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اللجنة الوطنية الأردنية  
لشؤون المرأة  
The Jordanian National  
Commission for Women



مركز الدراسات  
الاستراتيجية  
CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES

**WE4L**  
Women Empowered for Leadership

**Hivos**  
people unlimited

# JORDAN GENDER BAROMETER

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## Survey Report

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August 2020

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## GLOSSARY



<b>CSS</b>	Center for Strategic Studies
<b>DoS</b>	Jordanian Department of Statistics
<b>GBV</b>	Gender-Based Violence
<b>HIVOS</b>	Humanist Institute for Cooperation with Developing Countries
<b>IMAGES</b>	International Men and Gender Equality Survey
<b>JNCW</b>	Jordanian National Commission for Women
<b>PSL</b>	Personal Status Law
<b>VAW</b>	Violence Against Women
<b>WVS</b>	World Value Survey



## PARTNERS AND WORKING TEAMS

### The Center for Strategic Studies (CSS)

The Center for Strategic Studies (CSS) at the University of Jordan conducts cutting-edge research on strategic political, military, economic, and social issues facing Jordan and the region. The CSS's research includes issues on Islam and political Islam, extremism, gender and women's studies, human rights, youth, refugees, migration, health, and education. As the top-ranked think tank in the Middle East and North Africa region, the CSS serves as a hub for public policy in the region; strategic analysis, predictions, and data analytics. The CSS hosts seminars, conferences, and researches to inform the public, academics, decision-makers, and national/international communities.

### HIVOS

HIVOS was founded in 1968, inspired by humanist values. The founders held the conviction that development work should be secular, as true cooperation presumes respect for differing beliefs. HIVOS believes that human life in its many forms is valuable and that people are filled with potential. Living a life in freedom and dignity, with respect for each other and the planet, leads to greater individual well-being and fair, vibrant societies.

Women Empowered for Leadership (WE4L) program uses a combination of advocacy, skills training, knowledge tools, and coalition-building. The program works directly with potential women leaders, as well as with political parties, trade unions, civil society organizations, the media, and the creative sector. In WE4L, Hivos and the local partners provide strategic, media, and communication expertise. The focus is at the sub-national level where most practical issues that concern women are usually prioritized. The expectation is that a woman who starts her leadership journey at the sub-national level is likely to gather experience to enable her to lead at the national level.

### The Jordanian National Commission for Women (JNCW)

The Jordanian National Commission for Women (JNCW) was established as a national machinery to promote women's status in Jordan following the cabinet's decision no 21/11/3382 in 1992. Chaired by HRH Princess Basma bint Talal, the Commission's board includes representation of relevant ministers, civil society organizations, and the private sector. JNCW seeks to ensure that Jordan complies with its national, Arab, and international commitments, which aim at improving women's status and their participation in sustainable development.

On September 21, 1996, the Jordanian cabinet designated JNCW as a national reference for all official entities and a representative of the Kingdom in all women-related issues and activities. The Commission's tasks and responsibilities were identified along with the following key themes: Mainstreaming women's issues and priorities in national strategies, policies, legislation, plans, and budgets, monitoring discrimination against women and assessing progress vis-à-vis equality and equal opportunities, and advocacy for women's issues and raising awareness on their role and participation in achieving national sustainable development.

Since 1993 and as a part of its mandate, JNCW leads the process of preparing and updating the National Strategy for Women in Jordan. JNCW has adopted a participatory method to review and update the strategy. The current National Strategy for Women in Jordan 2020-2025 was endorsed by the GoJ in March 2020.



## Executive Summary

This is the first survey of its kind conducted in Jordan. A team of the Jordanian National Commission for Women (JNCW), the Humanist Institute for Cooperation with Developing Countries (HIVOS), and the Center for Strategic Studies (CSS) has conceptualized the survey. The Jordan Gender Barometer focuses mainly on local leadership and ownership. The survey, thus, was based on a consultative process. It has brought together academics, practitioners, and activists to determine the main themes of the survey. This process produced a survey that is based on the priorities of local women's rights activists and academics.

The Jordan Gender Barometer Survey does not focus on perceptions. This makes it different from other surveys on gender in the region. Firstly, the survey examines the actual practices in which people engage. Secondly, it also studies four main themes that are critical to understanding gender relations: 1) personal context, 2) familial life, 3) quality of life and access to infrastructure, 4) economic life.

Designing the survey, the team was careful not to assume any conflict between the genders beforehand. Also, the survey seeks to learn from respondents rather than to uncover problems. We followed a conceptual understanding of women as intersectional. This in practice means women are members of various communities whose needs and priorities are not shaped by their gender alone. To understand the diversity of women's needs, we also require to understand how women's issues overlap with communal and wider national concerns.

The survey answers the following questions :

- 1) What type of gender roles do women and men occupy in the family?
- 2) What are the main problems facing women? How do these problems overlap with wider communal and national problems? How do they differ?
- 3) How can we understand communal and national problems from a gendered point of view?



## Personal Context

62% percent of respondents said that they feel sad, 41% of these respondents said they feel sad daily. Female respondents were more likely to say that they feel sad than male respondents. 66.5% of female respondents compared to 57.7%. of male respondents said they felt sad. Anger was also more common among female respondents than males. 63.2% of female respondents said they feel angry while 57.2% of male respondents said they feel angry. 22.4% of women said that they want to hit someone whereas, 16.8% of men say they want to hit someone.

Thirty-nine percent of our respondents said they are smokers. Smoking was highly gendered. Male smokers were the majority at a rate of 62.1% compared to 16.2% of females .

## Understanding Family Lives and Gender Roles

Most respondents grew up in families with traditional gender roles. Mothers did most of the housework, cleaning, and cooking. For the most part, the study participants reproduce the gender roles they experienced in their childhood in their own nuclear families. Respondents conform to traditional gender roles with female respondents doing most of the housework, and men doing most of the fixing and purchases. While men are the main financial providers, women contributed to household expenses.

There was a gap in perception between what female respondents reported contributing to the household and what male respondents believed their wives contributed. Women respondents did most of the childcare. Women also said they mostly disciplined their children both verbally and physically. Female respondents were twice as likely to say they verbally and physically disciplined their children than male respondents.

Overall, 79% of respondents recalled family lives without violence against them or their mothers. Self-identified working-class male respondents have experienced more beatings and humiliation than any other group. Class and gender shape memories of childhood violence. As boys, working-class men and below working-class men were the most likely to have experienced violence against them.

Remembering violence against mothers was also gendered. About 17.4% of female respondents were more likely to remember seeing their mothers insulted, belittled, or humiliated compared to 12.8% of male respondents. In terms of self-identified class, 9.4% of working-class respondents remembered their mothers being insulted or humiliated.

Respondents also described an extremely high level of satisfaction in their marriage. Ninety-three percent of respondents said they had found love in their marriage. It was only 7% of ever or about to be married respondents said that love was an important determining factor when they thought about marriage. Respondents also said they were happy in their marriage and that they felt respected. In all answers, there was a gender gap of about 10% in favor of male respondents. Overall, male respondents seemed to feel happier, more respected, and more supported than female respondents.

The main causes of conflict between spouses were financial concerns. This was followed by disputes over children and child-rearing. Interestingly, 77% of respondents reported solving their problems themselves without involving their families or outside parties. Fifty percent of respondents said they resolved their marital problems by dialogue.

Men were more likely to make decisions in the household. This concerns not just about general household decisions, but also about their spouse's ability to work, leave the house, or even see her family. Female respondents confirmed that husbands were the primary decision-makers. However, female respondents were more likely than male respondents to say that the decision was taken jointly when male respondents reported that they were the ones who made the decision. This is particularly alarming because these decisions are about women's fundamental rights – their ability to see their family or leave the house. Only 13.8% of women reported that it is their own decision, while 56.8% of female respondents said that their ability to leave the house and visit relatives is a joint decision.





## Economic Lives

Overall, our Gender Barometer showed that the biggest problems facing women are problems that they share with their communities – poverty and unemployment. These problems weighed heavily on respondents. An alarming 62% of respondents said that they felt sad, 41% of these respondents said they felt sad daily. Female respondents were more likely to say that they felt sad than male respondents.

Anger was also more common among women than men. More than 63% of female respondents said they felt angry as opposed to 57.2% of male respondents. Anger does not just impact the women themselves, but also their children,

especially boy children in impoverished communities. To better the lives of women living in Jordan, it is important to understand how women connect to their communities and to target the structural problems which impoverish and marginalize these women and their communities.



Specifically, the survey asked about the main problems facing Jordan today. Over 68% of respondents listed economic problems: poverty, unemployment, and low salaries. Respondents gave the same answers when asked about the problems that affected them personally the most, and then as women and men. These answers shed light on the nature of economic violence.

By examining respondents' access to educational infrastructures, we were able to bring together other aspects of economic violence. Current women's rights initiatives focus on how women's salaries are often taken away or used by male relatives. This is certainly one aspect of economic violence. However, there are also wider structural forms in which economic violence affects women (and men). Much of the literature deals with economic violence as the violence inflicted on women inside their homes by men, our survey highlighted many structural aspects of economic violence.

We found that economic violence is more than men inside a family taking up more economic resources. Economic violence is also structural. It is when girls and boys do not have access to adequate public schooling. About 67% of respondents said that they went to school during the winter. Yet this also meant that they were not able to protect themselves from the cold (e.g. freezing hands and fingers). Besides, 36% of respondents recall feeling hungry while at school.

The survey found that most Jordanians do not have enough income to cover their monthly expenses. 58.4% of respondents said they needed more money every month. The response rates were almost identical in terms of gender. 58.1% of women respondents said they needed extra income every month. This means that the majority of Jordanian women face monthly income insecurity, one aspect of economic violence. This is an important problem facing women, which should become a priority of women's rights activism and programming.

Economic violence is also related to the inability of women and men to go to university. Their parents could not afford to pay for them due to high tuition fees. Also, 48% of respondents worry about having enough money to buy food, and 41% were unable to buy clothes. All these factors of economic violence forced female and male respondents to take loans every single month to simply buy food and basic goods. In addition to the structural nature of economic violence, the same communities that women and men live in also share their consequences. As a result, both the women and men living in Ajloun suffered from inadequate schooling. And women and men in Tafileh were less able to use public transportation and had fewer work opportunities.

However, economic violence does not affect women and men in the same way. It is gendered. Women share problems with their communities. They also experience these problems differently. The inability of working women to ensure their husbands and children led to less men having health insurance than women. Work and decent employment in which labor law is respected are crucial in fighting poverty and unemployment. Both male and female

respondents stressed the importance of dignified work. However, what elements of dignified work respondents stressed varied according to their gender.

The overwhelming majority of respondents asked for health care. Female respondents, however, prioritized safety, not working at night, having sick leaves, having regular working hours, decent toilet facilities, and job security as the main elements of dignified work. Male respondents, on the other hand, regarded dignified work mostly in terms of financial benefits, job security, and receiving social security. True dignified work needs to take all these elements into account to meet the needs of all Jordanians, women, and men.

Reliable and safe public transportation is another way to ensure all people living in Jordan can reach their work. Respondents of both sexes suggested the following changes to improve public transportation: 1) increasing the cleanliness of public transportation 2) regulating the schedule and frequency of buses, 3) punctually, 4) safer and slower driving 5) stopping at specified bus stops only, 6) smoke-free buses, 6) covering more geographic areas in Jordan, 7) providing a hotline for complaints.



## Key Findings

### Personal Context

- The ability to lead a healthy lifestyle is mostly connected to the class. Working-class and below working-class respondents were the least likely to do any type of sports. Overall, most respondents did not do sports.
- Smoking is a highly gendered practice. Men were the overwhelming majority of the respondents who admitted to smoking daily.
- Over 60% of respondents reported feeling sad. Women were more likely to say that they are sad than men.
- Anger was more common among female respondents than male respondents. More than 63% of female respondents said they feel angry while 57.2% of male respondents said they feel angry.
- More than 22% of women had the desire to hit someone as opposed to 16.8% of men. Women respondents also said that when they wanted to hit someone, they did so. More than 16% of women said they hit someone when they are angry compared to 10.6% of men.

### Family Lives

- Slightly more than 87% of ever-married respondents report being happy in their marriage. In other words, they reported that their spouses respected them and they also respected their spouses. Male respondents had higher satisfaction rates than female ever-married respondents.
- Despite only 7% of ever or about to be married respondents saying that love was important, 93% of respondents said they had found love in their marriage.
- Over 80% of engaged female respondents believe that it is important for women to work. Married men and women respondents agreed on the importance of women's work.
- Both 37% of ever-married men and 53% of women confirm that wives needed to work for financial stability.

- 70% of women say that they would not marry a foreigner. One has to wonder if this is connected to the problems children of Jordanian mothers married to foreigners face because they are not entitled to Jordanian citizenship.
- While just under half of the female respondents believe that it is a Muslim man's right to marry more than one wife, 14% of women say they would never marry a man who is already married.
- Male respondents were more likely than female respondents to see it as a Muslim man's right to marry up to four women. In practice, however, about 60% of men said they would not marry more than one wife even if they could afford it.
- About 61% of respondents believe that it is the right of a mother to be the legal guardian of her children.
- About 79% of respondents recall family lives without violence against them or their mothers.
- Both class and gender affect memories of childhood physical punishment. Male respondents were more likely to remember being beaten or punished than female respondents. It is important to note that violence against children is higher against the boy child. Self-identified working-class respondents were the most likely to report being beaten as children.
- Besides, self-identified working-class respondents, in particular women, were also more likely to report seeing their mothers beaten. This is an important finding considering debates which claim that gender-based violence and violence against children and women is equal across all classes. While all classes report some levels of violence, the numbers varied significantly across classes.
- Most respondents said they would not report domestic violence or seek help from the police or the family protection unit if it happened. Respondents were most likely to seek help from family members and friends.
- Close to 62% of married respondents have traditional gender roles in the household and report being satisfied with doing so.

## Economic Lives

- The salaries of 70.8% of respondents were below the JD 480 a month poverty line (Department of Statistics, 2012).
- 48% of respondents worried about having enough money to buy food. There was no significant difference between female and male respondents in terms of this worry.
- Most respondents reported that they spend their income on basic needs like food and water and paying electricity bills.
- The majority of Jordanian women and men do not have enough income every month to cover basic needs in terms of food and goods. More than 58% of respondents said they needed more money monthly, while 31.8% said they required more money every three months. The monthly needs were almost identical in terms of gender.
- Most respondents reported that they borrow money from others monthly.
- Most respondents did not feel that they have secure employment. Only 31% of respondents feel that their employment status is stable. This feeling applied to both males (65.3%) and female (57.2%) respondents.
- 39% of respondents said that they felt embarrassed in front of their families because they did not have enough income. Men were more likely to feel shame than women at a rate of 45.1% of male and 32.6% of female respondents.

- 8% of respondents said that they lost their jobs during the Corona pandemic.
- While men remain the main financial providers in the family, both women and men contribute to covering family expenses. The husbands perceived that their wives' financial contribution was lower than what wives claimed it was.
- More than 31% of the respondents did not have health insurance. Women are more likely to be insured than men, where 73% of women said they were insured compared to 64.5% of male respondents.
- About 36% of Jordanian women and men say that they are unemployed because of structural reasons, namely that there are no work opportunities and not having the right credentials for work. Women respondents faced added familial restrictions. However, female respondents did not regard familial reasons as restrictive as structural barriers.
- Women were more likely to be concerned with the work conditions at the workplace, working hours, and the ability to take sick leaves. Men, on the other hand, regarded dignified work mostly in terms of financial benefits, job security, and receiving social security.

## Quality of Life and Access to Infrastructure

### a) Education

- The quality of school education was highly dependent on gender and whether respondents went to private or public schools. While the overall satisfaction level is high at 70.7%, only 50% of those who went to public schools said that they did not receive good schooling.
- 67% of respondents said that during the winter they would not be able to feel their fingers from the cold. 36% of respondents recall feeling hungry while at school.
- More than 23% of respondents stated that high tuition fees, and their parents' inability to pay for the university was the main reason they did not study at university. This reason, in addition to not getting good enough grades, were similar for male and female respondents.
- The inability to graduate from the university had gendered reasons in addition to financial reasons. Male respondents said they were unable to go to university because they needed to work, while for female respondents getting married, giving birth, and their husband's and family's opposition to university education, all determined why some women could not attend university.
- Parents pay the tuition fees for most Jordanians who study at university. Female respondents were more likely to report that their parents paid for their university education than male respondents.

### b) Transportation

- Respondents suggested the following to improve public transportation: 1) increasing the cleanliness of public transportation 2) regulating the schedule and frequency of buses, 3) punctually, 4) safer and slower driving, 5) regulated bus stops, 6) no smoking, 6) covering more geographic areas in Jordan, and 7) providing a hotline for complaints. There was no significant difference between responses according to the gender of the respondent.



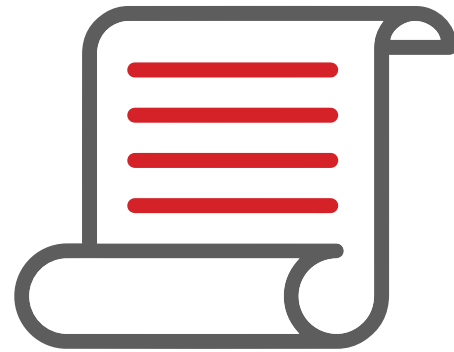
## INTRODUCTION

This locally-led study aims to not only understand how people think, and what their perceptions are but also what they do. There is often a large gap between people's thoughts and actions. To truly understand people's lives both aspects of life have to be examined. The same is true when it comes to understanding the gendered lives of Jordanians. Believing that women should do certain things or not, does not necessarily tell us what women do in their lives (see Lutfi, 1991 for interesting historical debates on the gap between perception and practice). While respondents were asked about their perceptions, the majority of the questionnaire asked about practices.

