girls need particular help with the psychosocial impact of early marriage and early pregnancy. Jordanian parents were concerned about perceived Syrian traditions influencing their families, particularly early marriage and school refusal.</p>	<p>Full text accessed Methodology section included</p> <p><i>Survey checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ? convenience sampling Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Convenience sample of Syrian refugees and Jordanians from five areas in Jordan so need to be careful about national generalisations. Results fit with other studies? ✓</p> <p><i>Qualitative checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Qual methodology appropriate: ✓ Appropriate design: ✓ Appropriate recruitment: ✓ limitations of the study note a poor engagement by Jordanians Data collection methods: ✓ Relationship with participants: ✓ Ethical issues considered: ✓ Data Analysis rigorous: ✓ Clear statement of findings: ✓ Value of the research: ✓</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
24	<p>International Rescue Committee (2014) Are we Listening? Acting on our commitments to women and girls affected by the Syrian conflict, New York: International Rescue Committee.</p> <p>https://www.rescue.org/sites/default/file/document/144/ircwomeninsyriaeportweb.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 29/11/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> The primary focus of the research was to understand the main challenges facing displaced women and girls in the region. The report includes a review of secondary data and a review of programmatic experience and service delivery through information from Women's Protection and Empowerment programs in 64 communities in Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, and Jordan implemented by more than 260 staff and volunteers. In addition IRC researchers and staff members conducted 56 in-depth interviews and 17 focus group discussions throughout the region with an overall total of 198 individuals participating.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Early marriage is one of three themes which IRC found women and girls identified when asked 'what are the biggest challenges you are facing?' There is a section in the report entitled 'Understanding Early Marriage in Context of Crisis' which outlines findings from the literature, IRC programmes and focus groups/ interviews completed.</p>	<p>Full text available Methodology section included</p> <p><i>Qualitative checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Qual methodology appropriate: ✓ Appropriate design: ✓ Appropriate recruitment: ? Unsure of recruitment process Data collection methods: ? It is not clear how information was collected, organised and analysed from IRC programs Relationship with participants: ✓ Ethical issues considered: ✓ Data Analysis rigorous: ?Unclear Clear statement of findings: ✓ Value of the research: ✓</p>
25	<p>McGrath, S. (2014) 'For beneficiary-led protection programming in Jordan', Forced Migration Review, v47(1), p32-32</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Methodology not outline</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Brief critical analysis of the role of humanitarian agencies in Jordan, and how they prioritise their protection response. The question is raised over whether child marriage is a priority for beneficiaries or not, and the level of participation from beneficiaries to shape the protection agenda is also questioned.</p>	<p>Full text access Methodology not outline</p> <p>Article is brief commentary making a specific point (advocacy purposes?)</p> <p>Unable to make a methodological assessment due to nature of the item</p>
26	<p>Save the Children (2014) Too young to Wed: The growing problem of child marriage among Syrian girls in Jordan, Save the Children: London. http://www.savethechildren.org/atf/cf/%7B9def2ebe-10ae-432c-9bd0-df91d2eba74a%7D/TOO_YOUNG_TO_WED_REPORT_0714.PDF</p> <p>Accessed 29/11/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> This briefing is based on desk research and interviews giving a snapshot of the threats many married girls face.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> The whole report aims to provide a snapshot of early marriage among Syrian girls in Jordan. Sections include nature of the problem, international legislation on early marriage, reasons for early marriage, the impact on girls and recommendations.</p>	<p>Full text accessed No methodology section Paper written for donors</p> <p><i>Report checklist</i> Authority: ✓ Accuracy: ✓ Coverage: ✓ (not comprehensive) Objectivity: ✓ (advocacy piece for donors) Date: ✓ Significance: ✓</p>
	<p>Sexual and Gender-Based Violence Sub-Working Group (2014) SEXUAL and GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE: SYRIAN REFUGEES in Jordan, Amman, Sexual and Gender-Based Violence Sub-Working Group</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Report from Sexual and Gender-Based Violence Sub-Working Group on SGBV amongst Syrian refugees in Jordan. Draws on published reports and work carried out by the working group.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Overview of child marriage in Jordan and main issues of concern as well as interventions.</p>	<p>Full text accessed No methodological section</p> <p><i>Report checklist</i> Authority: ✓ Accuracy: ✓ Coverage: limited Objectivity: ? Date: ✓ Significance: ✓</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
27	<p>UNFPA (2014) UNFPA Regional Situation Report on Syria Crisis, Issue 27, UNFPA. https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/UNFPA%20Regional%20SitRep%20-%2030%20November%202014%2027.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 29/11/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Regional Situation Report by UNFPA on Syria Crisis</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> The report outlines several activities that UNFPA have supported to raise awareness of early marriage.</p>	<p>Full text accessed No methodology outlined in the report</p> <p><i>Report checklist</i> Report draws on variety of secondary data Authority: ✓ Accuracy: ✓ Coverage: ✓ Objectivity: ✓ (highlighting work they have done) Date: ✓ Significance: ✓</p>
28	<p>UNHCR (2014) Woman Alone: The fight for survival by Syria's refugee women, New York: UNHCR. Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/ar/53bb8d006.pdf (last visited 17/08/2017)</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> This report is the result of field work conducted in order to provide a snapshot of what it is to be a refugee woman with primary responsibility for a family, based on 48 unstructured interviews with Syrian refugee female heads of household in Jordan.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Despite the fact that early marriage is a known issue among the Syrian refugee population, none of the women interviewed for this report said they had resorted to, or would choose to resort to, this practice to relieve their financial and social stress. Thirteen women reported receiving proposals for their underage daughters, but all refused, saying their daughters were too young, that they were not willing to make such a serious decision in the absence of their husbands, that they wanted their daughters to complete their education, or that they were concerned for the family's reputation. A number of women attributed their experiences specifically to the fact that they were living without an adult male.</p>	<p>Full text accessed Methodology section included</p> <p><i>Qualitative checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Qual methodology appropriate: ✓ Appropriate design: ✓ Appropriate recruitment: ✓ Data collection methods: ✓ Relationship with participants: ✓ Ethical issues considered: ✓ Data Analysis rigorous: ✓ Clear statement of findings: ✓ Value of the research: ✓</p> <p>Gives to depth Gives to depth to other quantitative studies and largely descriptive about day to day life for the woman alone</p>
29	<p>UNHCR, UNICEF and WFP (2014) Joint Assessment Review of the Syrian Refugee Response in Jordan, New York: https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/JointAssessmentReview8Jan2014.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 29/11/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> The Jordan Joint Assessment Review (JAR) was undertaken by UNHCR, WFP and UNICEF as a result of a high level inter-agency mission to Jordan in June 2013. The primary aim was to ensure that the Regional Response Plan (RRP6) document was well grounded in a solid analysis of the Jordanian context and needs of both Syrian refugees and Jordanians.</p> <p><i>Findings related to early marriage:</i> The assessment draws attention to other literature which has identified forced and early marriage as a particular concern amongst Syrian refugee families in Jordan.</p>	<p>Full text accessed Limited methodological details</p> <p><i>Report checklist</i> Authority: ✓ Accuracy: unclear Coverage: limited based on the assessments accessed Objectivity: ✓ Date: ✓ Significance: ✓</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
30	<p>UNICEF (2014) A study on early marriage in Jordan 2014, UNICEF, Amman. https://www.unicef.org/jordan/UNICEFJordan_EarlyMarriageStudy2014-E_COPY_.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 29/11/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> This report presents the findings of a quantitative and qualitative examination of early marriage in Jordan. It presents statistical analysis of data from the department of the Chief Justice from 2005- 2012, and additional limited data across 2013 and the first quarter of 2014. 92 Interviews (surveys and semi-structured interviews) and 14 focus group discussions were also conducted with a total of 106 participants in June, July and October of 2013 in five governorates with mothers, fathers, women who had married early, NGO and government service providers, judges, sheikhs and imams as well as community leaders.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Report contains the following sections; MARRIAGE PRACTICES FOR MUSLIMS IN JORDAN; MARRIAGE PRACTICES FOR MUSLIMS IN SYRIA; METHODOLOGY; DESK REVIEW; STATISTICAL ANALYSIS; QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS; CONSTRAINTS; FINDINGS; STATISTICAL ANALYSIS - 2005-2012 (3.1.1. Marriage for girls aged 15-17, 2005-2013; 3.1.2 Marriage for boys aged 15-17, 2005-2013; 3.1.3 Divorce among girls and boys aged 15-17, 2005-2012; 3.2 DISAGGREGATED DATA 2011-2012; 3.2.1 Prevalence and nationality; 3.2.2 Spousal age gap; 3.2.3 Marital status by nationality); 3.3 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS</p> <p>(3.3.1 Factors contributing to child marriage; 3.3.2 Attitudes of sheikhs, imams and shari'a court judges; 3.3.3 Attitudes of service providers; 3.3.4 Impact of child marriage on girls' education and health; 3.3.5 Unregistered marriages); 4. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS; 4.1 KEY CONCLUSIONS – GENERAL; 4.2 CONCLUSIONS SPECIFIC TO THE SITUATION OF SYRIAN REFUGEES</p> <p>4.3 RECOMMENDATIONS</p>	<p>Full text accessed Methodology section included</p> <p><i>Quantitative checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? They only relate to registered marriages within a certain time span. They don't give a prevalence of early marriage</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p> <p><i>Qualitative checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Qual methodology appropriate: ✓ Appropriate design: ✓ Appropriate recruitment: ? unclear Data collection methods: ✓ Relationship with participants: ✓ Ethical issues considered: ✓ Data Analysis rigorous: ✓ Clear statement of findings: ✓ Value of the research: ✓</p>
31	<p>UNICEF (2014) UNICEF Annual Report 2014 Jordan, Amman, UNICEF. https://www.unicef.org/about/annualreport/files/Jordan_Annual_Report_2014.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 01/12/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Annual report of UNICEF activities in Jordan</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Early marriage recognised as a key issue for children, especially Syrian refugees. The report describes some of the key activities UNICEF support/facilitated in response to child marriage in Jordan</p>	<p>Full text accessed No methodological assessment UNICEF annual report</p> <p><i>Report checklist</i> Authority: ✓ Accuracy: ✓ Coverage: ✓ Objectivity: ✓ Date: ✓ Significance: ✓</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
32	<p>UNRWA (2014) UNRWA Child Protection Mapping Report, New York, UNRWA. https://resourcecentre.savethechildren.net/sites/default/files/documents/unrwa_child_protection_mapping_report_final.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 05/12/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> No methodology section included. The document describes itself as a mapping of child protection across UNRWA activities and sites of engagement.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> They found that child marriage is prevalent in all UNRWA fields of operation and there is a trend of increasingly younger girls being married among the Palestinian refugees from Syria (PRS). A study conducted in Jordan Palestine refugee camps by UNRWA and Save the Children found there was an increase in marriage for the age group 15–19 years from 9 percent in 1999 to 13 percent in 2011. A recent study conducted by UNRWA on school drop-outs noted that child marriage has a positive correlation with school-drop outs i.e. female students leave school after marriage at a young age.</p>	<p>Full text accessed No methodology section</p> <p><i>Report checklist</i> Authority: ✓ Accuracy: ✓ Coverage: ✓ Objectivity: ✓ Date: ✓ Significance: ✓</p>
33	<p>World Vision (2014) Stand with me: Children's Rights, Wronged, World Vision. Available at: http://www.wvi.org/sites/default/files/WV_SYRIA_CWW_REPORT_JAN2014.pdf</p> <p>(last visited 17/08/2017)</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> No methodology section included. Appears to be an advocacy document targeted at donors</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> The report presents organisational experience in relation to child marriage especially in relation to the use of child marriage as a negative coping strategy in response to poverty.</p>	<p>Full text accessed No methodology section</p> <p><i>Report checklist</i> Authority: ✓ Accuracy: unclear Coverage: unclear Objectivity: ✓ (advocacy piece for donors) Date: ✓ Significance: ✓</p>
34	<p>Zetter, R., Ruaudel, H., Dearnorff-Miller, S., Lyytinen, E., Thibos, C. and Pedersen, S. (2014) The Syrian displacement crisis and a Regional Development and Protection Programme:</p> <p>Mapping and meta-analysis of existing studies of costs, impacts and protection, Tana. https://www.alnap.org/system/files/content/resource/files/main/mapping-analysis%281%29.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 10/12/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> The report presents statistical data from a sample survey carried out in the 13 Palestinian camps in Jordan. The sample was a linear systematic random sample of all households which were listed and interviewed during the comprehensive survey. Fieldwork resulted in 3,773 household questionnaires, or just above 94 per cent of the 4,000 households sampled, being successfully completed</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> The data shows that 6.5% of all females sampled (n=5687) were married by the age of 15 years, and a further 20.5% were married at 16, 17 or 18 years of age. When asked their option about the earliest appropriate age for a female to marry 1.7% said as soon as she is mature, 6.5% said 13-17 years of age and 3.5% said when her education is finished. Of those who had dropped out of school, 9.1% said this was due to marriage or pregnancy.</p>	<p>Full text accessed Methodology section available</p> <p><i>Literature review checklist</i> Clearly focused question: ✓ Right type of papers found: ✓ (limited) All important papers included: ✓ (limited) Meta-analysis appropriate: ✓ How precise are the results: ✓ (brief) Application of results: ✓ All important outcomes considered: X Ethical considerations: ?</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
35	Zhang, H., Tiltne, A.A. and Eldada, H. (2014) Living conditions of Palestinian Camp Refugees, Jordan 2011, Part 2: Results from a sample survey of the 13 Palestinian Camps, Amman, Fato.	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> The report presents statistical data from a sample survey carried out in the 13 Palestinian camps in Jordan. The sample was a linear systematic random sample of all households which were listed and interviewed during the comprehensive survey. Fieldwork resulted in 3,773 household questionnaires, or just above 94 per cent of the 4,000 households sampled, being successfully completed</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> The data shows that 6.5% of all females sampled (n=5687) were married by the age of 15 years, and a further 20.5% were married at 16, 17 or 18 years of age. When asked their option about the earliest appropriate age for a female to marry 1.7% said as soon as she is mature, 6.5% said 13-17 years of age and 3.5% said when her education is finished. Of those who had dropped out of school, 9.1% said this was due to marriage or pregnancy.</p>	<p>Full text accessed Methodology section included</p> <p><i>Survey checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Survey population not representative of wider Syrian refugee population in Jordan and Lebanon</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>
36	Zhang, H., Tiltne, A.A. and Eldada, H. (2014) Living conditions of Palestinian outside-camp refugees, Jordan 2012: Results from a sample survey of Palestinian refugees residing outside the camps, Amman, Fato.	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> This tabulation report comprises descriptive statistics from a multi-topic household sample survey of Jordan's Palestinian refugee population residing outside the Palestinian refugee camps. The survey was restricted to the governorates of Irbid, Zarqa and Amman which, taken together, comprise approximately 85 per cent of all Palestinian refugees in Jordan. A representative sample of 3,478 Palestinian refugee households were successfully interviewed.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> The data shows that 5.4% of all females sampled (n=5687) were married by the age of 15 years, and a further 18.1% were married at 16, 17 or 18 years of age. When asked their option about the earliest appropriate age for a female to marry 2.4% said as soon as she is mature, 4.3% said 13-17 years of age and 13.3% said when her education is finished. Of those who had dropped out of school, 10.6% said this was due to marriage or pregnancy.</p>	<p>Full text accessed Methodology section included</p> <p><i>Survey checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Survey population not representative of wider Syrian refugee population in Jordan and Lebanon</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>