Furthermore, focusing on perceptions without understanding the structural restrictions many people face, does not enable us to appreciate how decisions are made and why. While qualitative work is needed to understand many of these practices in-depth, the first step is to move surveys from simply asking about perceptions to asking about practices. The second step is to examine the social, political, and economic context in as much detail as possible. It is only in this way that we can appreciate the various factors which impact people's everyday lives, beliefs, choices, and actions.

When it comes to gender, Muslim and Middle Eastern communities are often assumed to be inherently more oppressive towards women than so-called Western communities. Much has been written on the Orientalist nature of literature on Arab and Muslim women (Abu-Lughod, 2013, Hammami, 2016, Myhre, 2004). However, these discussions have remained mostly in qualitative research circles and have rarely penetrated quantitative work. Survey questions often assume beforehand that a violation against women has happened. Guilt (of men and communities) is thus assumed.

Research is a means to unearth crimes that were committed. Yet starting with this assumption is extremely problematic, not only from an ethical point of view but also in terms of determining certain outcomes. When it comes to marital relations or relations with children, for example, it is rare not to find



a conflict. Who has not yelled at their spouse or children, or even struck out in anger? Asking about conflict invariably leads to finding it. However, this does not necessarily mean that relationships are abusive.

Inquiring only about conflict, without asking about loving relations, gives only a partial picture. In preparing the questions, the team was keen to stay aware of negative assumptions and think about how to ask about positive aspects of family life as well. This was not always easy. Even after weeks of going back and forth on questions about childhood experiences, we realized that we had never asked about positive memories.

We have tried to the best of our abilities to stay away from making only negative assumptions. However, many of the assumptions are so deeply rooted that we often did not even realize we were making them. We used the long consultative process to hear from many people who occupy various classes and geographical subject positions. In a way, this process has enabled us to overcome some of our biases. Yet, far more discussion and work are needed to truly de-colonize quantitative research on gender from Orientalist assumptions.

One of the key principles of feminist research ethics is to treat the people we study, not solely as subjects, but to respect the knowledge they have (Oakley, 1981, Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, Harding, 1987, Ramazanoglu, 2002, Roberts, 1981, Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule, 1986). One of the main aims of our research has been to learn from respondents. To do so, we tried to keep as many questions open-ended as possible, much to the annoyance of the fieldwork team and the data analysts.

Economic concerns were the leading concerns respondents faced. We used the questions to understand how respondents define dignified work. Analyzing the data, we found that while there were many similarities between women and men, there were also substantial differences. To develop gender-just policies it is important to be aware of these gendered differences and take them into account.

Finally, much research has focused on women as separate from their communities. Women are often treated as victims of their communities, and their problems are understood as being distinct from wider communal or national problems. In this survey, we asked women to tell us what their priorities were. In many cases, we found that women and men had the same priorities. Other times, priorities varied. While it is extremely important to understand the differences between the needs of women and men, it is also important not to assume differences. In programming on women, there is a set of problems that are seen as women's problems or women's issues.

In this survey, we tried to examine not only what separates women from their communities, but also what kind of problems women share with their communities. With the help of the data generated through this survey, we hope to start a discussion on how national and communal problems are gendered.

Women's problems are often seen as being restricted to Gender-Based Violence (GBV), understood in the narrow sense as violence by male family members against their female relatives, legal discrimination and political marginalization, again understood narrowly as women being under-represented in political positions (Jad, 2004, Halley, 2006, Ababneh, 2020). Structural marginalization and economic impoverishment are rarely understood as major problems facing women. If the literature speaks about the economic empowerment of women, it is as if women need to be empowered despite their communities, not as part of their communities. Yet, study after study has shown that the biggest problems Jordanians face are economic (Arab Barometer, 2019, Hanieh, 2013).



## AIMS

### STUDY AIMS

- Studying practice not perceptions.
- Understanding women's and men's intersectionality, which refers to the fact that women (and men) cannot be understood only in terms of their gender.
- Treating people as knowers of their own lives.
- Using surveys to learn from people and their experiences.
- Trying to understand structural barriers.
- Developing new quantitative ethics.
- Understanding women not just as individuals but as members of communities.
- Gendering communal and national problems.







## CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

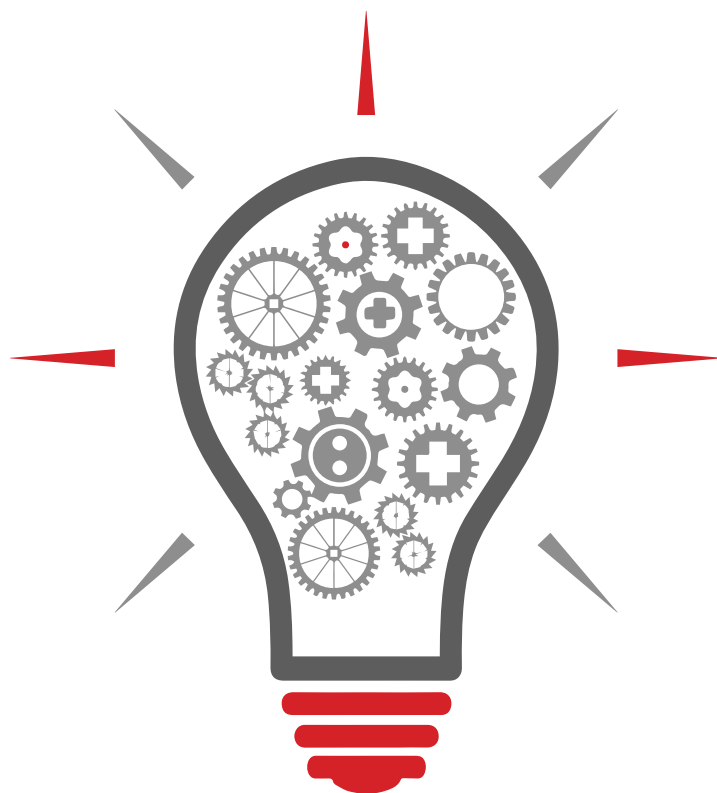
We followed an intersectional understanding of gender both in our instrument writing process and in the survey analysis. Intersectionality refers to the fact that women (and men) cannot be understood only in terms of their gender (Crenshaw, 1991, Collins and Bilge, 2019, Ababneh, 2020, Salem, 2020). Women occupy different subject positions and are members of different ethnic, racial, class groups. As a result, women's and men's priorities and needs can differ substantially according to class, gender, and race.

Subsequently, we avoid using the term women (or woman -in the singular- as is often common in Arabic), as this generalizes the experiences of some women, mainly those who occupy privileged subject positions and ignores the experiences of other women who occupy less hegemonic subject positions. In our analysis, we examine how women's responses differ in terms of their various class or geographical subject positions.

There are two theoretical approaches to determine the social class in questionnaires (Ray, 1971). The first one is the subjective approach. In a subjective approach, a respondent describes where they believe they stand in society. This depends on their personal view without referring to specific indicators for this classification. The second approach is the objective approach. In an objective approach, researchers determine certain criteria, such as economic activity, education, domicile, education of parents and partners, homeownership, occupation, employment relations to just name a few (Erikson, and Jonsson, 2001).

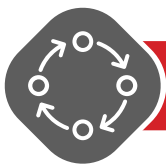
These indicators are then used to calculate a specific social standing for respondents. In this survey, we used a subjective approach to determine social class. To do so we asked respondents of what class they consider themselves to be part. As a result, we do not call respondents, working-class, or upper-class, but refer to them as self-identified working or upper-class.

Amal Sabbagh argues that women's lives are determined by the personal, familial, and social context in which women find themselves (2007, 11). In organizing the survey

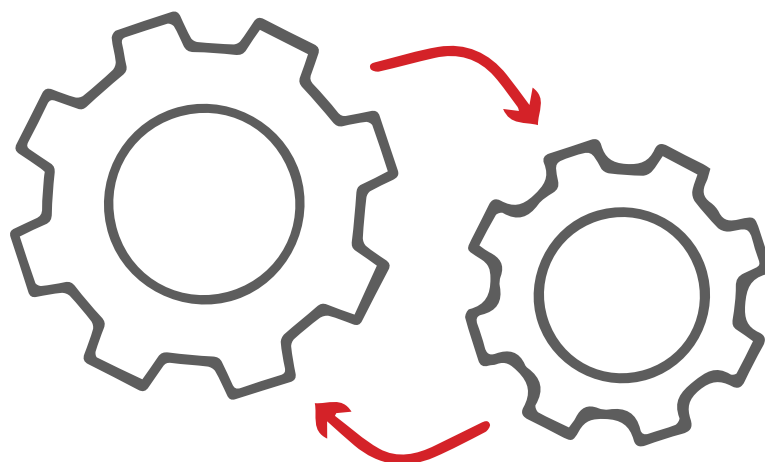


and the questionnaire, we followed Sabbagh's framework. We have included the social context as part of what we refer to as structural context. The structural context includes social, political, economic, cultural, and environmental contexts. In the personal context, we asked respondents about their feelings, emotions, eating, drinking, and daily exercise habits. We then proceeded to ask respondents about their family lives. We focused on married life and life with children. We did not only ask about current marital relations and relations with children but also about respondents' memories of childhood, relations with their parents, their parents' gender roles, childcare and household duties, and memories of violence in the family. Then we moved to ask respondents about their structural context. We examined both school and university education.

We asked study participants about memories of schooling to ascertain the quality of education they felt they received. In this survey, the structural context focuses mostly on the economic context. The various contexts overlap. However, in examining these different levels separately we were able to appreciate the various factors which influence women's (and men's) choices.



## METHODOLOGY



The survey focuses on the gendered practices in the lives of Jordanian women and men. Most surveys on gender and women's lives in the Middle East in general and Jordan a specific focus on people's perceptions towards women and girls. In this survey, we sought to study what people do instead of only what they think.

For this research to be useful, the survey is based on the Jordanian context and the needs of Jordanian women, women's rights activists, and academics. We designed the survey through a collaborative effort by Jordanian academics and practitioners to meet the needs of both groups in terms of research and advocacy work. We had planned four meetings with different stakeholders: local practitioners, activists, local academics, and regional and local academics.

Due to the COVID19- pandemic, the regional workshop was canceled. The CSS, with the help of JNCW and HIVOS, organized and completed the consultation meetings. After the meetings, all suggestions and questions given by participants were compiled. Based on this document the CSS team developed the survey.

The CSS team also conducted a desk review of relevant international surveys. As is customary in survey work, we used some of the tested questions that addressed some of the key issues we address in the survey. In the section on gender roles, we drew on questions developed by IMAGES. We also used questions developed by the CSS on class and demographics. Once the first draft was ready the CSS team shared it with partners from HIVOS and the JNCW for feedback. The final questionnaire was developed based on this consultative process.

After this process, CSS trained fieldworkers. The training process had a double function, firstly it was to train fieldworkers to do the survey. Secondly, the training functioned as a final focus group discussion assessing the questionnaire and ensuring it spoke to the lived realities and problems of Jordanian women and men. Fieldworkers, who come from all over Jordan and all social classes, gave detailed feedback on the questions, thinking about them in terms of their own lives. During the training, we asked everyone involved to answer the survey themselves. In doing so, fieldworkers and staff were forced to evaluate the survey not as something others have to answer, but in terms of whether we were comfortable with being asked such questions. Also, fieldworkers were actually forced to think of the questions in terms of their own lives. This different perspective, even though simple, makes a huge difference. Only when we are asked a question ourselves can we truly determine whether the question is appropriate to ask, whether the options given are enough and whether it is relevant.

Due to Covid-19 guidelines, we trained fieldworkers in three different groups. Each group brought new perspectives to the table. Questions were scrutinized and some were laughed at. This enabled the CSS team to go back and adapt the questions further to the Jordanian context. After each training, the questions were re-written based on the feedback and discussion we had with the fieldwork team.

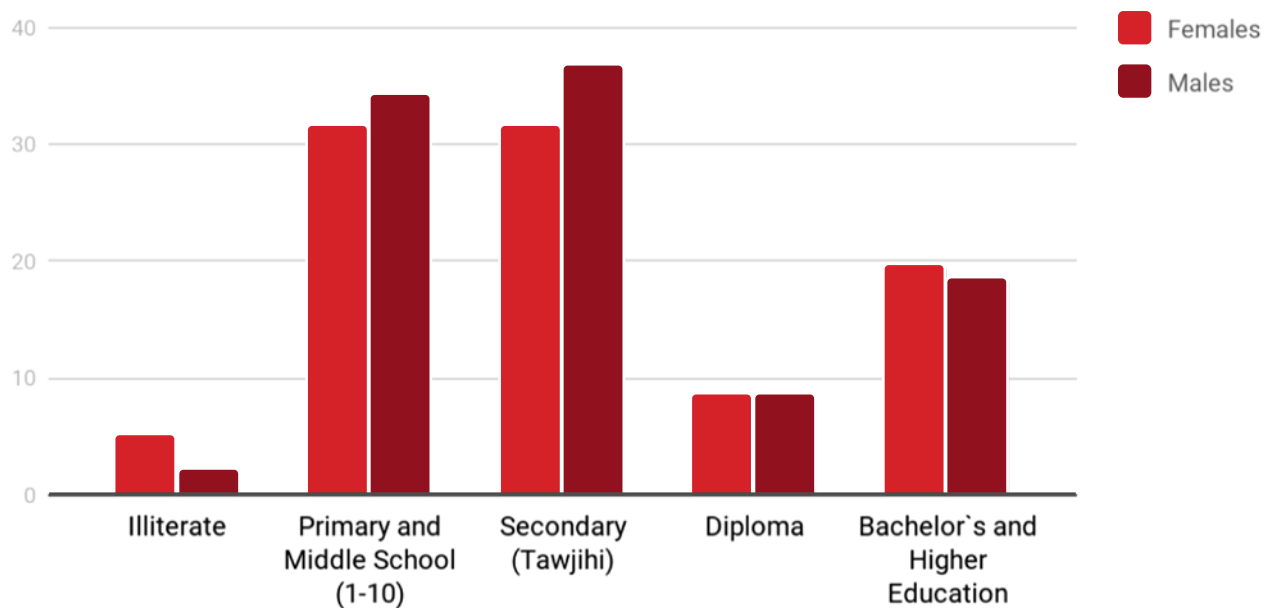




## SURVEY SAMPLE, DEMOGRAPHICS

In terms of gender, 50.2% of the people questioned identified as women, while 49.8% identified as men. More than 5% of the female respondents were illiterate, 31.4% had been to school but had not completed secondary education, 31.2% had completed high school, 12.8% had a diploma, and 19.6% had a Bachelor's degree or more. Of the male respondents, 2% were illiterate, 34.2% had been to school but had not completed secondary education, 36.8% had completed high school, 8.2% had a diploma, and 18.5% had a Bachelor's degree or more.

### Educational Level by Respondents Gender



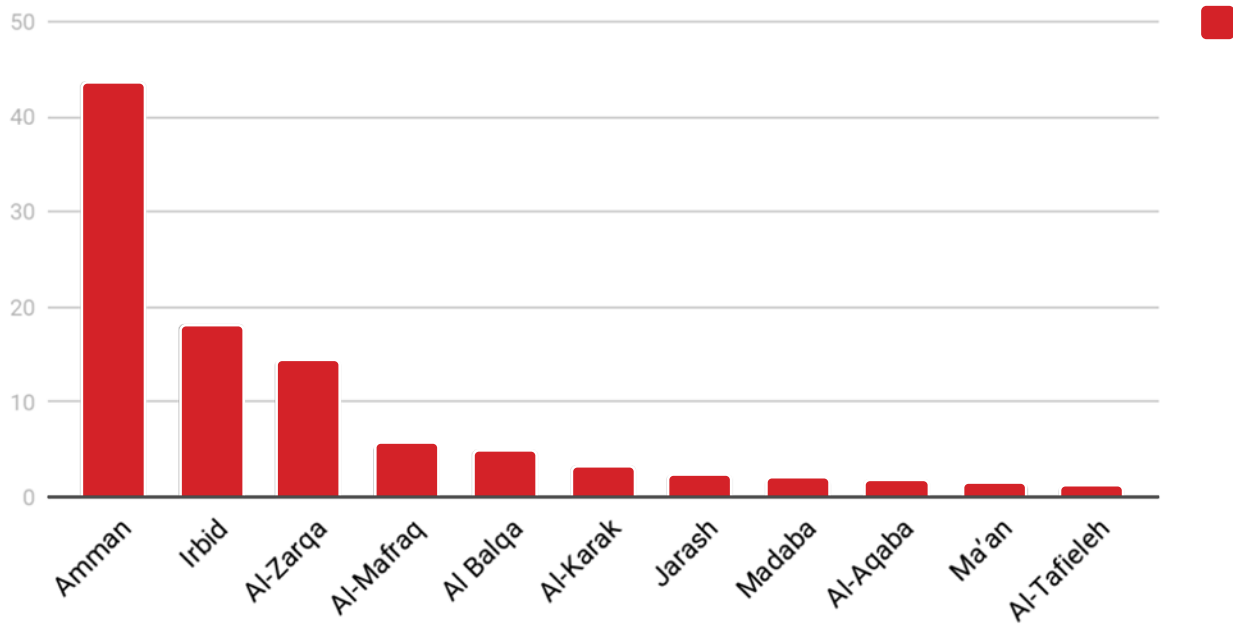
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More than 59% of all respondents lived in a flat, while 38.2% lived in a house. Out of the people living in a flat most lived in Amman (71.4%). Respondents from governorates were more likely to live in independent houses. The majority of those who lived in a house lived in the governorates of Ma'an (78.2%), Mafraq (71.6%), and Tafileh (70%). Most respondents (60.7%) owned the flats and houses they lived in or lived in places owned by their parents (6.7%). Most of the respondents who owned their houses lived in the governorates, mostly in Jerash (78.3%) and in Ma'an (76.9%). 28.4% of our respondents rented the apartments that they lived in. Out of the people who rented the majority (34.4%) lived in Amman.