37	Al Nsour, M., Al Kayyali, G.H. and Naffa, S. (2013) 'Overweight and obesity among Jordanian women and their social determinants', Eastern Mediterranean Health Journal, v10, p1014-1019.	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> This study aimed to explore the social determinants associated with obesity among Jordanian women using the national data from the Jordan Population and Family Health Survey 2009.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Results of multivariate analysis showed that age; residing in the south region of Jordan, marriage at an early age, parity, wealth status and smoking were statistically significant predictors of overweight and obesity among women in Jordan.</p>	<p>Unable to access full text Full methodological analysis not completed. Some detail given in abstract.</p> <p>Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: UNABLE TO ACCESS Confidence in results: ?</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Survey data representative for Jordan in 2009</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
38	<p>Child Protection and Gender-Based Violence Sub-Working Group Jordan (2013) Findings from the Inter-Agency Child Protection and Gender-Based Violence Assessment in the Za'atari Refugee Camp, Amman: Child Protection and Gender-Based Violence Sub-Working Group Jordan.</p> <p>https://www.alnap.org/system/files/content/resource/files/main/cp-gbvzaatariassessment.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 29/11/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> This report details an assessment using purposive sampling was carried out in December 2012 to gain a deeper understanding of the main Child Protection (CP) and Gender-Based Violence (GBV) concerns of Syrian refugees in Za'atari Camp. The Task Force members triangulated three main tools for data collection: 27 Key Informant (KI) interviews; 6 focus group discussion (FGD) interviews: and a Safety Audit.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> While the majority of the respondents did not know of any children from the camp who had married before 18 years old, some respondents reported being aware of a few cases. According to participants 15-18 years of age is considered the normal age range for females to get married across the Syrian community, while 18-25 is the normal age for males. On the contrary, there was a general agreement amongst respondents that families seem inclined to delay marriage due to the unstable environment, and also generally tend to reject marriage offers from outsiders.</p>	<p>Full text accessed Methodology section included in report</p> <p><i>Qualitative checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Qual methodology appropriate: Not entirely Appropriate design: ✓ Appropriate recruitment: Unclear Data collection methods: ✓ Relationship with participants: ✓ Ethical issues considered: ✓ Data Analysis rigorous: ✓ Clear statement of findings: ✓ Value of the research: ✓</p>
39	<p>Department of Statistics/Jordan and ICF International (2013) Jordan Population and Family Health Survey 2012. Calverton, Maryland, USA: Department of Statistics/Jordan and ICF International. https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR282/FR282.pdf</p> <p>(last visited 27/09/17)</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Standard DHS methodology with representative sample</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Table 4.5 shows the percentage of women who have ever married by specified exact ages and the median age at first marriage according to their age at the time of the survey. Overall, among Jordanian women age 25-49, 15 percent of women were married by age 18 and about one in three was married by age 20. The data indicate some evidence of rising age at marriage. For example, the proportion of women married by age 18 declines from 18 percent among women age 45-49 to 8 percent among women age 20-24. A similar pattern is seen in the percentage of women married by exact age 20, 22, and 25 by women's current age. The last column in Table 4.5 provides further indication of later marriage among younger women.</p> <p>The median age at first marriage has increased, from 22.0 years among the cohort of women age 45-49 at the time of the survey to 23.0 years among the cohort of women age 25-29 and 30-34 at the time of the survey. Another way to assess trends in age at first marriage is to compare data across surveys. The median age at first marriage for women age 25-49 rose slightly between 2002 and 2007 (from 21.8 to 22.2 years), but there was no change in the median age at first marriage between 2009 and 2012 (22.4 years).</p> <p>Table 4.6 shows the median age at marriage by background characteristics. There are only minor differences in the median age at first marriage by urban-rural residence and region. However, there are sizeable variations by governorates: the median age at first marriage ranges from 21.5 years in Zarqa governorate to 23.5 years in Karak. Women in non Badia and non camp areas tend to get married later than women in the Badia and camp areas. Education</p>	<p>Full text accessed Methodology section included</p> <p><i>Survey checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Representative sample for Jordan in 2012</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>

		<p>plays an important role in determining women's age at marriage. Women with higher education tend to marry more than five years later than women with preparatory education, four years later than women with elementary or secondary education, and three years later than women with no education. The table also shows that women in the highest wealth quintile tend to get married later than those in the other wealth quintiles.</p>	
40	<p>Doedens, W., Giga, N., Krause, S., Onyango, M.A., Sami, S., Stone, E., Tomczyk, B. and Williams, H. (2013) Reproductive Health Services for Syrian Refugees in Zaatri Refugee Camp and Irbid City, Jordan: An Evaluation of the Minimum Initial Service Package, Boston University School of Public Health, UNHCR, UNFPA, US Centres for Disease Control and Prevention and Women's Refugee Commission https://www.alnap.org/system/files/content/resource/files/main/reproductive-health-services-for-syrian-refugees-in-zaatri-refugee-camp-and-irbid-city%2C-jordan.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 29/11/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> The study team used both quantitative and qualitative technique methods to evaluate the Minimum Initial Service Package for reproductive services for Syrian refugees in Jordan. This included 14 focus group discussions (101 participants), 11 key informant interviews and 5 health facility assessments. Two Syrian refugee populations were included, one living in Zaatri refugee camp (n=164,365) and one in Irbid Governorate (n=40,339).</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> One UN key informant said that early marriage in refugee camps is a concern and that they have been told men from other countries come into the camp to look for girls. Another key informant from an international NGO said that advocacy on child marriage/trafficking is not useful or informed and has affected capacity to address other issues because of sensitivities and its impact on Syrians. The issue of early marriage was also mentioned by women in the focus groups. The participants in Zaatri and Irbid noted that the most common age to marry was approximately 15 years, with a range from 13 to 20, depending on the area of Syria in which they had previously resided. Most felt that the age of marriage had not changed since displacement. In Irbid, women described reasons such as fathers wanting someone to protect their daughters from bad security in the camp or not having responsibility in the situation of their daughters being raped.</p>	<p>Full text accessed Methodology section included in the report</p> <p><i>Qualitative checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Qual methodology appropriate: ✓ partly Appropriate design: ✓ partly Appropriate recruitment: unclear Data collection methods: ✓ Relationship with participants: ✓ Ethical issues considered: ✓ Data Analysis rigorous: ✓ Clear statement of findings: ✓ Value of the research: ✓</p>
41	<p>Roudi-Fahimi, F. and Ibrahim, S. (2013) Policy Brief: Ending child marriage in the Arab region, Population Reference Bureau. http://www.prb.org/pdf13/child-marriage-arab-region.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 29/11/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> The report mainly draws on statistical data from countries in the Arab region and published literature</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Although rates of early marriage have decreased in the region, there are still significant rates, especially across the poorer countries in the region. Data from the Jordan Population and Family Health Survey 2012 states that 8% of women aged 20-24 married before their 18th birthday. The report outlines factors underling child marriage, link with MDGs and suggests approaches for reducing early marriage.</p>	<p>Full text accessed</p> <p><i>Report checklist</i> Methodology for report not explicit Report draws on variety of secondary data Authority: ✓ Accuracy: ✓ but clearly a message to give on ending child marriage Coverage: ✓ Objectivity: ✓ Date: ✓ Significance: ✓</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
42	<p>UNICEF (2013) Shattered Lives: Challenges and Priorities for Syrian Children and Women in Jordan, New York: UNICEF. https://www.unicef.org/mena/MENA-Shattered_Lives_June11.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 29/11/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> The report details the needs of refugees from various sources to provide the international community with information to develop a shared response.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> According to the report, additional risks to Syrian girls and boys in Jordan that require closer scrutiny are early marriage, child labour, gang activity, and allegations of recruitment by armed groups. The extent of early marriage of Syrian girls below the age of 18 requires careful, on-going monitoring, particularly as economic conditions worsen. The report draws on other literature and studies that have been published on early marriage in Jordan.</p>	<p>Accessed full text No methodology section in the report Main methodology appears to be a desk review of selected literature</p> <p><i>Report checklist</i> Methodology for report not explicit Report draws on variety of secondary data Authority: ✓ Accuracy: ✓ Coverage: ✓ Objectivity: ✓ Date: ✓ Significance: ✓</p>
43	<p>UNICEF (2013) UNICEF Annual Report 2013 Jordan, Amman, UNICEF.</p> <p>https://www.unicef.org/about/annualreport/files/Jordan_COAR_2013.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 01/12/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Annual report of UNICEF activities in Jordan</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Early marriage recognised as a key issue for children, especially Syrian refugees. The report describes some of the key activities UNICEF support/facilitated in response to child marriage in Jordan</p>	<p>Full text accessed No methodological assessment UNICEF annual report</p> <p><i>Report checklist</i> Authority: ✓ Accuracy: ✓ Coverage: ✓ Objectivity: ✓ Date: ✓ Significance: ✓</p>
44	<p>UN Women (2013) Inter-agency Assessment: Gender-based violence and child protection among Syrian refugees in Jordan, with a focus on early marriage, New York: UN Women. http://www2.unwomen.org/-/media/field%20office%20jordan/attachments/publications/2014/gbv-cp%20assessment%20jordan.pdf?la=en&vs=1754</p> <p>(Accessed 29/11/2017)</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Inter-agency assessment completed using a questionnaire distributed to 613 refugees residing outside of the Za'atari refugee camp modelled after the KAP approach; 34 focus group discussions held in all regions; and 34 in-depth interviews with key informants.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Early Marriage is a common experience for Syrian girls. 51.3% of females and 13% of males were married before the age of 18 (most prior to their arrival in Jordan). Yet the practice is perceived to be even more prevalent by study participants; 44% identified the normal age of marriage for girls between 15 and 17 years while 6% identified 12 to 14 years as the average in their community. For both male and girls, the majority of survey respondents (over 65%) said that the average age of marriage has stayed about the same since coming to Jordan. Of those who thought it had changed, respondents were two to three times as likely to say that the age for both males and females had decreased – about 23% said this, compared to less than 10% saying it had increased.</p> <p>This study notes that the sense of economic and physical insecurity that, among other factors, drive early marriage is amplified in displacement. Although younger female participants felt that there are distinct social benefits to marrying early, such as increased respect from the community, many found heading households and rearing children at such a young age to be stressful and challenging. In general, this study revealed gaps in both awareness and services with regards to early marriage and its consequences.</p>	<p>Full text accessed Mixed methods methodology Methodology outlined in report</p> <p><i>Survey checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ? Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Participants from East of Jordan were not included. Study completed in early 2013 and may not have included populations from the large influx in 2013. Estimates of early marriage unhelpful.</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p> <p><i>Qualitative checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Qual methodology appropriate: ✓ Appropriate design: ✓ Appropriate recruitment: ? Data collection methods: ✓ Relationship with participants: ✓ Ethical issues considered: ✓ Data Analysis rigorous: ✓ Clear statement of findings: ✓ Value of the research: ✓</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
45	<p>Washington K and Rowell J. (2013) Syrian Refugees in Urban Jordan: Baseline assessment of community-identified vulnerabilities among Syrian refugees living in Irbid, Madaba, Mufraq and Zarqa, Amman: Care Jordan</p> <p>http://www.care.org/sites/default/files/documents/EMER-JOR-2013-Syrian-Refugees-in-Urban-Jordan.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 01/12/2017</p>	<p><i>Methodology:</i> In early 2013, a research team working under the auspices of CARE Jordan conducted a participatory assessment and baseline survey of Syrian refugee households living in the cities of Irbid, Madaba, Mufraq, and Zarqa. The assessment included 240 household interviews with 1476 household members (quantitative and qualitative), Eight focus group discussions (89 participants) and Stakeholder interviews.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Only four of the women reported direct experience with issues related to early marriage, forced marriage, and/or transactional sex. The authors note that although Syrian families did not identify early marriage as an issue even when prompted, evidence from other agencies suggests that early marriage is increasingly prevalent for extremely vulnerable families. The fact that households and focus group participants did not identify this as an issue may be due to cultural acceptance of early marriage as a legitimate reaction/protection mechanism in times of extreme vulnerability.</p>	<p>Accessed full text Brief methodology section in the report</p> <p><i>Survey checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: Some limitations Appropriate sampling strategy: Some limitations Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Sample is not representative of the region of Syrian refugees, however gives a useful indication.</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p> <p><i>Qualitative checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Qual methodology appropriate: ✓ Appropriate design: ✓ Appropriate recruitment: Unclear Data collection methods: ✓ Relationship with participants: ✓ Ethical issues considered: ✓ Data Analysis rigorous: ✓ Clear statement of findings: ✓ Value of the research: ✓</p> <p>Quantitative and qualitative methods triangulated in the report</p>
46	<p>Kradsheh M (2012) 'Female early marriage: its determinants and effects on demographic behavior in Jordan', Jordan Journal of Social Sciences, p37-59</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> The study used the data of the Jordan Population and Family Health Survey (2007) for married women, between (15-49 years). The study used the descriptive and analytical statistical techniques and multi-linear regression to achieve its objectives.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> The main results of the study indicate that the most determinants of females earlier age at Marriage are: women's education, women's Labour Status, Urbanization Degree, Husband's education. The finding also show that females earlier age at marriage had important effect on their reproductive behavior, especially on desired fertility, actual fertility contraceptive use, child mortality and fetal mortality. (p1 Abstract)</p>	<p>Full text accessed Full text in Arabic Unable to make full methodological assessment</p> <p>Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: UNABLE TO ACCESS Confidence in results: ? How far can the results be applied? Data is representative of Jordan in 2007 Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
47	<p>Washington, K. (2012) Baseline Assessment of Community Identified Vulnerabilities among Syrian Refugees living in Amman, Amman: Care Jordan. https://www.alnap.org/system/files/content/resource/files/main/care-jordan-amman-syrian-assessment.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 29/11/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> The results and analysis contained in this report are based on a two week rapid participatory assessment and baseline survey. The survey used a mixed methodology and assessed data from over 700 Syrians living in 9 urban areas of Amman including 60 Household interviews with a total of 327 household members, 5 Focus group discussions (57 participants); 250 beneficiaries of CARE Emergency Cash Assistance data analysed and 15 stakeholder interviews.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> The survey identified no cases of S/GBV, early marriage, forced marriage or transactional/exploitative practices. Participants stated that they had heard Jordanians talking about these issues and not Syrians. However, almost every household had a story (not all from personal experience) of being asked for/about daughters for marriage by a Jordanian, in some cases this had been whilst they had been in one of the camps and included an offer to bail the family out of the camp. In other cases the marriage offers were accompanied by offers to help support the family and were considered by Syrian families as inappropriate, insulting and in some cases exploitative.</p>	<p>Full text accessed Detailed methodology given</p> <p>Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Methodology appropriate: ✓ Appropriate design: ✓ Appropriate recruitment: ? Data collection methods: ✓ Relationship with participants: ✓ Ethical issues considered: ✓ Data Analysis rigorous: ? Clear statement of findings: ✓ Value of the research: ✓</p> <p>Participants included are based in Amman not based in camps – study recognises the significant difference in experiences of refugees in other parts of Jordan.</p>