A majority of 65.6% of respondents were married, while 25.8% were single. Sixty-six percent of the respondents had children. 42.1% of respondents lived in families that have three to five members. Forty percent of respondents lived in families that have six to eight members. 9.7% lived in families who have one to two members. Finally, 8.2% of the survey's respondents lived in families of nine or more members.

More than 43% of the respondents lived in Amman. 18.1% lived in Irbid. This is followed by 14.2% of respondents who lived in al-Zarqa, 5.4% in al-Mafraq, 5% in al-Balqa, 3.2% in al-Karak, 2.4% in Jarash, 1.9% in both Madaba and al-Aqaba, 1.4% in Ma'an and one percent in al-Tafieleh.

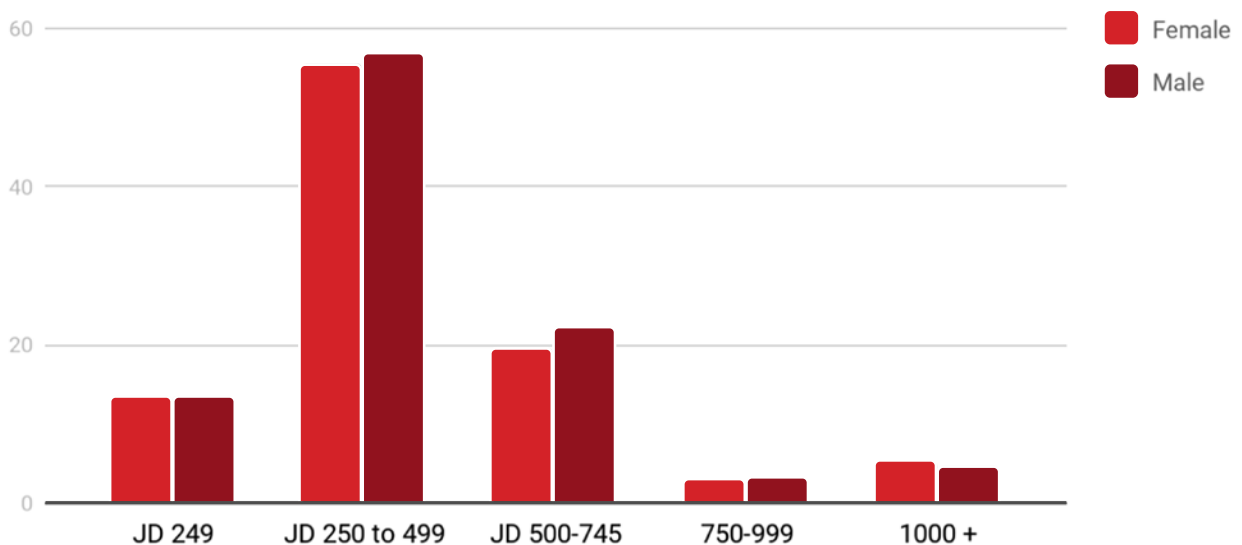
## Respondents by Governorate



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55% of female and 56.8% of male respondents who worked have an income from JD 250 to 499. This means that the majority of respondents made less than the official poverty line which is JD 650 monthly per family (Abu-Rizq, 2019). 70.8% of respondents had salaries below JD 480, which is the official poverty line according to the Department of Statistics (Department of Statistics, 2012). If we take the National Aid Funds reading which estimates the poverty at JD 650 (Abu Rizq, 2019), 87.8% of respondents fall under the poverty line. 19.6% of females and 22.2% of male respondents' income is between JD 500-745. 17.5% of women's and 13.5% of men's income was less than JD 249. On average working female respondents' income was JD 429 while working male respondents' income was slightly higher at JD 444.

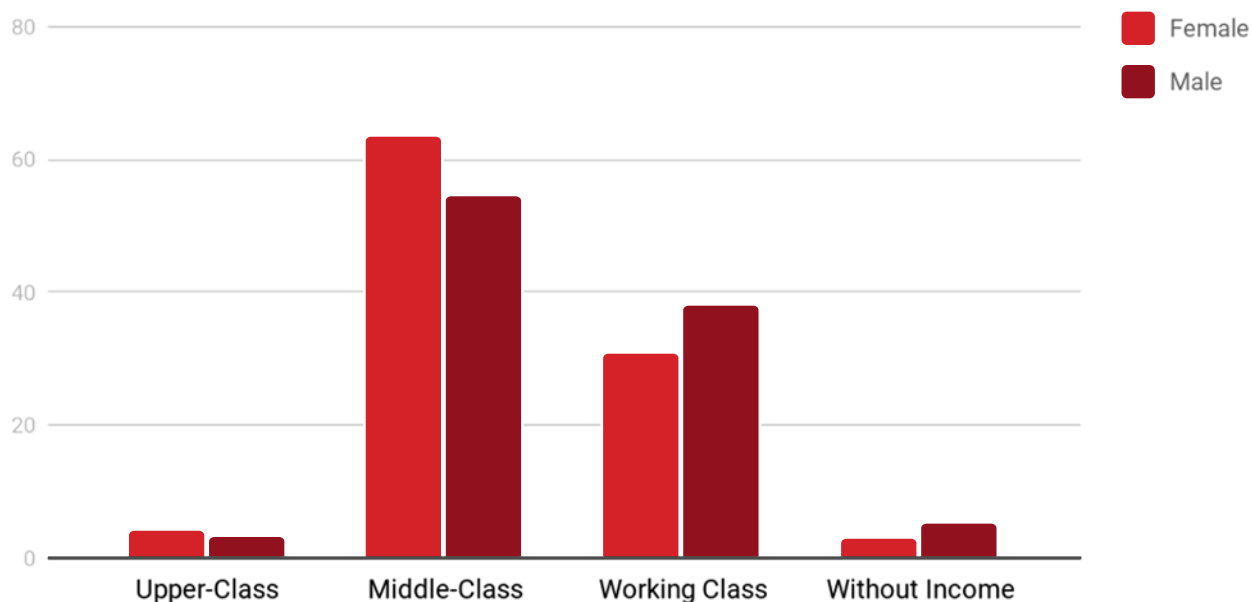
## Income Calculated from Respondents and their Spouses/Income



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Respondents were asked to choose a social class to which they felt they belonged. 58.5% of respondents (63% of female and 44% of male respondents) said they were middle-class. Thirty-four percent of respondents (30.2% of females and 37.7% of males) said they were working-class. 4.1% (2.9% of female and 5.2% of male) respondents said they were without income. We refer to this group as below the working-class. Only 3.4% of respondents (3.8% women: 3.1% men) said they were part of the upper-class. Female respondents were more likely to say they were part of a higher class than male respondents.

## Self-Perceived Class by Gender



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When cross-tabulating respondents' income with the class that they wrote they belonged to, it was interesting to note that most respondents considered themselves middle-class, whether they make less than JD 249 or more than JD 1000. Thus, 77.4% of people who had an income between JD 750 to JD 999 considered themselves to be middle-class. Likewise, 75% of the people who made JD 1000 or more a month also considered themselves to be part of the middle-class. More than 40% of people who made less than JD 249 also saw themselves as being part of the middle-class. It is also interesting to note that female respondents were more likely to consider themselves upper or middle-class than men, and less likely working-class or below working-class.

Class	Work Income of respondent and spouse in Jordanian Dinar				
	0-249	250-499	500-749	750-999	1000 +
Upper-Class	1.3	2.0	5.5	4.4	20.8
Middle-Class	40.6	56.2	69.8	77.4	75.3
Working-Class	55.4	41.5	24.2	18.3	3.9
Below Working-Class	2.7	0.4	0.4		

Most Jordanians who make up to JD 1000 a month see themselves as being middle-class. This is the main highlight of the above graph.

Like the Jordanian population, the majority of the survey's respondents were young adults. More than 42% of the respondents were between 18 and 34 years old. 19.3% were from 35 to 44 years old. 11.5% were between 45 and 54 years old. Finally, 26.6% were 55 years old and above.



## Personal Context : Mental and Physical

62% of respondents said that they feel sad, 41% of these respondents said they feel sad daily. Female respondents were more likely to say that they feel sad than male respondents. 66.5% of female respondents compared to 57.7% of male respondents said they felt sad.

Anger was also more common among female respondents than male respondents. 63.2% of female respondents said they feel angry while 57.2% of male respondents said they feel angry. 22.4% of women said that they want to hit someone. Whereas, 16.8% of men say they want to hit someone. Female respondents were more likely to say that they hit someone than male respondents. More than 16% of women said they hit someone compared to 10.6% of men said they hit someone. This begs the question of whom female respondents hit. When we cross-tabulated those women who said they hit someone daily, with those mothers who said they discipline their children, we found out that 28.3% of mothers who discipline their children said they felt like hitting someone regularly or daily.

75% of all respondents said that they walked regularly. Sixty-five percent of these respondents claim they walk daily. 76.8% of those who say they walk regularly identify as being middle-class. Seventy-three percent of respondents said that they do not do any sport. Respondents who do not have jobs were the least likely to do sports (84.2%). This response highlights the cost of doing sports, which is not only financial but also requires time. An unstable lifestyle and the inability to make choices for oneself could also be an explanation. Self-identified middle-class respondents were the highest category who said they exercise at 30.2%.

Regarding watching T.V, 79% out of all respondents said that they watched T.V. self-identified upper-class respondents are more likely to say they watched T.V (83.3%). Sixty percent out of all respondents said they drink carbonated soft drinks. Thirty-nine percent of respondents who said they drink soft drinks said they drink them daily. Seventy-nine percent out of all respondents said they eat sweets, but only 23% of respondents said they do so daily.

39% of our respondents said they were smokers. Smoking was highly gendered. Male smokers were the majority at a rate of 62.1% compared to 16.2% of females said they were smokers. This drastic difference between male and female smokers might be lower in reality. Given the stigma of women smoking, female respondents might feel less comfortable admitting that they smoke. In terms of self-identified class, below working-class respondents reported smoking at the highest rate of 55.3%. While the lowest percentage who said they are smokers self-identified as upper-class (30.8%). Probably this is connected to the financial pressure and the need for a way to vent anger or dissatisfaction.

### Summary



- The ability to lead a healthy lifestyle is mostly connected to the class, with working and below working-class respondents being the least likely to do any type of sports.
- Overall, most respondents did not do sports. Smoking is a highly gendered practice. The overwhelming majority of respondents who admitted to smoking daily were men.
- An alarming 60% of respondents reported feeling sad. Women were more likely to say that they were sad than men. This percentage needs to be understood further. On the one hand, it might be more socially acceptable for women to admit feeling sad than men. On the other, however, both percentages are extremely high and a cause for worry. Likewise, over 60% of respondents said they felt angry.

- Anger was more common among female respondents than male respondents. 63.2% of female respondents said they feel angry while 57.2% of male respondents said they feel angry. Here, the explanation that it is more acceptable for women to admit to anger than men does not hold. Anger is usually an emotion that is socially more connected to men than to women.
- More research is necessary to study what the causes of anger and sadness among the majority of Jordanians are. The impact of these feelings on the lives of these women and men and their families need to also be studied further.



## Family Lives

### Childhood Experiences and Memories

#### Gender Roles while Growing up

When asked about their childhood, most respondents recall their parents having fairly traditional gender roles. Most fathers did not help with housework. Fifty-four percent of respondents said that their fathers never helped in preparing food and 68% said their fathers never helped clean the house. However, 75% of respondents recall their fathers being responsible for buying food for the home, 65% of respondents said that their fathers used to fix broken items at home.

Respondents also remember their fathers playing with them as children, 47% of respondents said that they spent time playing with their fathers as children and their father taking them out. Respondents also remember that their fathers used to defend them when their mother was angry at them as children. However, only 32% of respondents said that their fathers took care of them as children. 30% of respondents said that their fathers did homework with them during their childhood and adolescence.

#### Memories of Structural Violence

Most respondents said that they grew up with enough food. 75% of respondents remember having enough food during their childhood and adolescence. At a slightly higher rate, 77.6% of female respondents said that they grew up with enough food. While 71.9% of male respondents said they grew up with enough food. When examined across self-identified class, 66.2% identified as working-class, 80% as middle-class, and 79.2% as upper-class. In contrast, 24% of the respondents said they did not have enough to eat. 16.3% of those who said they grew up without enough to eat identified as working-class and 6.2% say they are middle-class.

#### Memories of Gender-Based Violence

When it came to experiencing violence themselves, 26% of respondents reported being slapped, pushed, or shaken by their fathers or another male relative. Male respondents were over twice as likely to be slapped, pushed, or shaken by their fathers or another male relative at a rate of 30.5% compared to 13.4% of female respondents. In terms of self-identified class, working-class respondents were the most likely to report being slapped, pushed, or shaken by a male relative

at a rate of 28.5%. Fifteen percent of all respondents reported being slapped, pushed, or shaken by their mothers or another female relative (often or 2-10).

Female respondents were less likely to report being slapped, pushed, or shaken by their mothers or another female relative at a rate of 13.1% compared to 17.3% of male respondents. Out of all respondents, those who identified as working-class recalled being slapped, pushed, or shaken by their mothers or another female relative at the highest rate of 20.6%.

When asked about being insulted or humiliated by someone in their family in front of other people, 85% out of all respondents claimed they were never insulted or humiliated by someone in their family in front of other people. In contrast, 11% of all respondents said they were insulted or humiliated by someone in their family in front of other people.

Class played a key role here, self-identified working-class respondents were the highest percentage who said they were insulted or humiliated by someone in their family in front of other people at a rate of 14.1%, compared to 8.9% of middle-class respondents who claim they were insulted or humiliated by someone in their family in front of other people.

22% of all respondents said that they were slapped, pushed, or shaken by their fathers in the home. The percentage of male respondents (36.2%) was higher than that of female respondents (12.2%) who said that they were slapped, pushed, or shaken by their fathers in the home. In terms of self-identified class, working-class respondents are most likely to report being slapped, pushed, or shaken by their fathers when they were children at a rate of 27.6%. Out of the 27.6% of self-identified working-class respondents, 75.7% were men and 24.3% were women. Nineteen percent of respondents said that they were slapped, pushed, or shaken by their mothers when they were children. The percentage of male respondents (23.6%) was higher than of female respondents (14.5%) who said they were slapped, pushed, or shaken by their mother in the home. Considering self-identified class, working-class respondents were the most likely to report that they were slapped, pushed, or shaken by their mothers when they were young at a rate of 23.2% compared to 12.7% of self-identified upper-class respondents who said that they were slapped, pushed or shaken by their mothers in the home.

14% out of all respondents said they were beaten at home with a belt, stick, whip, or another hard object as children. Male respondents were twice as likely to report being beaten at home with a belt, stick, whip, or another hard object at a rate of 19.5% of male to 8.4% of female respondents. Ninety-eight percent out of all respondents said they were never burned by a family member as a form of punishment.

While the majority of respondents said that they did not experience physical violence, over a fourth of respondents were physically disciplined as children. Male respondents were twice as likely as female respondents to be beaten as children. In terms of class, respondents who identified as working-class reported the highest percentages of experiencing physical violence as children, in particular male working-class respondents.

## Memories of Violence Against Mothers

Close to 80% the respondents said that they never saw or heard their mother being insulted or humiliated by their father or another male relative. In contrast, 15% of the respondents said they saw or heard their mothers being insulted, belittled, or humiliated by male relatives. At a rate of 17.4%, women were more likely than men (12.8%) to recall seeing or hearing their mothers being insulted, belittled, or humiliated. In terms of self-identified class, working-class respondents were most likely to remember their mothers being insulted or humiliated at a rate of 18.3%. Seventy-eight percent of all respondents recall they never saw or heard their mothers being beaten by their father or another male relative.

At a rate of 10.8%, female respondents were more likely than male respondents (8.9%) to remember seeing or hearing their mothers being beaten by their father or another male relative.

In terms of self-identified class, working-class respondents were most likely to remember their mothers being beaten by their father or another male relative at a rate of 11.9%.

In terms of the respondents seeing or hearing their mothers being slapped, pushed, or shoved by their fathers or other male relatives, 86% out of respondents said that they never saw or heard their mother being slapped, pushed, or shaken, by their father or another male relative. The percentage of female respondents (10.7%) was higher than that of male respondents (8.5%) who said that they had seen or heard their mother being slapped, pushed or shoved, by their father or another male relative.

While over 80% of respondents said that they do not recall any verbal or physical violence against their mothers, this memory was gendered. Women respondents were more likely than men respondents to remember their mother being insulted or beaten. This might be because girls spend more time with their mothers. It might also be that girls felt closer to their mothers or identified more with their mothers and therefore had more acute memories. This gap in remembering highlights the subject nature of memory, but also how the very act of seeing and hearing, and remembering is determined by subject position.

## ■ The Person I Will Marry Will Have to Be ...

The overwhelming majority (81.8%) of never-married female respondents believed that it was important for their future husbands to allow them to work. However, in practice, 35.1% percent of unmarried female respondents said they had no problem with marrying a person who does not want them to work.

Male respondents preferred marrying working women. 64.4% of males preferred marrying a working woman. In specific, 73.2% of male respondents preferred marrying women who worked in the public sector. Generally, Jordanians prefer when women work in the public sector is well known. Public sector jobs are secure, there are fewer working hours and many benefits among them health insurance, maternity leave, and social security. What is interesting, however, is that even more female respondents said they preferred it if their future husbands worked in the public sector. 89.4% of female respondents also said they prefer marrying a man who is a public-sector employee. This is significant because public sector jobs are generally less well paid. However, they are secure jobs with benefits. The high percentage of female respondents who prefer to marry public sector employees points to how important job security and work benefits are for respondents.