48	<p>Riccardo, F., Khader, A. and Sabatinelli, G. (2011) 'Low infant mortality among Palestine refugees despite the odds', Bulletin of the World Health Organisation, 89(4), p304-311.</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> The paper presents data from a 2008 infant mortality survey conducted in Jordan, Lebanon, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank to analyse infant mortality trends among Palestine refugees in 1995-2005.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Although rates of infant mortality are relatively low, they have stopped decreasing in recent years. Mostly likely reasons for this are early marriage and childbearing, poor socioeconomic conditions and limited access to good perinatal care.</p>	<p>Full text accessed.</p> <p>Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? The infant mortality rates presented are representative of Palestinian communities in Jordan, Lebanon, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>
49	<p>UNICEF (2011) Jordan: MENA Gender Equality profile, Status of Girls and Women in the Middle East and North Africa, New York: UNICEF. https://www.unicef.org/gender/files/Jordan-Gender-Equality-Profile-2011.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 29/11/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> The aim of the report is to provide 'facts' which eludes to the status of girls and women in Jordan. The report draws from statistical data and knowledge about Jordanian legal systems and response to UN conventions and treaties.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> The mean age of women in Jordan in 2004 was 25 years of age. According to DHS 2007 10% of young women aged 20-24 were married before the age of 18. Shari'a courts have jurisdiction over matters related to marriage and set minimum age of marriage. In 1992 Jordan ratified the 'Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages (1962).</p>	<p>Accessed full text Methodology for report not explicit Report draws on variety of secondary data</p> <p>Authority: ✓ Accuracy: ✓ Coverage: ✓ Objectivity: ✓ Date: ✓ Significance: ✓</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
50	<p>Department of Statistics/Jordan and ICF Macro (2010) Jordan Population and Family Health Survey 2009. Calverton, Maryland, USA: Department of Statistics/Jordan and ICF Macro. https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR238/FR238.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 27/09/17</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Standard DHS methodology with representative sample</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Table 6.4 shows the percentages of women who have married by specific exact ages and the median age at first marriage, according to current age. Across age groups, the data indicate an increase in women's age at first marriage. For example, among women age 20-24, about 1 percent were married by age 15, 10 percent by age 18, and 23 percent by age 20. This same pattern is true for women age 25-29. Among women older than 29, however, the percentages of women who were married at each specific age increases; 5 percent of women age 45-49 were married by age 15 compared with less than 2 percent of women age 30-34. This holds for all other exact ages at first marriage.</p> <p>The last column in Table 6.4 provides further indications of later marriage among younger women. The median age at first marriage has steadily increased, from 20.7 years among women currently age 45-49 to 23.3 years among women currently age 25-29. The trend toward later marriage is supported, as mentioned previously, by data showing that the proportion of women who are married by age 15 has declined from 5 percent among women age 45-49 to less than 1 percent among women age 15-19. Among Jordanian women age 25-49, 16 percent of women were married by age 18, and one in three was married by age 20. Although the median age at first marriage increased significantly between 1990 and 2002 (from 19.6 to 21.8 years), there was only a slight change between 2002 and 2009 (from 21.8 to 22.4 years).</p> <p>Differences in median age at first marriage by region are very minor, yet variations by governorates are significant. Median age at first marriage varies from 21.7 years in Zarqa to 23.6 years in Karak. Education plays an important role in determining a woman's age at marriage (Table 6.5). The improvement of educational opportunities, particularly for girls, has increased their age at first marriage. The median age at first marriage among women with a higher than secondary education is 24.7 years, 5 years higher than the median age among women who have never attended school (20.2 years) or who have completed elementary (19.9) and preparatory levels (18.9). The table also shows that women in the highest wealth quintile tend to get married at older ages than those in other wealth quintiles (23.3 years in the highest wealth quintile versus 21.9 years in the lowest wealth quintile).</p>	<p>Full text accessed Methodology section included</p> <p><i>Survey checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Representative sample for Jordan in 2009</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
51	Al-Nsour, M, Khawaja, M. and Al-Kayyali, G. (2009) 'Domestic Violence against Women in Jordan: Evidence from Health Clinics', Journal of Family Violence, 24(8), 569-575.	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> A cross-sectional study among ever-married women aged 18–49 who visited the public health clinics in the governorate of Balka, Jordan, was carried out in August 2006 to explore women's attitudes toward intimate partner violence (IPV) and their determinants, as well the prevalence of various types of violence among women. A total of 356 women were successfully interviewed using a structured questionnaire.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Older age, younger age at marriage, rural residence, and non-working status were significantly associated with supportive attitudes towards wife beating. Women who married at a younger age (less than 25 years) were more likely to believe that wife beating was justified (OR =2.3, p<0.01), compared to women who married later.</p>	<p>Full text accessed. Full methodology section included as part of the paper.</p> <p>Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Results representative of the Balka region in Jordan and may be helpful for other regions across Jordan.</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>
52	Department of Statistics/Jordan and Macro International (2008) Jordan Population and Family Health Survey 2007. Calverton, Maryland, USA: Department of Statistics/Jordan and Macro International. https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR209/FR209.pdf (last visited 27/09/17)	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Standard DHS methodology with representative sample</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> The last column in Table 6.5 provides further indications of later marriage among younger women. The median age at first marriage has steadily increased, from 20.4 years among the cohort of women aged 45-49 at the time of the survey to 23.3 years among the cohort of women aged 25-29 at the time of the survey. The trend toward later marriage is supported, as mentioned earlier, by data showing that the proportion of women who married by age 15 has declined from 6 percent among women aged 45-49 to less than 1 percent among women aged 15-19. Overall, among Jordanian women aged 25-49, 18 percent of women were married by age 18 and one in three was married by age 20. While the median age at first marriage increased significantly between 1990 and 2002 (from 19.6 to 21.8 years), there was a very slight change between 2002 and 2007 (from 21.8 to 22.2 years).</p> <p>Data reveal that there are only minor differences in median age at first marriage by residence and region. However, there are significant variations by governorates: median age at first marriage varies from 21.1 years in Aqaba to 23.8 years in Karak. Education plays an important role in determining women's age at marriage (Table 6.6). The improvement of educational opportunities, particularly for girls, has increased their age at first marriage. Women with secondary education tend to marry almost two years later than those with no education or with an elementary or preparatory education, while the median age at first marriage for women with a higher than secondary education is 24.7 years. Thus, women with higher than secondary education marry at least five years later than those with no education or than those with elementary or preparatory education. The table also shows that women in the highest wealth quintile tend to get married at older ages than those in other wealth quintiles.</p>	<p>Full text accessed Methodology section included</p> <p><i>Survey checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Representative sample for Jordan in 2007</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
53	<p>Youssef, R.M. (2005) 'Duration and determinants of interbirth interval: community-based survey of women in southern Jordan', Eastern Mediterranean Health Journal, 11(4), p559-572</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> A community-based study was conducted in October 2003, in the 7 districts of Al-Karak governorate, southern Jordan of ever-married women of reproductive age. Sample size was estimated based on the prevalence of contraception use reported by the Population and Family Health Survey for southern Jordan. This survey included 1109 ever-married women aged 18–49 years.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Mean age at marriage was 21.36 (SD 3.865) years with a median of 21 years, although 15.9% (n = 177) were married before 18 years of age. Within a year of marriage, the majority of women had given birth to their first child. Since childbearing has biological limits, delay in the age of marriage is associated with fewer children per woman. Women's attainment of higher education influences spacing indirectly by leading to delays in age at marriage, changes in reproductive norms and behaviours as well as the practice and efficacy of contraception.</p>	<p>Full text accessed. Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Representative of Al-Karak governorate in Jordan. May also be helpful in other governorates in Jordan</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>
54	<p>Hardee K ; Pine P ; Wasson LT (2004) Adolescent and youth reproductive health in the Asia and Near East region: status, issues, policies, and programs: Policy Occasional Paper #9, POLICY.</p> <p>http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/Pnacx530.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 01/12/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Unclear – seems to be based on a literature review and statistical data</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> 14% of 20-24 year olds were married before 18 years old and 36% of 46-49 year olds were married before 18 years old in Jordan according to the DHS 1997 survey. This indicates that the prevalence of early marriage is decreasing in younger generations. The report sets marriage within context of ASRH in various ways, particularly highlighting the impact of early marriage on young women.</p>	<p>Full text is available but methodological approach to the report is unclear. Appears to draw from various literature and statistical data to assess the status of Adolescent Sexual and Reproductive Health across 13 countries in the Asia and near East region.</p> <p>Unable to access methodological rigour</p>
55	<p>Almasarweh, I.S. (2003) Adolescent and youth reproductive health in Jordan: Status, issues, policy and programs, POLICY. http://www.policyproject.com/pubs/countryreports/ARH_Jordan.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 01/12/2017</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Unclear – seems to be based on a literature review and statistical data</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Report lays out legal and social context of early marriage in Jordan on pages 5-6</p>	<p>Full text is available but methodological approach to the report is unclear. Appears to draw from literature and data to assess the status of Adolescent Sexual and Reproductive Health in Jordan.</p> <p>Unable to access methodological rigour</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
56	<p>Department of Statistics/Jordan and ORC Macro (2003) Jordan Population and Family Health Survey 2002. Calverton, Maryland, USA: Department of Statistics/Jordan and ORC Macro. https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR138/FR138.pdf (last visited 27/09/17)</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Standard DHS methodology with representative sample</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Table 6.5 shows the percentage of women who have ever married by specified ages and the median age at first marriage according to their age at the time of the survey. Comparing percentages across age groups, the data point to an increase in women's age at first marriage. For example, among women age 20-24, 1 percent were married by age 15, 11 percent by age 18, and 22 percent by age 20. For women age 25-29, the percentages at each specific age are all higher than those for the younger women. Older women married at even younger ages: 8 percent of women age 45-49 were married by age 15, compared with less than 2 percent of women age 25-29. This holds for all other ages at first marriage.</p> <p>The last column in Table 6.5 provides further indications of later marriage among younger women. Median age at first marriage has steadily increased, from 19.4 years among the cohort of women age 45-49 at the time of the survey to 23 years among the cohort of women age 25-29 at the time of the survey. The trend toward later marriage is supported, as mentioned earlier, by data showing that the proportion of women who married by age 15 has declined from 8 percent among women age 45-49 to less than 1 percent among women age 15-19. Overall, among Jordanian women age 25-49, about 21 percent of women were married by age 18 and one in three was married by age 20.</p> <p>Although there are only minor differentials in median age at first marriage by residence and region, education plays an important role in determining women's age at marriage (Table 6.6). The improvement of educational opportunities, particularly for girls, has resulted in their staying in school longer and, subsequently, their age at first marriage has risen. Women with secondary education tend to marry almost 2 years later than those with no education or with elementary or preparatory education. Median age at marriage for women with higher education is not shown because less than 50 percent of these women were married by the age of 25. This means that the median age at marriage for these women is greater than 25; thus, women with higher than secondary education marry at least 5 years later than those with no education. There was no significant change in the median age at marriage for women in Jordan from 1997 to 2002 (21.5 and 21.8 years, respectively); however, the median age at marriage for women age 25-49 is 21.8, a significant increase over the JPFHS 1990 estimate of 19.6 years.</p>	<p>Full text accessed Methodology section included</p> <p><i>Survey checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Representative sample for Jordan in 2002</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
57	<p>El-Qaderi, S.S. and Al-Omari, N. (2000) Knowledge, attitudes, and practices of family planning among currently married women in Jordan Badia, International Quarterly of Community Health Education, 20(2), p171-91</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> The article reports the results of the first household survey ever conducted in Jordan Badia to include questions on knowledge, attitude, and practices (KAP) among 15-19 currently married women towards family planning (FP). Using convenience-sampling procedure, a total of 450 respondents, 50 from each of nine villages, were selected for participation.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> The mean age of the study population was 30.9 years and the women's age at marriage ranged from 13-35 years, with a mean age at first marriage of 16.8 years.</p>	<p>Unable to access full text of document, however some methodological details given in the abstract</p> <p>Full text accessed.</p> <p>Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: UNABLE TO ACCESS Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Results to be applied in Jordan Badia and may be helpful for other parts of Jordan as well.</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>
58	<p>Department of Statistics - DOS/ Jordan and Macro International (1998) Jordan Population and Family Health Survey 1997. Calverton, Maryland: DOS and Macro International. https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR96/FR96.pdf</p> <p>Accessed 27/09/17</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Standard DHS methodology with representative sample</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Table 5.4 shows the percentage of women who have ever married by specified ages and the median age at first marriage according to their age at the time of the survey. Comparing percentages across age groups, the data point to women's age at first marriage increasing. For example, among women age 20-24, 1 percent were married by age 15, 14 percent by age 18, and 27 percent by age 20. For women age 25-29, the percentages at each specific age are all higher than those for the younger women. Older women married at even younger ages, as demonstrated by the higher proportion of women married by each specific age. The last column in Table 5.4 provides further indications of later marriage among younger women. Median age at first marriage has steadily increased during the last 25 years, from 19.4 years old among the cohort of women age 45-49 at the time of the survey to 23.1 years old among the cohort of women age 25-29 at the time of the survey. The trend toward later marriage is supported by data showing that the proportion of women who married by age 15 has declined from 8 percent among women age 45-49 to 1 percent among women age 15-19. Overall, among Jordanian women age 20-49, one in five was married by age 18 and one in two was married by age 22.</p> <p>Although there are only minor differentials in median age at first marriage by residence and region, education plays an important role in determining women's age at marriage (Table 5.5). The improvement of educational opportunities, particularly for girls, has resulted in their staying in school longer and, subsequently, has raised their age at first marriage. Women who have more than secondary education tend to marry almost 6 years later than those with no education or with only primary education.</p>	<p>Full text accessed Methodology section included</p> <p><i>Survey checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Representative sample for Jordan in 1997</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