More than 80% of unmarried female respondents said they would not marry a man who is already married to more than one woman. This percentage was the same for all women (unmarried and engaged to be married). We did not ask never-married women this question, however. The percentage of women willing to marry an already married man might differ if never-married women were asked.

In terms of attitudes towards people with darker complexions, 72.8% of men said that they did not mind marrying women who have a dark complexion. In contrast, only 55.5% of women respondents said they would marry a man with dark skin. This means that almost half of the female respondents would not marry a man with a dark complexion. Further research is necessary to explore the reasons for this and how this is connected to racism and beauty standards.

Concerning attitudes towards marrying foreigners only 27.3% of female respondents said that they would agree to marry a foreigner. While 55.7% of male respondents said they would marry a foreign woman. The fact that women were twice as unlikely to be willing to marry foreigners could be due to multiple reasons. One is Jordanian nationality law which does not allow Jordanian women to transfer their citizenship to their children. As a result, having non-Jordanian children is connected to many financial and legal difficulties.



Non-Jordanian children do not have the right to go to public schools for free and have to pay foreign rates at Jordanian universities. They have to apply for residency permits each year. They do not have a right to live in Jordan after they turn eighteen. Only Jordanians can work in many professions such as working in law, medicine, engineering to only name a few. Another reason could be due to nationalism. Whether it is nationalist sentiments or the unequal nationality law cannot be determined through this survey. Further research is necessary to understand the reasons so many respondents said they would not marry a foreign man.

Close to 60% of never-married male respondents said that they would not marry women who do not wear a headscarf. This number varied greatly according to age, self-identified class, and governorate. When we cross-tabulated this with age we found out that at a rate of 77.9% 45-54-year-old men were the ones who were the most willing to marry women who do not wear a headscarf. 35-44-year-old male respondents were the least likely to agree to marry a woman without a headscarf. 67% of 35-44 years old men said they would not marry a non-muhajaba (woman without a headscarf), followed by 60.8% of 18-34-year-old men. The percentage went up again with male respondents over 55, 56.8% of whom also said they would not marry a woman without a headscarf. This means that middle-aged men were more open to marrying non-headscarved women than younger male respondents and older respondents. Self-identified working-class men were the least likely to agree to marry a non-headscarved woman at a rate of 73.1%.

The most likely to agree to marry a woman without a headscarf were male respondents from the governorate of Jarash at a rate of 48.2% saying they had no problem marrying a woman without a headscarf. Respondents from the governorate of Ma'an were the least likely to agree to marry a woman without a headscarf, with 87.1% of respondents saying they would not marry a non-muhajaba.

When we asked currently or previously (hereafter ever) married respondents and those who were engaged to be married what they considered to be the most important attribute in a future spouse, 19% of respondents said they believed a person's religious commitment was the most important attribute to consider. 22.4% of ever-married or engaged to be married male respondents said they prioritize religious commitment and wearing a hijab compared to 16.6% of female respondents.

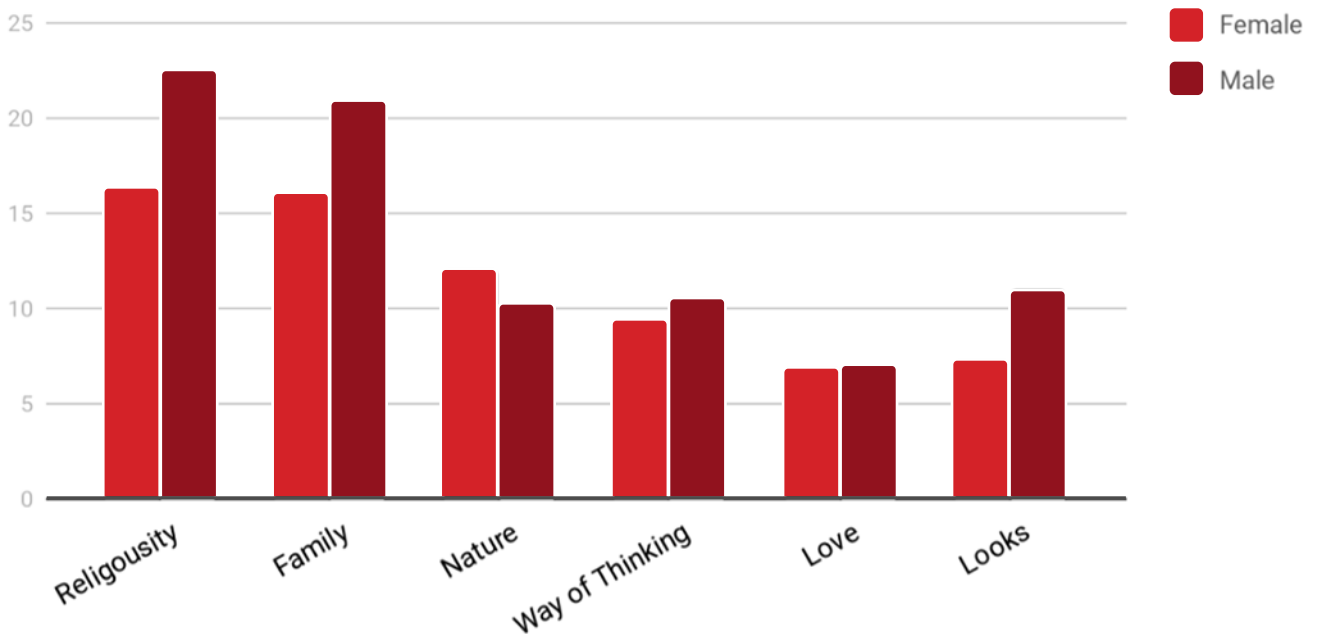
18% of all ever-married respondents and respondents who were engaged to be married said they considered the family of the spouse the most important. Ever-married and engaged to be married male respondents said they cared about the family of their wives at a rate of 20.8% compared to 16% of female respondents.

Only 7% of ever-married respondents and respondents who were engaged to be married said that love was an important consideration for them, there was no significant difference in response according to gender or according to self-identified social class. Younger respondents were slightly more likely to think that love was important at a rate of 8.3% and 8.1% for 18-34 and 35-44-year-old respondents respectively. Respondents from the governorate of Mafraq were the most romantic. 10.1% of respondents from Mafraq said love was important vs. 5.1% in Jarash. Overall, however, there were no great variations according to gender, self-identified class, or governorate.

9% of ever-married respondents and respondents who were engaged to be married said they thought about the way their spouse looks. Ever-married and engaged to be married male respondents were more likely to care about the way their future wives look at a rate of 11.1% versus 7.3% of female respondents. It would be interesting to ask about what the ideal standard of beauty for most men and women is. Considering that skin color did not play as big a role for men as for women respondents, beauty standards seem to include other things.



## The Most Important Attribute in a Spouse



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Examining responses in terms of self-identified class, 20.6% of self-identified working-class respondents, 18.5% of self-identified middle-class respondents chose religious commitment as the most important attribute in a future spouse. Only 9.7% of self-identified upper-class respondents prioritized religious commitment. Family background was the most important attribute of self-identified upper-class respondents at a rate of 17.6%. Class identification did not play a role when it came to the importance respondents gave to love. Only 7.8% of self-identified upper-class respondents vs. 7.6% of working-class respondents said that love was the most important factor for them when they picked their future spouse. Overall, there were no great variations in participants' responses according to age.



### Summary

- For female respondents, the ability to work after getting married and marrying someone who is not already married to another woman were an extremely important consideration when thinking about marriage.
- The overwhelming majority of women (68.5%) said they would not marry a foreigner. Just under half of the respondents said they would not marry someone with dark skin. For male respondents, skin color was not as important as for female respondents, neither was it to marry a foreigner. Men also preferred marrying women who already worked.
- A religious commitment was what self-identified middle and working-class respondents looked for primarily in their spouse. Self-identified upper-class respondents considered a spouses' family to be the most determining factor. Love did not play a big role in any of the classes and sexes.
- Respondents considered what a person looked like to be more important, especially male respondents. A spouses' family wealth was not a significant attribute in a future spouse, only 3.2% of ever-married and engaged female respondents said that a spouses' family wealth was an important consideration for them versus 0.5% of male respondents. There was no difference among the three self-identified class, upper-class (1.9%), middle-class (1.9%), and working-class (2.1%).

# ■ Marriage and Divorce

## Happily Ever After

Most respondents reported extremely high satisfaction rates with their spouses. Ninety-six percent of all ever-married respondents said that they respect their spouses. Ever-married men were more likely to say they respect their spouses at a rate of 97.7 % than ever-married women.

While respondents said that love had not been a determining factor when they got married, the majority seemed to have found love in marriage. Ninety-three percent of ever-married respondents affirmed that they loved their spouses. It is interesting to note that men were more likely to feel that they loved their spouses than women. 97.3% of ever-married men vs. 91.1 % of ever-married women said that they loved their spouses. This shows that there are different expectations and standards among genders.

The vast majority of respondents said they were happy in their marriage. Ninety-two percent out of ever-married respondents classified themselves as happy in their marriage life. There was an almost 10% gender gap in feelings of happiness, however. 87.7% of female respondents vs. 96.4% of male respondents said that they were happy in their marriage. Ninety-one percent of all ever-married respondents saw their spouses as a major support to them. Again, there was a gender difference (88.4 % of ever-married female respondents vs. 95.8% of ever-married male respondents). Eight-eight percent of ever-married respondents agreed with the statement that despite their spouse not being perfect, they were still happy with them.

Furthermore, 83% of ever-married respondents agreed with the statement that 'while there were often problems with their spouses, in general, they lived peacefully.' Ninety-one percent of ever-married respondents said that they felt that their spouses respected them and took their opinions seriously. Again, there was a significant gender difference in answering, men were more likely to feel that their wives respected them, and their opinions have been taken seriously than women at a rate of 96.8 %. In contrast, only 86.8% of ever-married women said they felt that their husbands respect them and take their opinions seriously.



### Summary

- Overall respondents reported being extremely satisfied in their marriages. Despite only 7% of ever or about to be married respondents saying that love was important, 93% of respondents said they had found love in their marriage.
- Respondents also said they were happy in their marriage and they felt respected. In all answers, there was a gender gap of about 10% in favor of male respondents.
- Overall, male respondents seemed to feel happier, more respected, and more supported than female respondents. But men also said they loved their wives and respected them at higher rates than women reported loving and respecting their husbands.
- So, while men felt more respected, they also said that they respected their spouse more. This is an important finding that should be probed further with more in-depth qualitative research.

# Household Relations

## ● Decision-Making

Overall, men reported being more likely to make decisions in the household, not just about general household matters, but also about their spouse's personal choices such as her ability to work, leave the house or even see her family. Female respondents confirmed that husbands were the primary decision-makers. However, female respondents were more likely than male respondents to say that the decision was taken jointly.

Close to 38% of ever-married male respondents said that they were the ones who decided whether their wives spend time with family, friends, or relatives. About 36.7% of female respondents confirmed that it was their husbands who decided about their time with family, friends, or relatives. In contrast, only 10.3% of ever-married female respondents said that they determined whether their husbands spent time with family, friends, or relatives. Whereas 47% of ever-married male respondents said it was a joint decision.

Regarding whose decision it was whether their spouse left the house or not, only 13.8% of ever-married female respondents said that they decide whether they can leave the house on or not. Whereas, 56.8% of ever-married female respondents said it is a joint decision. Ever-married men were three times more likely to say they decided if they could leave the house or not at a rate of 49.5%.

In terms of the decisions of getting a job, only 11.5% of all ever-married female respondents said that it was their own decision. 30.8% of ever-married female respondents said they made this decision together with their husbands. Only 11.3% of ever-married female respondents said they decided how their husband would spend his free time. In contrast, ever-married male respondents were twice as likely to say that they chose the way their wives spent their free time at a rate of 22.8%.

Regarding who made decisions concerning contraception, 63% of ever-married respondents said that it was a joint decision. There was no significant gender difference in the response. 62.7% of ever-married respondents female said it a joint decision vs 64.7% of ever-married male respondents.

Wives seemed to have been the least involved when it came to financial decisions such as buying a flat, house, car, or electrical appliances. Most ever-married respondents said financial decisions were made jointly. 63.8% of ever-married female respondents said that is a joint decision. Similarly, 59.4% of ever-married male respondents claimed the final say in spending money on large investments (such as: buying a refrigerator, a car, or a house) is a joint decision. On the other hand, ever-married male respondents were four times more likely to say that spending money on large investments (such as: buying a refrigerator, a car, or a house) was their decision than ever-married female respondents at a rate of 29.8% of men vs. only 6.6% of women.

Ever-married male and female respondents had different perceptions concerning who has the final say in making decisions related to their children and their house. At a rate of 64.2%, ever-married female respondents were more likely to say that male children's education decisions are joint decisions than ever-married male respondents (57.7%). Ever-married male respondents were more likely to say that anything concerning male children's education is the father's decision. 19.8% of men said the male child's education was the father's decision versus 8.3% of women who said that it was the decision of the mother in their household.



## Summary

- Men were more likely to make decisions in the household, not just about general household decisions, but also about their spouses' ability to work, leave the house, or even see her family. Female respondents confirmed that husbands were the primary decision-makers.
- However, female respondents were more likely than male respondents to say that the decisions were taken jointly when male respondents said that they are the ones who made the decision.
- This is particularly alarming when it comes to decisions that only concern women, like women's ability to see their family or leave the house. It is also important to note that only 13.8% of women said that it was their own decision to visit their relatives and leave the house, while 56.8% of female respondents said that their ability to leave the house and visit relatives is a joint decision. Of course, we do not know whether this is a fact, or whether women feel that it should be a joint decision.
- However, the response, whether based on reality or based on what respondents feel should be a reality, points to a perception that it should not be a woman's prerogative to make such decisions.
- In future questionnaires, it is important to ask about whether respondents feel that wives should ask their husbands for permission, or reach a decision concerning them jointly.

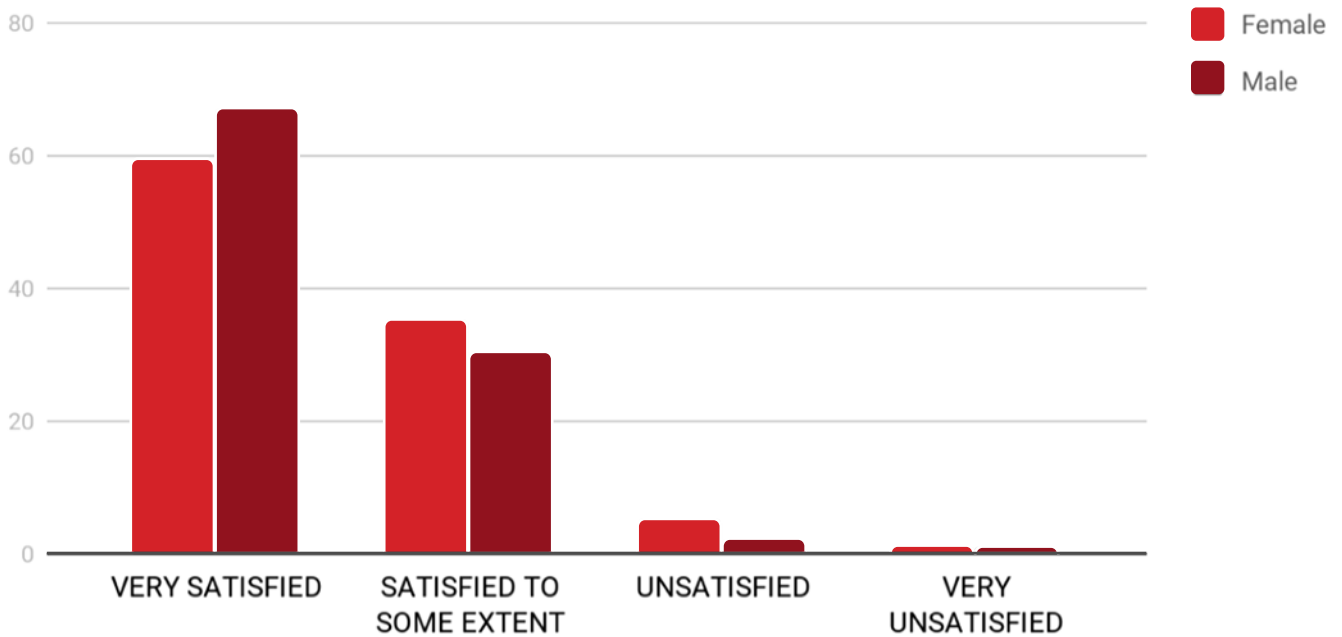
## ● Division of Household Labor

When it came to the division of labor inside the home, most respondents seemed to conform to traditional gender roles with female respondents doing most of the housework, and men doing most of the fixing and purchases. Seventy-three percent of ever-married female respondents said that they did most of the household work while only 5.3% of ever-married male respondents said that they did most of the housework. Fifty-two percent of ever-married male respondents said that they never did most of the housework.

In contrast, 64.1% of ever-married female respondents said they never did most of the outside tasks like going paying bills, taxes, or fixing cars. Likewise, men mostly paid for household expenses. 69.3% of ever-married male respondents said that they paid for most of the outside home tasks like paying bills, taxes, or fixing cars.

The majority of respondents said they were satisfied with the division of labor inside the home. 62% of ever-married respondents said that they were satisfied with the division of household work, and 33% of ever-married respondents are satisfied to some extent with the division of household work. Similarly, when asked about the spouse's satisfaction with the division of household work, 61% of all ever-married respondents believed that their spouses are satisfied with the division, and 35% of ever-married believed that their spouses are satisfied to some extent with the division of household work. Male respondents were slightly more satisfied with the division of labor than female respondents (see graph below).