59	Halawah Q ; Fakhoury G ; El-Arabi M ; Masarwah I ; Hiyari F ; Kharabsheh A ; Nsour F ; Aranki I ; Ayad M ; Govindasamy P ; (1998) Jordan Population and Family Health Survey, 1997, Amman, Jordan, Department of Statistics, 1998 Dec.	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> This report presents the findings of the 1997 Jordan Population and Family Health Survey among a nationally representative sample of 5800 ever-married women aged 15-49 years. The sample was representative by nation, urban-rural residence, region, and for 3 governorates (Amman, Irbid, and Zarqa).</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Median age at marriage increased to 21.5 years in 1997. Staying in school delayed marriage age. 93% of births occurred in a health facility.</p>	<p>Unable to access full text of document, however some methodological details given in the abstract. Full methodological details of this survey accessed elsewhere.</p> <p>Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: UNABLE TO ACCESS Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied?</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>
60	Heaton, T.B. (1996) 'Socioeconomic and Familial Status of Women Associated With Age at First Marriage in Three Islamic Societies', Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 27(1) p41-58.	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> 'This article presents a study on the socioeconomic and familial status of women associated with age at first marriage in three Islamic societies. The Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) is designed to monitor trends in and correlates of fertility and infant health. Sample sizes were 8911 in Egypt, 22909 in Indonesia, and 6461 in Jordan.' (p1)</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Statistical analysis shows that about ten per cent marry before their sixteenth birthday in Jordan and early marriage has declined substantially over the last few decades. Analysis is complicated by the uncertain direction of influence between age at marriage and other characteristics. Women who marry young tend to picture the ideal family as relatively large, they have more children, and are less likely to use contraceptives. Early marriage is also associated with lower educational attainment and lower rates of employment. However, as current employment status, children ever born, contraceptive use and disruption of marriage occur after first marriage, it is more likely that they are influenced by rather than determinants of age at first marriage. Thus, according to the paper the changing patterns of marriage have important implications for the future familial and socioeconomic roles of women.</p>	<p>Full text accessed.</p> <p>Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Results for Jordan is nationally representative.</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
61	<p>Zou'bi, A.A.A., Poedjastoeti, S. and Ayad, M. (1992). Jordan Population and Family Health Survey 1990. Columbia, Maryland, USA: Department of Statistics/Jordan, Ministry of Health/Jordan, and IRD/Macro International. https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR20/FR20.pdf</p> <p>(last visited 27/09/17)</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Standard DHS methodology with a representative sample</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> The last column in Table 5.4 provides further indication of later marriage among younger women. While the median age at first marriage is similar for women age 35 and over, younger women are marrying at older ages. Half of women age 25-29 marry after age 21, and overall, the median age at first marriage has increased from about 19 to 21 years. There is little variation in age at first marriage by residence and region (see Table 5.5). Women marry at about the same age in all groups, although urban women and women in Balqa marry at slightly older ages than rural women and women in other governorates. While there are only minor differentials in median age at first marriage by residence and region, education plays an important role in determining women's entry into marriage. The improvement of educational opportunities, particularly for girls, has resulted in their staying in school longer, and subsequently pushed the age at first marriage upward. Women who have attended more than secondary education tend to marry almost 6 years later than those with no education or primary education. Women who have attended primary education marry younger than women who have no formal schooling because they are more favored by potential husbands than illiterate women.</p>	<p>Full text accessed Methodology section included</p> <p><i>Survey checklist</i> Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: ✓ Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Representative sample for Jordan in 1990</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>
62	<p>Abu Atta, A.A. (1989) 'The family planning programme in Jordan', In Country studies on strategic management in population programmes, Sattar, E. (eds), Management Contributions to Population Programmes Series Vol. 8, p47-53</p>	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> In 1987 a study was done to discover the attitudes of rural women toward family planning.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Most women are opposed to early marriage and think that the ideal family should have between 3 and 5 children. Most of the women preferred the IUD as a contraceptive method and considered their physician as the best available source of information. The women approve of the family planning clinics, but feel that service should be free, and a doctor, preferably female, should be available.</p>	<p>Unable to access full text of document, so unable to confirm methodological rigor and validity of the findings.</p>
63	<p>Hammouda, A.A. (1989) 'Policy implications and future program issues of family planning and fertility reduction in Jordan', EGYPTIAN POPULATION AND FAMILY PLANNING REVIEW, 23, p1-25</p>	<p><i>Methodology:</i> Employing information from the 1976 Jordan Fertility Survey, the 1983 Fertility and Family Health Survey, and the 1985 Jordan Husbands Survey, fertility levels and trends are reviewed and investigated with a view upon differentials and changes of determinant factors during 1976-85. Determinant factors considered include age at marriage, contraceptive use, breastfeeding, and postpartum abstinence, with consideration of their correlation with socioeconomic and cultural background characteristics. (p1 abstract)</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> The study encourages delayed age of 1st marriage, and calls for promotion of accessible education of all types especially in poor, rural areas to women.</p>	<p>Unable to access full text of document, however some methodological details given in the abstract and some details retrieved from other studies about the 1976 Jordan Fertility Survey, the 1983 Fertility and Family health Survey and the 1985 Jordan Husbands Survey.</p> <p>Original data has high level of validity and rigor.</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
64	Anderson, J.E., Abdel-Aziz, A. Morris, L. and Shrydeh B (1985) 'Fertility trends and determinants in Jordan', International Family Planning Perspectives, 11(2), p47-51	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Most estimates from the paper are from the 1983 Jordan Fertility and Family Health Survey (JFFHS).</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Jordanian women appear to marry later than they did 10 years ago. The paper gives a table of mean age of marriage by age groups from 1976-1983. In 1976, the singulate mean age at marriage was about 22, whereas in 1983 it was nearly 24. Analysis of the proximate determinants of fertility reveals that Jordan's recent fertility decline is due mainly to later marriage, not to increased contraceptive use.</p>	<p>Able to assess methodological details through full text.</p> <p>1983 JFFHS is a nationally representative study of East Bank of Jordan. Basic descriptive statistics presented are robust and valid.</p>
65	Nur, O.M. (1984) 'Trends of fertility differentials in Jordan', In: Studies in African and Asian demography: CDC annual seminar, CDC Research Monograph Series no. 12	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Survey data were used to analyze fertility differentials in Jordan by region and selected demographic and social characteristics. Data for the East Bank were derived from interviews with ever-married women carried out as part of the 1976 Jordan Fertility Survey. For the occupied territories, data were drawn from a series of sample surveys conducted in 1973-75.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Duration-specific fertility rates show a significant differential by age at marriage, educational level, and place of residence. Overall, the emerging pattern is that women who marry early in their teens, live in rural areas, and never use an efficient means of contraception have an initial lower fertility.</p>	<p>Unable to access full text of document, however some methodological details given in the abstract and some details retrieved from other studies about the 1976 Jordan Fertility Survey.</p> <p>Original data has high level of validity and rigor.</p>