## Respondents Satisfaction with Dividing Household Work



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### ● Financial Contributions

When it came to household expenses providers, 64.3% of all ever-married respondents reported that husbands paid water and other bills. Respondents said that their parents also helped them with paying for bills. The parents of ever-married men were twice as likely to help with paying for bills than the parents of ever-married women. 63.9% of ever-married male respondents said that they paid for electricity bills. Similarly, 61.8% of ever-married female respondents confirmed that their husbands paid for electricity bills. The percentages were similar for buying food, paying for electricity bills, and other expenses.

While there was an agreement between the spouses as to husbands' contribution towards household expenses there was a gap in the perception of women's financial contribution to household expenses among ever-married respondents. In terms of payment for water bills, 11.8% of ever-married female respondents said they paid for water bills. On the other hand, only 1% of ever-married male respondents reported that their wives contributed to paying water bills. Similarly, 12.8% of ever-married female respondents claimed they paid for their children's clothes while only 1.5% of ever-married male respondents reported that their wives paid for clothes of children. Even in paying for food, 11.8% of ever-married female respondents said they paid for clothing their children while only 1.3% of ever-married male respondents reported that their wives paid to provide food.

This gap in perception is significant. While both male and female respondents agree that husbands are the main financial providers, female respondents report also contributing to household expenses. This contribution, however, is not acknowledged by most male respondents.

To understand this dynamic further it is important to find out the extent of women's contribution to household expenses. The difference in perception is extremely important. Jordanian Personal Status Law is based on the idea that husbands are providers and pay maintenance. In return, women are supposed to obey their husbands. It is important to measure whether this ideal of husbands as providers and wives as caretakers measures up with reality. Further research is necessary to tease out the nuances of this dynamic.

Regarding paying for children's education, 34.9% out of ever-married male respondents said that they pay for their children's education. This was confirmed by an even higher percentage of 38.9% of ever-married female respondents who confirmed their husbands paid for their children's education.

Similarly, when asked about paying for clothes, 64.9% of ever-married male respondents said they said they paid and 59.8% of ever-married female respondents confirmed that their husbands paid for the family's clothes. Twenty percent of ever-married male respondents said they paid for home mortgages, compared to 5% of ever-married female respondents. Seventeen percent of ever-married male respondents said they paid for car payments to only 2.8% of ever-married female respondents.



## Summary

- In most households, respondents confirmed that spouses engaged in traditional gender roles, in which women did most of the household and child-rearing and husbands worked to provide financially.
- When it came to the contribution of wives to household expenses, however, there was a big gap in perception between what female respondents reported contributing to the household and what male respondents believed their wives contributed. This gap in perception is significant and requires further detailed qualitative research.

## ● Childcare Responsibilities

The vast majority of ever-married female respondents - 86.2% to be precise- who have children reported that they took care of their children. This includes feeding and caring for their children. In contrast, only 17.9% of ever-married male respondents who have children said that they took care of their children, including feeding and looking after their children.

Here, there was a significant difference in gender perception, though 86.2% of ever-married women who have children reported that they were in charge of childcare, 21.6% of ever-married men said they shared the burden equally with their wives. The same perception applies to other several parenting activities like staying at home with children when they are sick. 86.1% of ever-married female respondents said that they stayed at home with their children when they were sick. Only 18.2% of ever-married male respondents who have children said they stayed at home with the child when she/he is sick.

It is interesting to note, that like with household spending, men said they contributed to childcaring more than women acknowledged. This difference in perception is telling, when a role is gendered, the party who is supposed to occupy this role seems to be less likely to acknowledge it when the other party who is not supposed to occupy this role says they do it, nonetheless. In other words, in traditionally male tasks, men are less likely to acknowledge it when women contribute to the task. Likewise, in traditionally female tasks, women are less likely to acknowledge it when men contribute to the task.

Ever-married female respondents who had children were two times as likely to drop off or pick up the children at school or daycare than ever-married male respondents who have children. 48.6% of ever-married female respondents said they dropped off or picked up their children at school or daycare versus 24.7% of ever-married male respondents. 57.1% of ever-married female respondents who have children said that they played with their children or did various leisure time activities versus 19.6% of ever-married male respondents.

Ever-married female respondents who have children were more likely to report that they changed their children's diapers or clothes with a rate of 75.2%. Also, 87.2% of ever-married

female respondents said that they were the ones who bathed their children. 65.7% of ever-married female respondents said that they helped their children with homework. 61.1% of ever-married female respondents said that they read to the child.

Ever-married female respondents who have children said that they are also the ones who scold and discipline their children with a percentage of 52.5% compared to 24.1% of ever-married male respondents who have children. The same was true in terms of physical disciplining and punishment of children. More than 40.9% of ever-married female respondents who have children said they physically discipline their children compared to 16.4% of ever-married male respondents who have children. 28.3% out of ever-married female respondents who have children said they physically discipline their children said they hit someone daily or often.

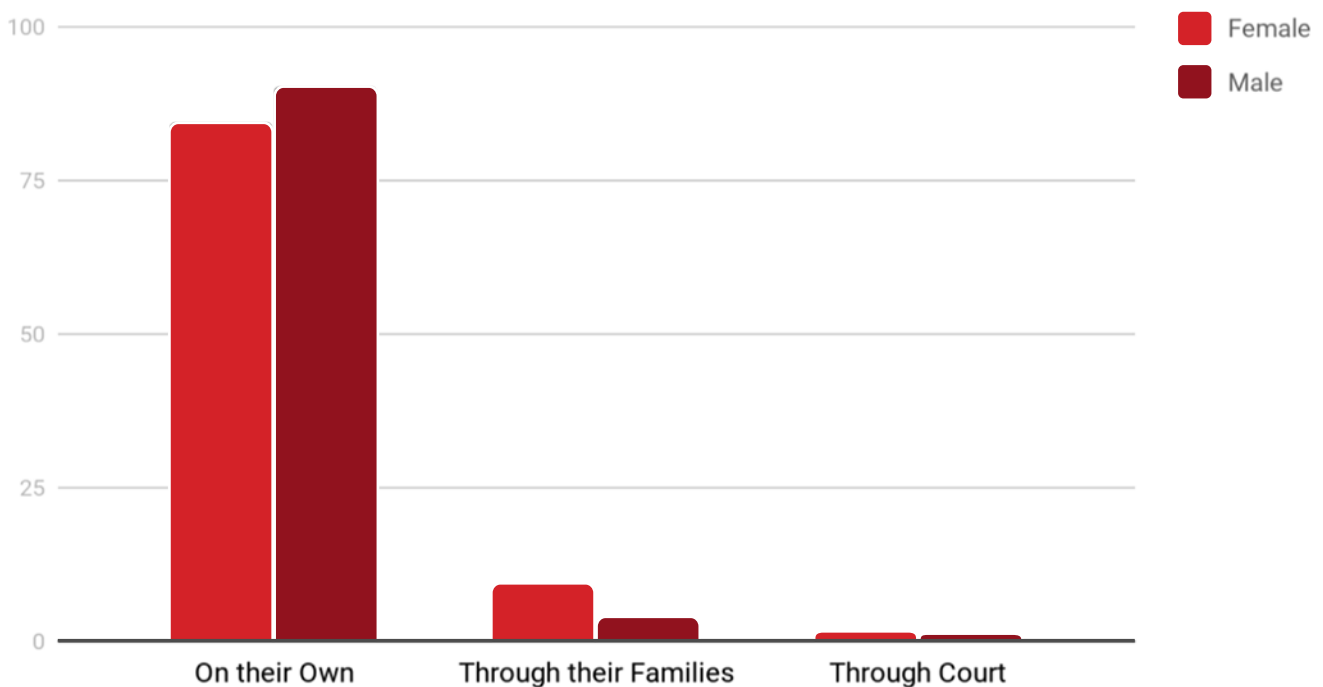
Connecting this to the fact that more women reported hitting someone when they are angry, this begs the question of whether children are the recipients of maternal anger. This should also be contrasted to respondents' memories of being physically disciplined more by their fathers than their mothers. Does this mean that discipline practices have changed, with more mothers disciplining their children now than before? Alternatively, do respondents not remember their mothers' disciplining them?

## Marital Conflict (Resolution)

Regarding the causes of marital conflict, financial concerns were the biggest causes of disputes. Twenty-six percent of ever-married respondents said that they fought with their husbands mostly about money-related issues. While 21% of all ever-married respondents reported that they had a conflict about children. Nine percent of all ever-married respondents said they fought when the husband or the wife was in a bad mood/ angry about something else. Six percent of ever-married respondents said that they disagreed about buying things. Only 5% out of all currently and previously married respondents said they did not fight with their spouses. On a whole, there were no significant differences between the genders.

Interestingly, the vast majority (77%) of ever-married respondents said that they solved their problems on their own. Whereas, 15% of ever-married respondents said they solved their problem through the intervention of their families. Only 1% of ever-married respondents said they went to court to solve their problems.

### Methods of Marital Conflict Resolution by Gender





When there was conflict, 50.1% of ever-married respondents said they talked to each other to resolve the problem. More than 19.8% percent of ever-married respondents said they screamed at each other when there was a problem. Close to 12% of ever-married respondents said they leave the house when there is conflict. Whereas 11.2% of ever-married respondents said they solved their problem using silence. A little more than 3.1% of ever-married respondents said they hit their spouse.

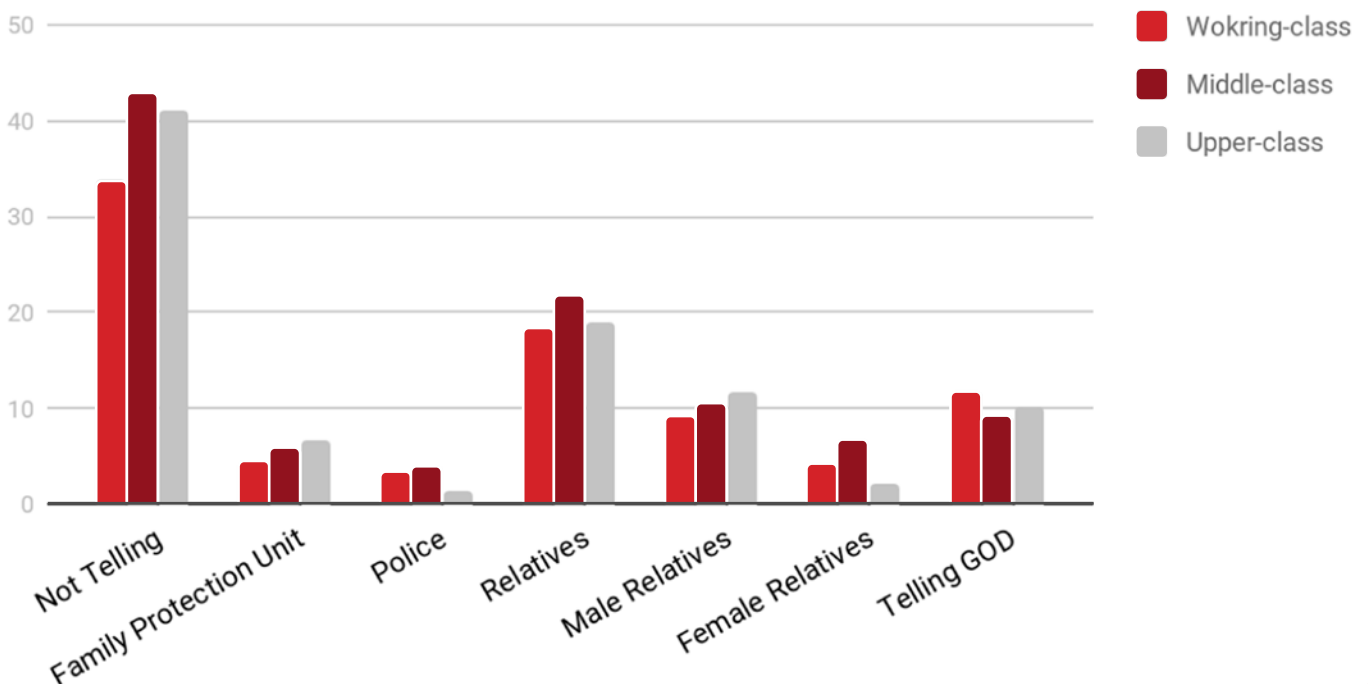
## Violence in Marital Relations

Regarding violation against married women, 12.9% out of married female respondents reported being insulted or humiliated by their husbands or a husband’s male relatives. This percentage was affected by a self-identified class. While 4.3% of married self-identified working-class women say they were insulted or humiliated by their husband or one of his male relatives, only 0.6% of married self-identified upper-class female respondents say they were insulted or humiliated by their husbands or his male relatives.

When we asked respondents whether and if so to whom they would report domestic violence, responses change drastically if we consider the self-identified class. The vast majority of respondents said they would not tell anyone (37%). This percentage was similar between female respondents among the self-identified upper-class (41%) and working-class (42.8%) respondents. Self-identified upper-class respondents were the most likely to go to the family protection unit with a percentage of 6.8%. Self-identified middle-class respondents were the most likely to say that they would go to the police (4%).

In contrast, 21.8% of self-identified middle-class and 19% of self-identified upper-class female respondents said they would turn to relatives in case of domestic abuse. More than 10.5% of self-identified middle-class respondents said they would go to male relatives, compared to 6.7% who said they would turn to female relatives. Ten percent of the respondents said that they would pray to God for help if they were abused.

### To Whom Survivors of Domestic Violence Would Turn According to Class







## Perceptions vs Practices



The vast majority of male respondents (92.6%) and females (87.9%) believed that males are responsible for all household spending. Despite this belief, 53.1% of male and 76.6% of female respondents still maintain that women should contribute to household spending. Respondents agreed with the statement that both women and men have to work for financial stability. Nonetheless, 57.6% of male respondents still held that it was their right to decide whether their wives worked or not.

Even though the highest in working-classes (57.1%) this belief is not limited to these classes, 46.9% of self-identified upper-class, and 46.7% self-identified middle-class respondents believed the same. The difference between attitudes and practices becomes apparent. Moreover, despite believing that men are responsible for providing for their families, women, and men both confirmed that wives did contribute to household expenses.

Both female and male respondents believed that both men and women have to work to provide for the family. Yet 57.6% of men believe it is their right to decide whether their wives work or not. This belief does not vary significantly according to class. Respondents from the upper-class (46.9%) also believe the same which is so close to the middle-class percent (46.7%).

Just under half, 43.5% to be precise, of female respondents believe that Muslim men have the right to marry four women, as opposed to 46% of female respondents who did not believe that it is the right of Muslim men to marry more than one wife. In contrast, 72% of male respondents, almost double the percentage see it as a Muslim man's right to marry up to four wives. Despite believing that in theory, it was their right, 59% of male respondents said they would not marry more than one wife even if they could afford it. Self-identified upper-class men were even less likely to want to have more than one wife, even if they could afford it. Close to 77% of self-identified upper upper-class men said they would not marry more than one wife.

Despite 43.5% of female respondents saying it was a Muslim man's right to marry up to four wives, 77.8% of female respondents said they would not marry a man who is already married. The difference between these two percentages highlights the importance of differentiating between attitudes and practices.

In terms of the distribution of inheritance, the majority of female respondents (63.6%) and male respondents (62.7%) believe that daughters and sons should not inherit the same amount. Both 67% of females and 53.6% of male respondents agreed that a mother has the right to be the legal guardian of her children. Similarly, 93.4% of females and 90.6% of male respondents believe that a widow has the right to be the legal guardian of her children. This is in contrast to the Jordanian Personal Status Law in which mothers cannot be their children's legal guardians (Jordanian Personal Status Law, 2019).

Regarding divorce, 77.1% of female respondents and 65.2% of male respondents believe it is the right of women to end their marriage by divorce. More than 81.9% of women and 77.7% of men think that child custody should be shared equally by parents after divorce. Also, the vast majority of females (96.4%) and male respondents (93.1%) believe that there has to be a clear mechanism that forces husbands to pay alimony and child support.



### Experiences with Education

#### ● **Schooling Experiences**

Most respondents said that their schooling had been good. 70.7% of respondents felt that they had received good schooling. This figure is misleading, however, without knowing whether respondents went to public or private schools. Close to 70% of those who said that their schooling was good had also gone to private school at one point in their life. Of those who had never gone to private school 50.1% did not feel that they received good schooling. The picture further changes when we add gender to the analysis.

Women respondents were slightly less likely to have studied at private schools at a rate of 12.4% than male respondents (16.6%). However, female respondents were more satisfied with their education than male respondents. Overall, 76.3% of female respondents as opposed to 62.2% of male respondents, said that they received a good education at school. This can be attributed to the fact that public schools for girls are considered to be of a higher standard than public schools for boys. It could also be that girls are often more hardworking students than boys. The satisfaction rate was the lowest in the governorate of Jarash, with only 58.8% of respondents believing they had received a good education.

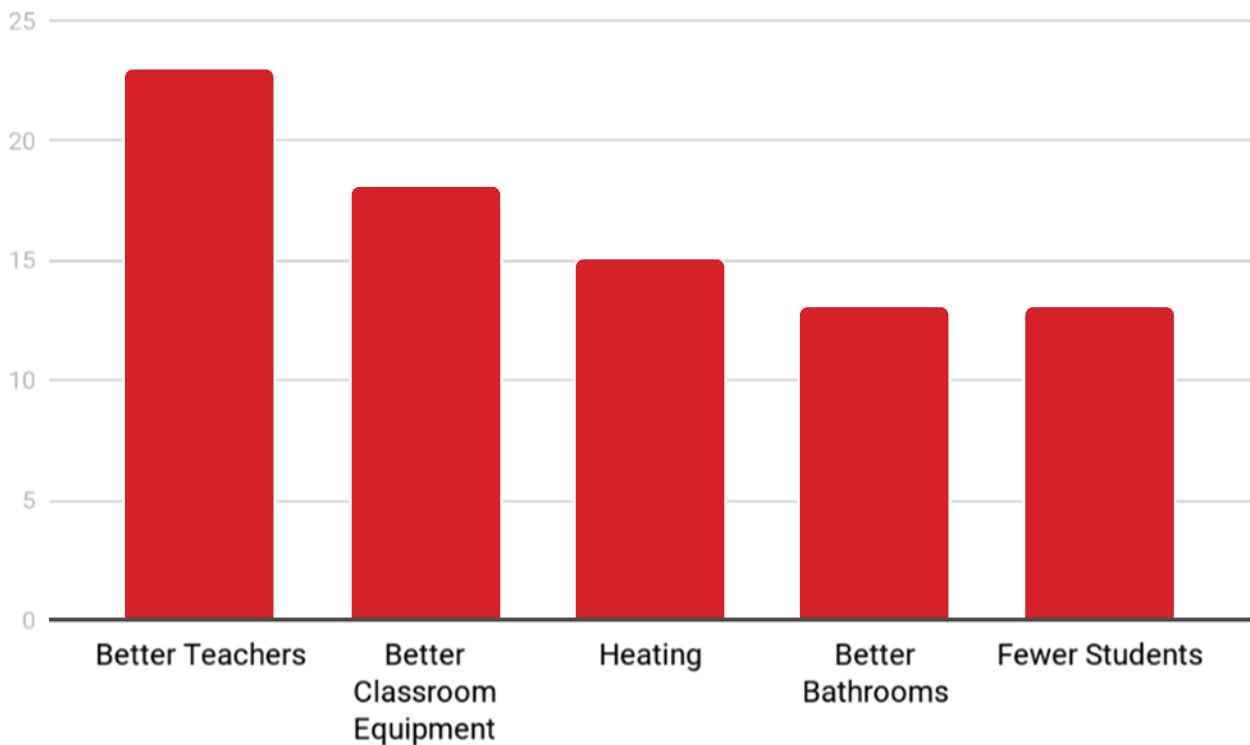
In terms of school infrastructure and sanitary requirements, 47.6% of respondents said that the toilets at school were inadequate in terms of cleanliness and, as a result, were unusable. Dissatisfaction with school toilets did not vary significantly in terms of gender. However, dissatisfaction with toilet cleanliness was significantly higher when respondents went to public schools. While 66.6% of respondents who had gone to private school said toilets had been adequate, only 49.1% of those who went to public schools said that the toilets were satisfactory. That is a difference of 17.5%.

Unsatisfactory toilets led many respondents to say that they never used the toilets while at school. More than 30% of respondents said that they did not use the toilet when they went to school. The highest percentage of respondents who did not use toilets while at school was in the governorate of Ajloun at 49.2% of respondents saying that they did not use the bathroom during school. At a percentage of 32.7 women were slightly less likely to use the toilets than male respondents 28.9% of whom said they would not use the toilet. Sixty-eight percent of all respondents said they did not use the toilets at school because the toilets were dirty. Among the governorates, 87.3% of respondents from Mafraq said that bathrooms were dirty. 7.1% of female respondents and 4.1% of male respondents said they did not use the toilets because they felt the toilets were unsafe.

When asked what would have made their schooling experience better 23% of respondents said better teachers, 18% better classroom equipment and 15% said heating during the winter and air-conditioning during the summer, 13% of respondents said better bathrooms, and 13% said that fewer students in the same classroom would have made their time at school better.

There were no significant differences between the answers of male and female respondents. Most respondents went to classrooms that had between 21 and 30 students in them. The exception was those were respondents from al-Zarqa and Ajloun who mostly recalled that they went to classrooms with 31-40 students. The number of students in the classroom did not vary significantly according to the gender of the respondents.

## Things that Would Have Made Schooling Experience Better



67% of respondents said that during the winter they would not be able to feel their fingers from the cold. Thirty-six percent of respondents recall feeling hungry while at school. Many remember not eating healthy food at school; 55% said that they would eat sweets while at school. Thirty-four percent of respondents recall being beaten at school during their primary schooling. And 45% of respondents said that their classmates were hit by teachers at school. Thirty-nine percent of respondents said that most people in their year failed the Tawjihi exam. Despite this, 70% of respondents said they loved going to school. Eighty-one percent of respondents believe that they are excellent teachers.

17% of respondents said that they had to work while they went to school. Thirty-eight percent said that they had to do a lot of housework after coming back from school. 64% of respondents believe that their parents cared a lot about their children's homework. More than 54% of respondents reported learning most of what they know about their religion from their parents and 31% said from school.

### Summary

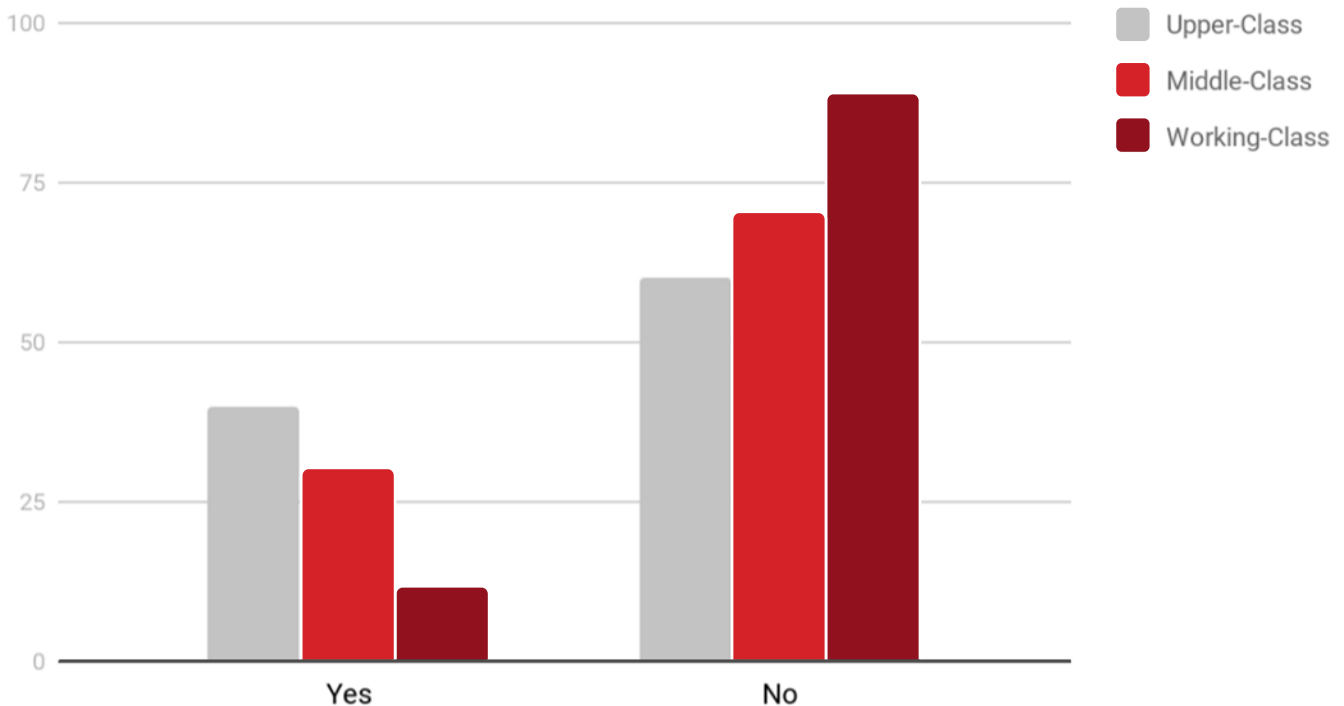


- At 50.1% half of the respondents who never went to private school did not feel that they received a good school education.
- A shocking 67% of respondents said that during the winter they would not be able to feel their fingers from the cold.
- While female respondents had slightly better experiences than male respondents at public school, overall respondents said that 1) better teachers, 2) better classroom equipment 3) heating during the winter and air-conditioning during the summer, 4) cleaner and better bathrooms and 5) fewer students in the same classroom would have improved their school experience.

## ● Higher Education

In terms of higher education, 23% of respondents said they received a university degree, while 77% did not go to university. The percentage of women who have finished university is slightly higher at 23.7% than men at 22.6%. Most of those who finished university were from the self-identified upper-class (40%). While only 9.1% of those who went to university came from below working-class conditions.

### Respondents Who Went to University by Self-identified Class



More than 23% of those who did not go to university said that the main reason was that their grades were not good enough. Twenty percent of respondents report not being able to go for financial reasons (16.3% because their parents could not afford to pay tuition fees and 4.7% because the fees were too high). It is interesting to note here, that the percentage of women who could not go to university because their parents could not afford it is lower (12.6%) than that of men respondents (19.7%). At an almost ten percent difference, 62.3% of female respondents vs. 54.5% of male respondents said that their parents paid for their university education. In other words, parents were more likely to pay tuition fees for their daughters than their sons. This percentage has to be contrasted with data from the World Value Survey that indicated that 28.7% of respondents believed that university education is more important for boys than for girls (Inglehart, R., C. Haerpfer, A. Moreno, C. Welzel, K. Kizilova, J. Diez-Medrano, M. Lagos, P. Norris, E. Ponarin & B. Puranen et al, 2014, p.19).

The Arab Barometer, on the other hand, has found that most publics surveyed believe women should have equal rights to men in a variety of areas including access to university education (75 percent), employment (84 percent), and political office (62%). (Robbins and Thomas, 2018, p.2). Here it is important to read the attitudes of the public against their practices to get a fuller vision of whether and how perceptions play out in reality. Despite reportedly believing that university education is more important for men than for women, in our survey we found that parents or women are more likely to pay for their daughters' education than parents of men.

While it was rare that parents sold the land to enable their children to go to university when parents sold land it was generally so that their sons could go to university. 1.3% of male respondents said that their family sold land so that they could study versus only 0.1% of female respondents. So, while parents of women were more likely to pay their daughters'

university tuition fees, they were less likely to sell land to enable their daughters to go to university. Women were also more likely to get the Makruma scholarship (15.9% female vs 11.6% for male respondents).

Students' inability to study because they needed to work was highly gendered. 23.1% of male respondents did not go to university because they needed to work, while only 1.5% of female respondents said they needed to work. Of those who did go to university, 12.7% of male respondents vs. only 1.5% of female respondents worked to be able to pay for tuition fees. This is a significant gender difference. It would be interesting to conduct further research examining whether female family members of male respondents who said they were unable to go to university because they had to work went to university or not.

There were also significant gendered differences in family attitudes. 9.2% of female respondents vs. 3.6% of male respondents said that they did not go to university because their families do not like university education. An additional 5.6% of female respondents said that their family did not believe in educating women. More than 4.6% of female respondents said that their husbands had refused that they continue going to university. About 8.8% of female respondents said they had to stop going to university because they got married. About 1.3% of female respondents stopped attending university because they became pregnant. And 1.2% because there were no safe and guaranteed means of transportation.

The percentages of respondents who did not go to university because of marriage and husband's refusal were the highest in the self-identified upper-class at 11.5% and 7.9% and lowest at below working-class respondents (0.2% and 2.2%). In contrast, the Arab Barometer findings which state that citizens with lower levels of education are often more likely to hold unequal views, suggesting that as educational attainment increases across MENA, attitudes toward women may also shift (Robbins and Thomas, 2018, p.2). While self-identified class is not an indication of the level of education, it is nonetheless interesting to note that identifying as belonging to a more affluent class does not necessarily result in holding more equal views or engaging in more equal practices.

## Summary



- There are still gendered perceptions that prevent women from going to the university such as believing that women should not study at university. Despite these gendered perceptions that prevented women from going to university or continue their studies, women respondents were slightly more likely to go to university than men respondents.
- Parents of women were also more likely to pay their tuition fees than the parents of men. Having to work was a reason that many men were not able to afford or go to university. This shows that in reality economic restrictions often trump social perceptions.
- While perception might be sexist, in reality, more women studied than men, and more families of women paid for their daughters' tuition. Furthermore, economic restrictions were gendered, with 23.1% of male vs. 1.5% of female respondents saying that they needed to work and therefore could not go to university.
- The main reason male and female respondents were unable to go to university was that they did not receive good enough grades. This was followed by financial reasons and not social or cultural.
- Twenty percent of respondents report not being able to go for financial reasons. Thus, material reasons and not perceptions were the main reason men and women could not study at university.

## Transportation

Comparatively speaking, respondents' use of public transportation was low. In general, respondents reported using their private cars more than public transportation. Thirty-four percent of all respondents said that they go shopping by car, 26% of respondents used public transport (this includes buses, taxi, and taxi by smart applications).

Thirty-three percent of all respondents said they go on foot. This percentage struck us as being quite high and we wonder whether respondents refer to the time of the Corona lockdown during which people were prevented from using their cars. At a ten percent difference, women were less likely to go shopping using their cars than men. Only 28.4% of women said they shopped using their cars vs. 38.2% of men.

This response varied according to the self-identified class. Unsurprisingly, self-identified upper-class respondents were the most likely to use their cars to go shopping at a rate of 63.8%. This is in contrast to 52.7% of those who self-identified below the working-class who said they went shopping on foot. Both self-identified working-class and middle-class respondents reported using public transport for shopping at similar rates of 27% and 25.9% respectively.

Thirty-eight percent of all respondents said they went to work using their car. It is interesting to note that the percentages of all respondents who said that they use their car to get to work were the highest in the self-identified middle-class (49.7%). Only 27% of all respondents said they used public transport to get to their work.

Twenty-five percent of respondents said they went to work on foot, most of them were in the self-identified working-class (36.3%). Women were less likely to get to work using their cars than men. More than 33.9% of women said they used a car owned by them to go to work vs. 38.6% of men respondents.

Eighty percent of all working respondents did not get a transportation allowance at their jobs. Working female respondents were less likely to get a transportation allowance at their jobs, even though they were the least likely to own cars. Close to 85% of currently working female respondents said that they did not get a job allowance vs. 77.7% of currently working male respondents. These numbers point to another aspect of the gender pay gap that exists between women and men.

When asked about the frequency of using public transportation, only 11% of respondents reported using public transport daily. Male respondents were more likely to use public transportation daily than female respondents. More than 6% of women said they used public transportation daily vs. 15% of men respondents. 35% of the respondents said they never used public transportation.

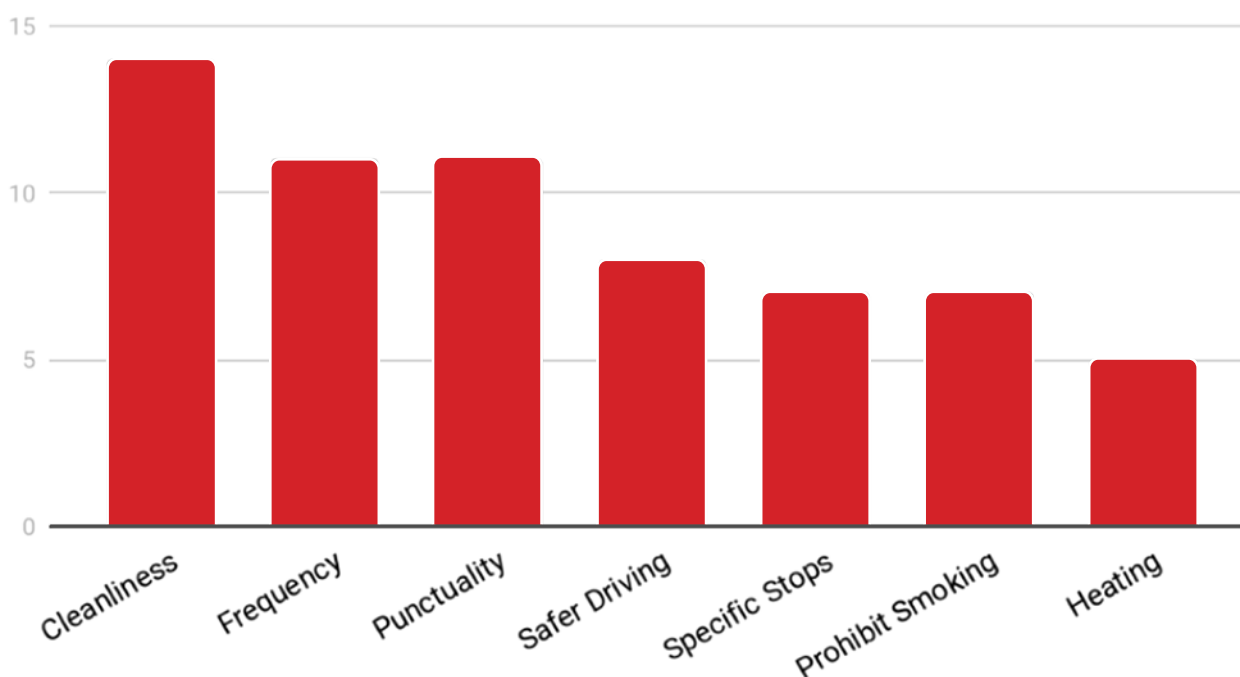
Among the governorates, the highest use of public transportation was in Tafleeh were 13.8% of respondents said they depended on public transportation daily. Respondents in Ajloun used public transportation the least at a rate of 6.1%. Further research is needed to examine the reasons for this variation. However, the poor public transportation service provider is likely a determining factor.

Respondents' made important recommendations in terms of how to make public transportation better. Fourteen percent of respondents said that if they could change one thing about public transportation to make it better they would make public transportation cleaner. Eleven percent of respondents said regulating the schedule of buses and having buses come more frequently would increase the quality of public transportation. Eleven percent of respondents said they wished that means of public transportation would come more punctually. Eight percent believed that safer and slower driving would increase the quality of public transportation.