66	Abdel-Aziz, A. (1983) A study of birth intervals in Jordan, Voorburg, Netherlands: International Statistical Institute	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> This paper, based on data from the 1976 Jordan Fertility Survey, examines birth intervals and family formation patterns</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> A strong inverse relationship between education and time to 1st birth, attributable to education-related differences in age at marriage, was observed. Although educated women are more likely to be fully fecund when they marry and to have a shorter 1st birth interval, their age-specific fertility will be lower than that of less educated women and their overall reproduction spans will be shorter. Thus, future fertility declines can be projected as educated women come to comprise a larger proportion of the childbearing population.</p>	<p>Unable to access full text of document, however some methodological details given in the abstract and some details retrieved from other studies about the 1976 Jordan Fertility Survey.</p> <p>Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: UNABLE TO ACCESS Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Data is representative of Jordan in 1976</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
67	Faour, M.A. (1983) Determinants of female age at first marriage in Jordan, Ann Arbor, Mich, University of Michigan	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> The data are from the individual and household schedules of the 1976 Jordan Fertility Survey.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> 'In urban Jordan, wife's education and prenuptial work experience are of paramount importance in explaining the variations in her marriage age among all cohorts of ever-married women, followed by religion. The strength of the net effects of these variables generally declines by age, but the effect of work is strong in the oldest cohort. The rural subsample is split into two groups: non-migrants and migrants. Non-migrants are rural women with rural childhoods, and migrants are rural women with urban or desert childhoods (mainly urban). Testing the rural model shows that: (1) wife's education and prenuptial work are significant predictors of her age at first marriage except where either of them basically does not vary, as is the case of education among non-migrants. (2) Although community membership is considerably more important than micro variables in predicting age at marriage among both migrants and non-migrants, its contribution to the explained variance is modest. Furthermore, I have not been able to capture all inter-community differences in marriage age with aggregate variables. However, there is some evidence that the more heavily agricultural and the highly illiterate villages promote earlier female marriages. Other important contributing factors to village differences in marriage age are thought to be local traditions regarding female marriage age as well as some missing micro variables' (p1 Abstract).</p>	<p>Unable to access full text of document, however some methodological details given in the abstract and some details retrieved from other studies about the 1976 Jordan Fertility Survey</p> <p>Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: UNABLE TO ACCESS Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Results are representative of Jordan in 1976.</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>
68	Kalaldehy, N.A., (1982) 'Fertility differentials in Jordan', In Determinants of fertility in some African and Asian countries. CDC Research Monograph Series no. 10, Cairo Demographic Centre	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> Data from the World Fertility Survey (WFS) conducted in 1976 were used to analyse some selected fertility differentials in Jordan.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> A possible explanation for the relationship between wife's educational level and fertility is that female education is likely to delay marriage age. For all age groups, the higher the age at first marriage the smaller number of children ever born. Age at 1st marriage was, in general, low; most females married before age 18. The general pattern was that the percentage of women who marry at younger ages decreases as the level of education increases. Women with relatively high educational levels tended, in general, to marry later.</p>	<p>Unable to access full text of document, however some methodological details given in the abstract and some details retrieved from other studies about the 1976 Jordan Fertility Survey.</p> <p>Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: UNABLE TO ACCESS Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Data is representative of Jordan in 1976</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
69	Guttmacher Institute (1980) 'Jordan: fertility averages 7.3 births per woman; only 26 percent use efficient contraceptive method', Family Planning Perspective, 6(3), 118-120.	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> The paper summarizes some of the findings of the 1976 Jordan Fertility Survey, a part of the World Fertility Survey</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> Average age at marriage for women has been rising steadily over the previous few decades; at the time of the survey it was 17.6 years. Those who married older showed appreciably fewer births over the course of their lives than those marrying younger. However, these late marriers comprised only 11% of the sample.</p>	<p>Unable to access full text of document, however some methodological details given in the abstract and some details retrieved from other studies about the 1976 Jordan Fertility Survey.</p> <p>Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: UNABLE TO ACCESS Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Representative data of Jordan in 1976</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>
70	Jordan Department of Statistics (1979) Jordan fertility survey 1976: principal report. Vol 1. World Fertility Survey, Amman, Jordan.	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> 1976 Jordan Fertility Survey, conducted by the Department of Statistics, in conjunction with the World Fertility Study of the International Statistical Institute. Both household and individual surveys were conducted. The household survey sample consisted of 5% of all households in the East Bank of Jordan. The individual survey sample included all the ever married women aged 15-49, who spent the night preceding the interview in every 4th household included in the household survey.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> The average age at marriage for women, aged 45-49, was 16.7 years and for women, aged 20-24, it was 19.4 years. Women, especially those who lived in urban areas and those with relatively high educational attainment were marrying at later ages than in previous years.</p>	<p>Unable to access full text of document, however some methodological details given in the abstract and some details retrieved from other studies about the 1976 Jordan Fertility Survey.</p> <p>Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: UNABLE TO ACCESS Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Data representative of Jordan in 1976</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>
71	Mahmoud ,S.A., Eid, I. and Eid, I. (1976) 'Nuptiality and divorce in the East Bank of Jordan, 1968-1975', In: Huzayyin SA, Acsadi GT, (eds). Family and marriage in some African and Asiatic countries. Research Monograph Series No. 6, Cairo Demographic Centre	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> 1968-1975 trends in marriage and divorce among residents of the East Bank of Jordan were analysed using census materials and data derived from 2 household surveys.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> A change in the timing of marriage was observed when 1961 data on Jordan as a whole was compared to 1974 data for the East Bank. The proportion of never married persons between the ages of 20-24 years increased from 26.7% in 1961 to 43.0% in 1974 for females and from 64.2% to 82.9% for males. The singulate mean age at marriage increased from 20.3 in 1961 to 22.6 in 1974 for females and from 24.5% to 26.8% for males during this same period.</p>	<p>Unable to access full text of document, however some methodological details given in the abstract. Full details of the census methodology accessed elsewhere</p> <p>Aims and objectives clear: ✓ Appropriate methods: ✓ Appropriate selection process: ✓ Appropriate sampling strategy: ✓ Appropriate measurements used: ✓ Confounding factors account for? ✓ Clear results: UNABLE TO ACCESS Confidence in results: ✓</p> <p>How far can the results be applied? Data representative of Jordan from 1968-1975</p> <p>Results fit with other studies? ✓</p>

No	Item	Item details	Methodological assessment
72	Westinghouse Health Systems (1976) National health planning in Jordan: Phase 2: health policy strategy	<p><i>Summary of methodology:</i> A detailed demographic survey of Jordan (the East Bank) was conducted to determine the implications for health care planning.</p> <p><i>Findings related to child marriage:</i> The Jordanian pattern of early marriage and prolonged childbearing provides unfavourable conditions for child survival due to high demands on social and economic services as well as health services</p>	<p>Unable to access full text of document, so unable to confirm methodological rigor and validity of the findings.</p> <p>However it is likely that this study is referring to the 1976 Jordan Fertility Study. This is national representative study based on the core pattern of the World Fertility Survey.</p>

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