Also, respondents mentioned that means of public transportation should stop at specific stops, that smoking should be prohibited in public transportation, and that more geographic areas should be covered by transportation in Jordan. The person controlling the tickets was seen by 5% as someone who often abused his power. Finally, respondents wished that there would be a hotline for complaints. Interestingly there was no significant difference between responses according to the gender of the respondent.

## Changes Respondents Would Make in Public Transportation



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## Economic Lives

The biggest concerns respondents raised were economic. Most respondents worried about not having enough money. Forty-eight percent of respondents worry (always or mostly) about having enough money to buy food. There was no significant difference between female and male respondents in terms of this worry. About 41% of respondents said they are concerned that they do not have enough money to purchase clothes. While 27.6% of females and 11.6% of male respondents worried that their husbands or wives spend too much on cigarettes, the main worry of most respondents concerned being able to buy basic goods and food.

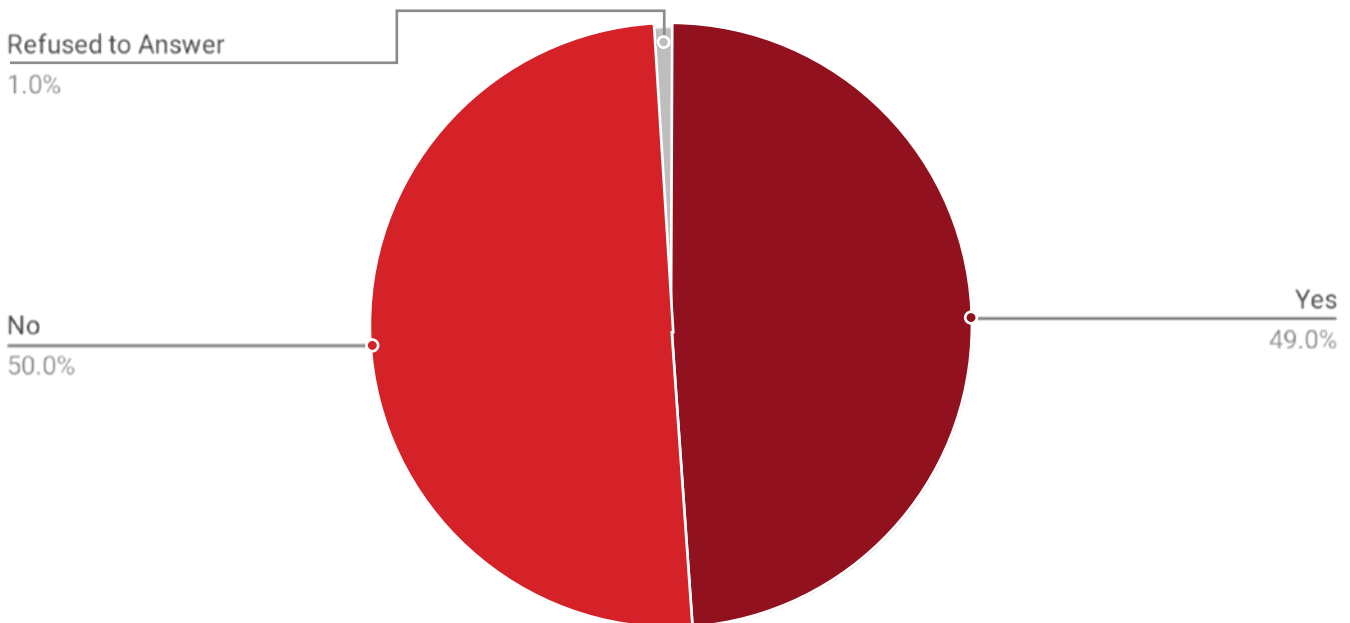
In terms of having bank accounts, 64% of respondents said that they do not have an active bank account. Women were 25% less likely to have a bank account than men. Seventy-seven percent of female respondents said they had no bank account and 50.1% of men. Sixteen percent of respondents said that someone else had access to their account. About 22.1% of all female respondents and 12.8% of male respondents who have bank accounts said that someone else could access their bank account. Women were twice as likely to have someone else access their accounts. For both sexes, it was the spouse who had access to their account. Male respondents also reported that their parents and sons had access to their accounts. While female respondents said that both sons and daughters had access.

## Economic (In)Security

Fifty percent of respondents said that they needed more money each month to cover their expenses. Male respondents were slightly more likely to say they needed extra money each month at a rate of 53.6% to 44% of female respondents.

### Do you Require Extra Money Each Month to Cover your Monthly Expenses?

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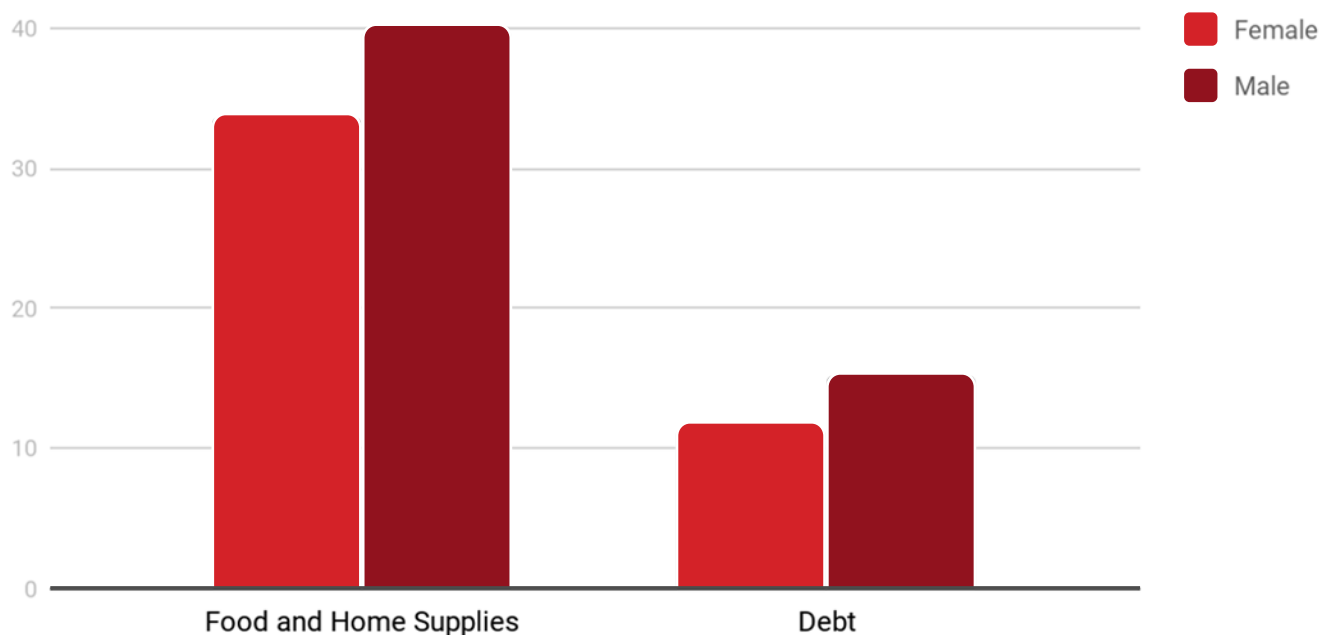


Women respondents were more likely to say that despite not having enough, they make due with the money they have. Close 20% of female respondents said they got along with as opposed to 12.3% of male respondents. Both female (16.5%) and male respondents (18.2%) reported turning to their parents for the extra amount needed. Brothers were also a source of help for both males (15.4%) and female respondents (12.6% were helped by their brothers). More than 11.% of men and 11% of women were able to get money from relatives. Men were more likely to receive support from friends (17.6%), while only 6.2% of female respondents turned to friends for help.

Most respondents needed more money each month for food and home supplies. Close to 34% of women and 39.7% of men said they required money to cover food and home supplies each month. The debt was the second reason why respondents needed more money. More than 15% of men and 11.3% of women said that they needed more money to pay the monthly debt. Given that the debt was monthly, it is probable that it was money that respondents needed to pay back to relatives and friends who supported them the month before, therefore forming a cycle of debt. See Ababneh (2016) for a qualitative discussion of the role of debt in the lives of many Jordanians.



## Spending by Gender



Gender Barometer Survey July 2020

More than 58% of respondents said they needed additional money every month, while 31.8% said they required more money every three months. The response rates were almost identical in terms of gender. This means that the economic insecurity of not having enough income every month to cover basic needs is faced by the majority of Jordanian women and men equally.

Debt as a way of life was also the main theme that emerged from the data. Forty percent of respondents said that they needed to borrow money to cover monthly economic expenses. Thirty percent of respondents said that they borrowed up to 100 Jordanian Dinars, while 21% borrowed from JD 101-200. About 40.9% of respondents borrowed from relatives (family, brothers, and parents). This indicates that the family is still the main support unit for most Jordanians. About 21.1% borrowed from friends. Close to 9.5% said they borrowed from banks, while 6.3% had a tab at their local supermarket. The percentages for female and male respondents were similar. The only differences were that women were more likely to borrow money from their sisters than men. More than 6.1% of women vs. 0.7% of men borrowed money from their sisters. Men were more likely to borrow from their friends than women. More than 29.3% of men said they borrowed from friends vs. 10.3% of women. Women were slightly more likely to borrow from their parents and family, and the neighborhood supermarket than men.

- Almost a quarter of men and women reported receiving money from their families. In contrast, only 7% of the sample said they received regular external (non-familial) support. Close to 40% of those who got external support received it from a government agency. Women were more likely to be recipients of government funding. More than 42.2% of female respondents vs. 36.6% of male respondents said the government supported them. Further research to examine the source of government support is necessary.

## Family Spending

About 40% of respondents said that they do not generate their income. Respondents spend 52% of their income on basics like food and water and electricity bills. As mentioned earlier, in terms of spending on the family, most respondents confirmed that it was generally the husband who covers the children's expenses. Furthermore, 71.8% of female respondents said that their husbands paid all household expenses. However, when asked if women as wives also contributed towards family expenses, 73.6% of women and 76.3% of men said that they did. Men were the main providers in terms of paying for household expenses. However, in practice, both women and men contributed to family expenses. Further qualitative research is needed to examine this question.

Men were more likely to feel that they chose how to spend their money than women. More than 91.5% of male respondents felt that they chose what to spend their money on, while only 54.6% of female respondents felt that they are the ones who decided what to spend their money on. Only 8.7% of females and 7.3% of male respondents reported spending on themselves.

Male respondents were almost three times as likely to contribute towards paying for family houses and flats than women. Forty-four percent of male respondents and 15.7% of female respondents said that they have paid towards buying the home in which they live. However, while 40.1% of men said that the home they lived in belongs to them, only 5.5% of women reported owning the house they lived in. More than 35.3% of women said that the flat they lived in belongs to their husbands versus 5.7% of men who said that the flat they lived in belonged to their wives. Joint ownership was extremely rare at 2%. Out of the 15.7% of female respondents who said that they had contributed to paying for their home only a bit over half (57%) owned the home, while 19% did not.

I Contributed to Buying/Building our Home	I Own our Home		
	Yes	No	Not Applicable
Yes	57	19	-
No	42	73	19
Not Applicable	1	8	81
Total	100	100	100

### Gender Barometer July 2020: Homeownership for Women who Contributed Paying for the Family Home

This means that 19% of women who contributed to buying real estate did not end up owning the real estate for which they had paid. What is missing in these numbers, of course, is the exact amount women and men contributed.

# Employment, Unemployment, and Work Conditions

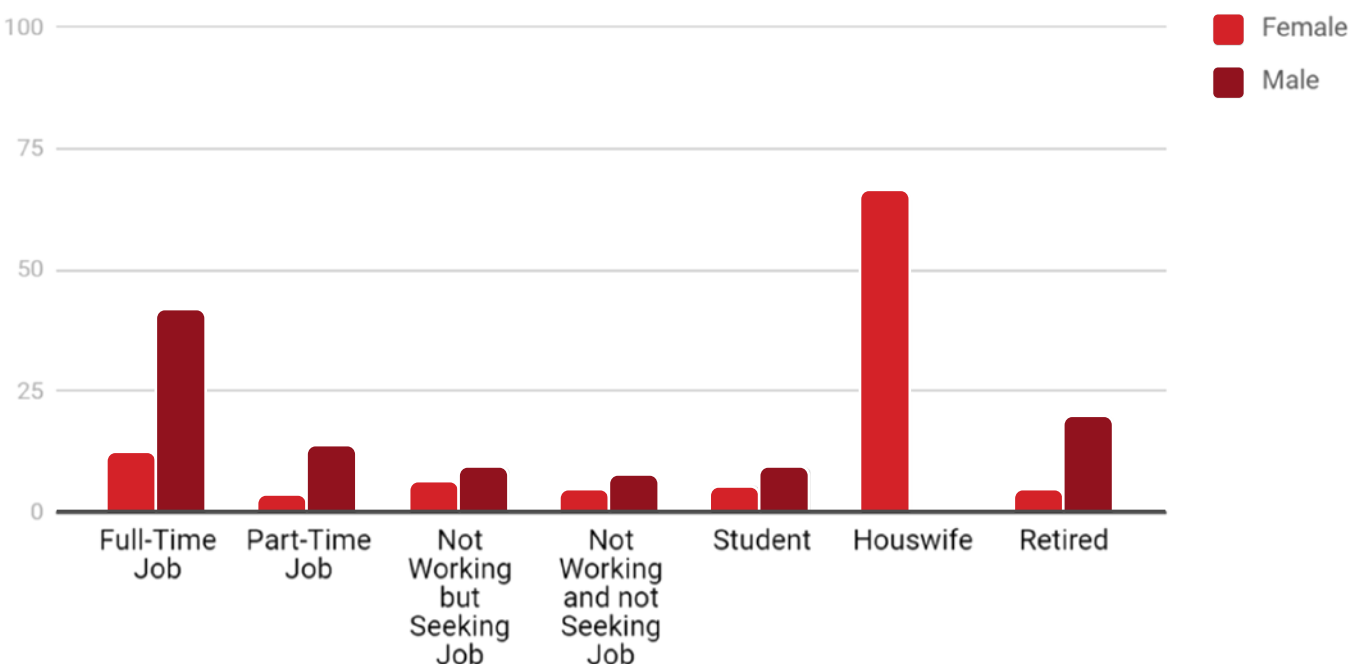
Most of the respondents felt insecure in their employment status. Only 31% of working respondents felt that their employment status was stable. Twenty percent of respondents engaged in seasonal work from time to time. Sixty-one percent of respondents reported that they felt nervous or depressed because they did not have enough work. This feeling applied to both males (65.3%) and female (57.2%) respondents. Thirty-nine percent of respondents (45.1% of male and 32.6% of female respondents) said that they felt embarrassed in front of their families because they did not have enough income. Sixty-two percent of married respondents said that spouses felt depressed and stressed because they did not have enough work and income.

The number was high both for men speaking about their wives (60.7%), and women speaking about their husbands (63.1%). This finding is interesting because the ability to work is usually seen as being closely connected to masculinity. In return, loss of work is often seen as contributing to men feeling emasculated. In our survey, however, both women and men felt hard hit by the loss of work, or more generally the stress related to not having secure employment and job security.

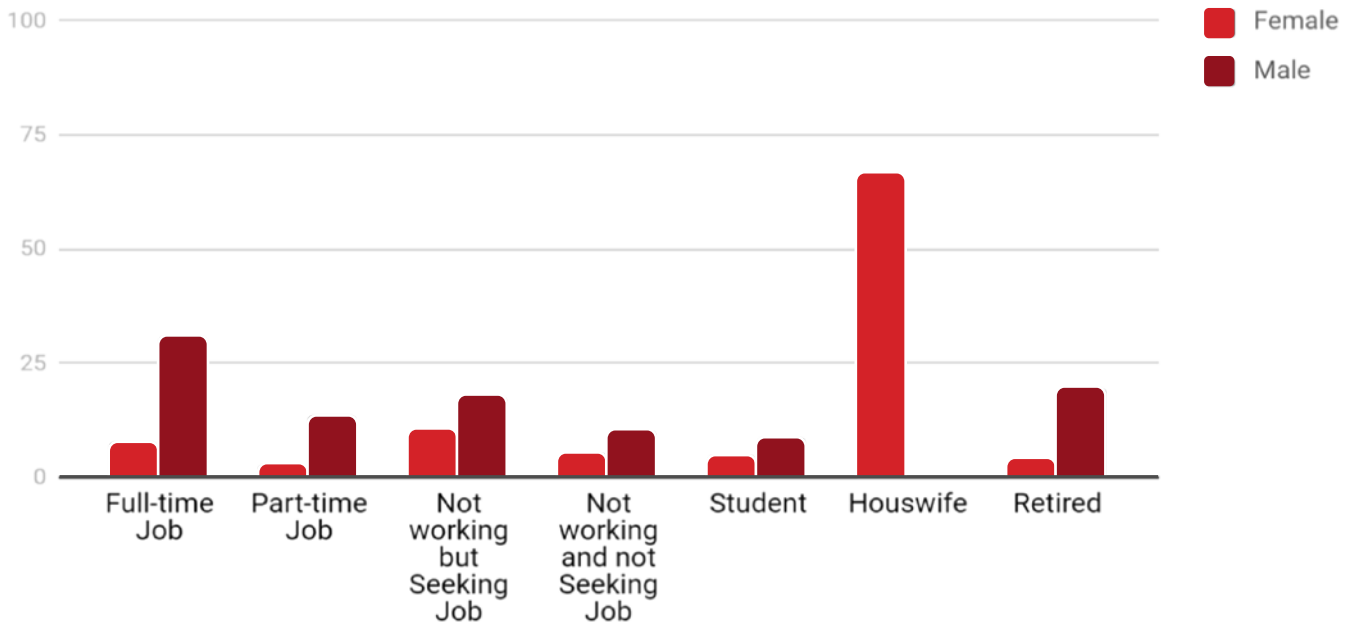
Employment insecurity was not merely a feeling; however, many respondents did in fact, lose their jobs during the Corona pandemic. More than 26.4% of our respondents worked full time before the Corona pandemic, while only 19.1% of respondents reported working full time at the time of the survey (July 2020). This means that almost 8% of respondents lost their jobs during the COVID-19 pandemic. The number of respondents looking for work almost doubled from 7.4% before the Corona lockdown to 13.7% by early July 2020.

The majority of our respondents were housewives (32.9%). Out of our female respondents, 65.5% said they were housewives. Only 11.7% of our female respondents worked full time. More than 11.7% were retired. According to the Department of Statistics, 15.4% of women who are older than 15-year-old are working women (Department of Statistics, 2018).

## Employment Status before the Corona Lockdown



## Employment Status after the Corona Lockdown

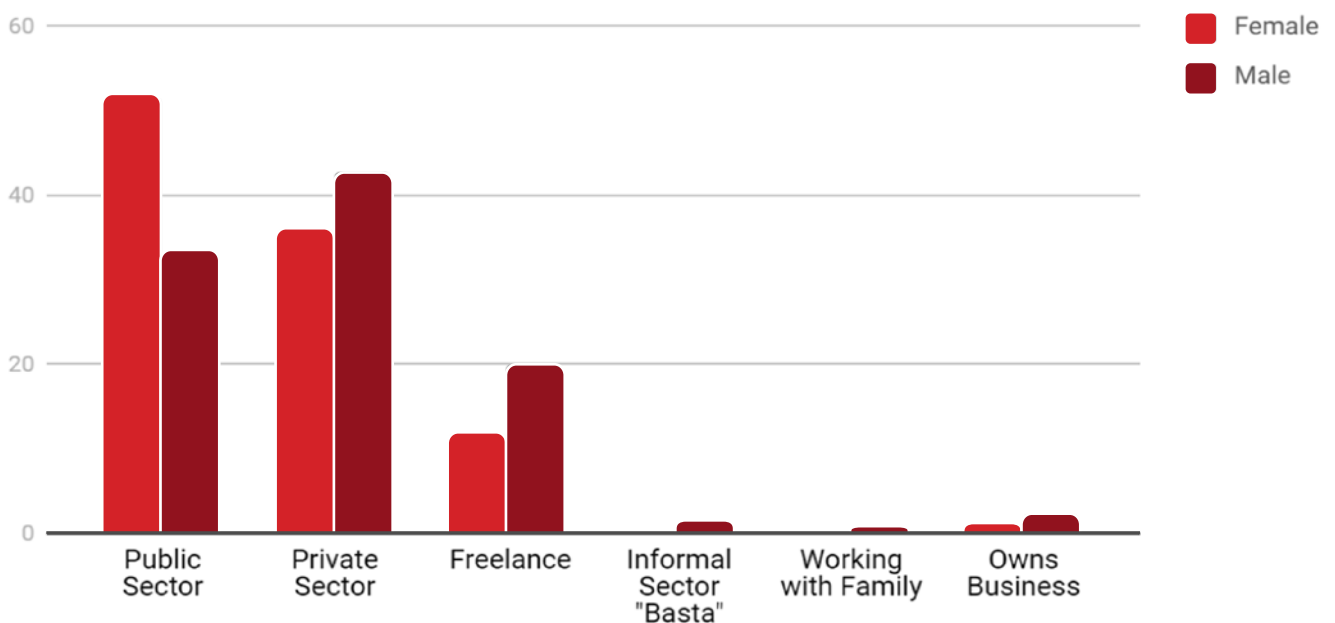


Gender Barometer Survey July 2020

Most respondents worked in the public sector (41.4%), with the majority of the respondents working in the public sector living in Zarqa (56.8%) Amman (52.1%). Only 4.5% of respondents who lived in Ma'an worked in the public sector. More than 36.9% of the respondents worked in the public sector. In Ajloun 89.2% of all respondents who worked, worked in the public sector. Responses indicate that public sector jobs are mostly available in Amman and al-Zarqa, while most people in the governorates do not have access to public sector jobs. With the decline in public sector jobs due to decreased public spending, the number of public sector jobs is declining (Assaad, 2014). This affects governorates particularly hard.

Women respondents were more likely to work in the public sector and men in the private sector. About 33.2% of men who worked reported working in the public sector and 42.7% in the private sector. 51.6% of working female respondents worked in the public sector and 35.8% in the private sector. More than 19.9% of the working women and 11.9% of working men said they worked for themselves, and 1.3% of working men said they worked as street vendors. The previous discussion on the decline in public sector jobs, therefore, affects women in the governorates the hardest.

## Job Sector by Gender



Gender Barometer Survey July 2020

Social security is the main pillar of economic security. Sixty-nine percent of respondents said that they were not registered with social security. Only 16.4% of female respondents were registered with social security. More than twice as many men were registered with social security at 40.5% of respondents. This means that not only are social security registrations extremely low in Jordan, but women are also the least likely to have social security. In other words, women are the least socially secure.

When asked about whether they would choose to retire early if given the chance 48% of respondents said they would do so. Forty-five percent of the respondents said they would retire early to relax, while 22% reported wanting to retire to do work to secure extra income. The reasons for wanting to retire early varied by gender. The main reason all respondents wanted to retire early was to relax. However, more women choose this option than men. 49.4% of women said they wanted to retire to relax vs 43% of men. Women were also more likely to retire to have some time for themselves than men. 14.2% of women vs. 9.9% of men wanted to retire early to have more time for themselves.

The second most important reason for women to retire early was to take care of their children. For men, childcare was not a big motivator for early retirement. Close to 16.1% of female respondents vs. 3.7% of male respondents said they wanted to retire early to take care of their children. For men, the second most important reason for early retirement was to be able to work somewhere else to get more income. Men were three times as likely to want to work after retirement than women, with 33% of male respondents saying they wanted to retire early to work and only 11.6% of female respondents.

Those who said they would not retire early explained this by saying that their retirement salary is too low. Twenty-five percent of respondents said that they had to continue to work because the retirement salary was too low. This percentage was slightly gendered, with 27.5% of men and 21.3% of women saying that they would not retire early because they could not afford to do so on the retirement salary provided. Twenty-five percent of respondents said that they did not want to retire because they loved to work. Men were slightly more likely to say that they loved their jobs than women (27.5% of men and 21.8% of women).

However, when it came to health insurance, 68.7% of respondents said they have some kind of health insurance. Female respondents (73%) were insured at a higher percentage than male respondents (64.5%). Forty-eight percent of those who are insured had public insurance, followed by 31% who had insurance from the armed forces. More than 88.2% of all respondents said that they wanted to have health insurance. Paradoxically, the higher rates of insured women are most likely due to two reasons, the first one is positive discrimination in favor of unmarried daughters and sisters in the other one is discrimination against working women and their ability to ensure their husbands (Civil Health Insurance Bylaw 2004, article 8). On the one hand, the law makes it easier to have insurance for female relatives, such as unmarried daughters and sisters, while it does not allow the insurance of unmarried sons past the age of eighteen. On the other hand, some laws discriminate against working women's ability to ensure their husbands.

To give only one example, at the University of Jordan female employees were previously unable to have insurance for their husbands unless the husband was disabled and could not work. This bylaw has since been changed. Now, female employees can ensure their husbands. However, a female employee has to pay JD 240 (approx. \$338) for her husband while a male employee has to pay JD 30 (approx. \$42) to ensure his wife. The same stark contrast in fees is the case at Jordan University for Science and Technology. In effect, these universities discriminate against their female employees.

## ● Working Conditions

When asked whether a superior had ever asked them to do something at work that they did not agree with, 14.3% of women and 10.1% of men report that at one point their superior has asked them to perform tasks at work that they did not want to do. Women were more likely to be asked than men. This experience was similar (from 11.4-11.8%) across the self-identified middle, working-classes, and those who say they have no income (below the working-class). 55.3% of those who were asked to do something at work they didn't agree with, they did it in the end.

The answer varied greatly according to the self-identified class to which respondents belonged. The percentage of people who reported that they had been asked to do things they did not want to was almost the same in terms of the middle-class, working-class, and those who said they were below working-class (around 11%), 100% of upper-class respondents said that they had never been asked to do anything they did not agree with by their superior. Women are more likely to be asked to perform additional tasks for which they are not financially compensated, and which do not fit in with their job description than men. However, self-identified upper-class women are far less likely to be asked and to agree to do this. Therefore, it is mostly working-class and middle-class women who are asked to perform extra work without financial compensation. This confirms what studies have already shown about exploitation. Class privilege and gender privilege protects employees from being asked to perform tasks that are not part of their job description. The most vulnerable social groups are also those who are most likely to be exploited at the workplace.

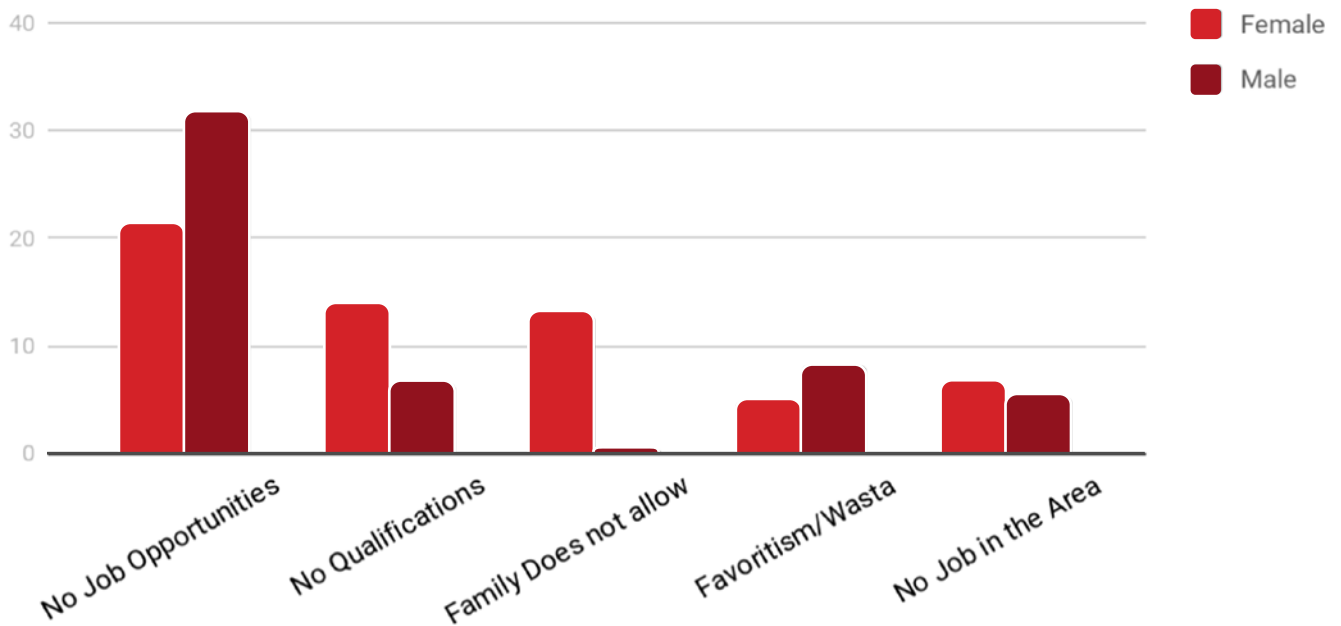
The right to clean and usable toilets is an essential aspect of dignified work. Close to 88.2% of all working respondents said that they were able to use the toilet during work. Female respondents were 8% more likely to say that they could use the restrooms at work. More than 94.5% of all working female respondents and 86.7% of male respondents who work said they were able to use the toilets at work. The difference between the two sexes might stem from the higher number of men who work privately, either in private business, or as freelancers, or in a vocational capacity. This includes drivers, builders, street vendors, and other workers who often do not have access to toilets. As a result, men often find themselves in work situations in which they do not have access to toilets.

Most working or retired respondents (39.3%) use the toilet at home. This practice is highly gendered, as 74.3% of all women working or retired use the toilet at home versus 36.2% of working men. Despite female respondents saying that there were toilets in their workplace, a substantial number of women therefore still prefer not to use the restrooms at work. Men report having the ability to use the restrooms inside mosques (28.5%), and using public toilets (17.1%), or simply going outside (10.9%). Women did not seem to use mosque toilets at all, and only 9.2% reported using public toilets, and 4.6% going outside in nature.

## ● Unemployment

When asked what the reasons were that respondents were unemployed, 25% of unemployed respondents replied that it was because there were no work opportunities, 11% said that it was because they did not have the right credentials and 6% that there were no job opportunities in the area (governorate) in which they lived.

## Reasons Respondents Say they are Unemployed



Gender Barometer Survey July 2020

This response was similar in terms of gender, with the majority of women (21%) saying that they did not work because there were no job opportunities and 13.6% saying they did not work because they did not have the right credentials.

However, responses started to vary according to gender when it came to familial approval. 12.7% of female respondents reported that they did not work because either their family or husband do not permit it. 7.3% of women said that they do not work because they would not be able to see their children, and 3.8% because workplaces do not have nurseries. Women (4.8%) and men (8.2%), both also said that not having connections also prevented them from working. The responses change drastically if we consider self-identified classes.

While 26.8% of self-identified working-class people said that they did not work because there are no work opportunities, only 13.6% of upper-class respondents gave this answer. Class identification did not result in more progressive views of working women. 8.8% of self-identified upper-class respondents vs. 7.6% of working-class respondents said they did not work because their family/husband refused that they work. However, self-identified upper upper-class respondents were more likely not to work because nurseries were not available (11.2%, the second most important reasons upper upper-class respondents gave for not working) or they would not be able to see their children (8.1%).

### ● Dignified Work

In the survey respondents were asked to define what dignified work meant to them. 24% of respondents said that a decent salary was the most important component. This was followed by 14% listing that decent work required that there be health insurance, and 13% social security. Eleven percent listed job security as a prerequisite for dignified work, and another 11% said that the work environment needed to be safe. Only 1% of respondents said that dignified work was gender-segregated. There were not great variations in responses according to gender.

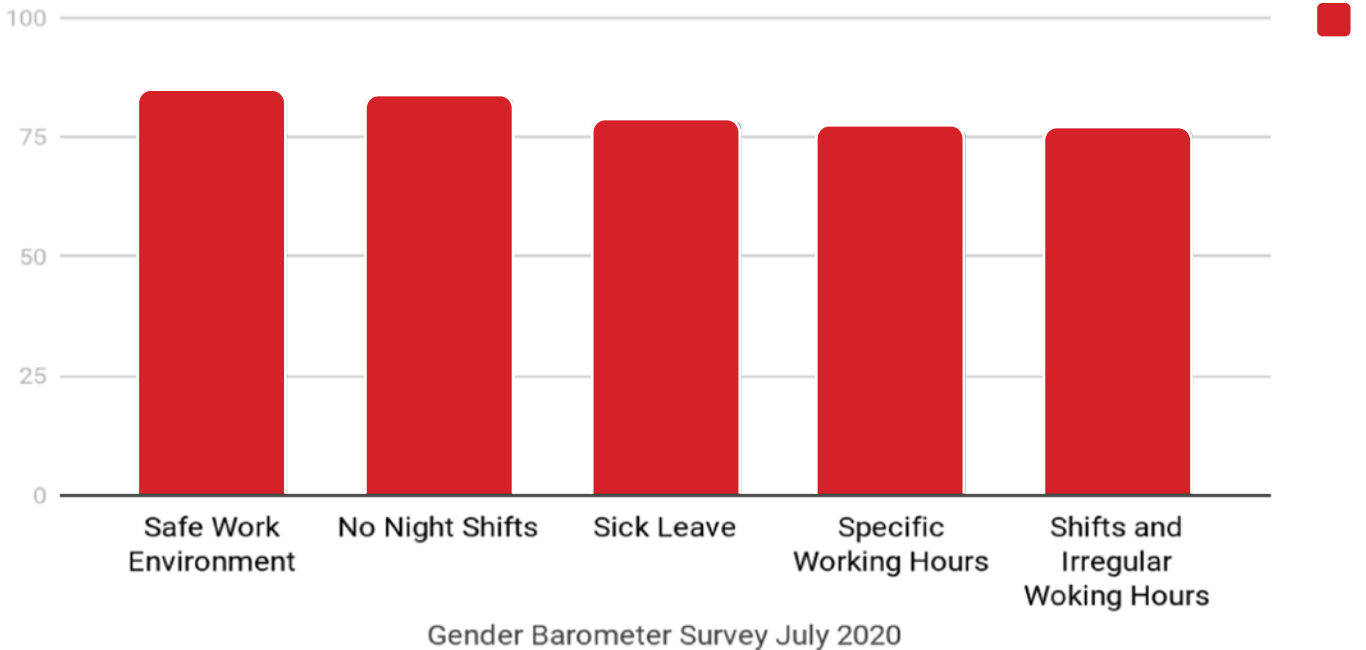
To test further the difference between the ideal and the practice of having to work to secure a living, respondents were asked again if they would work despite the absence of certain requirements. Respondents' answers to these questions highlight the differences between women and men's priorities. Very few women respondents said they were likely to accept to work in an unsafe environment (only 2.6% of women vs 8.5% of men), night shifts (4.2% of women vs. 46.3%



of men agreed) with no sick leaves (5.3% of women vs. 14.4% of men respondents), longer working hours than allowed by law (7.1% of women said they would do so vs. 24.8%), if there were no decent toilets (6.7% of women vs. 18.4% of male respondents), job security (8.1% of women vs 15% of men).

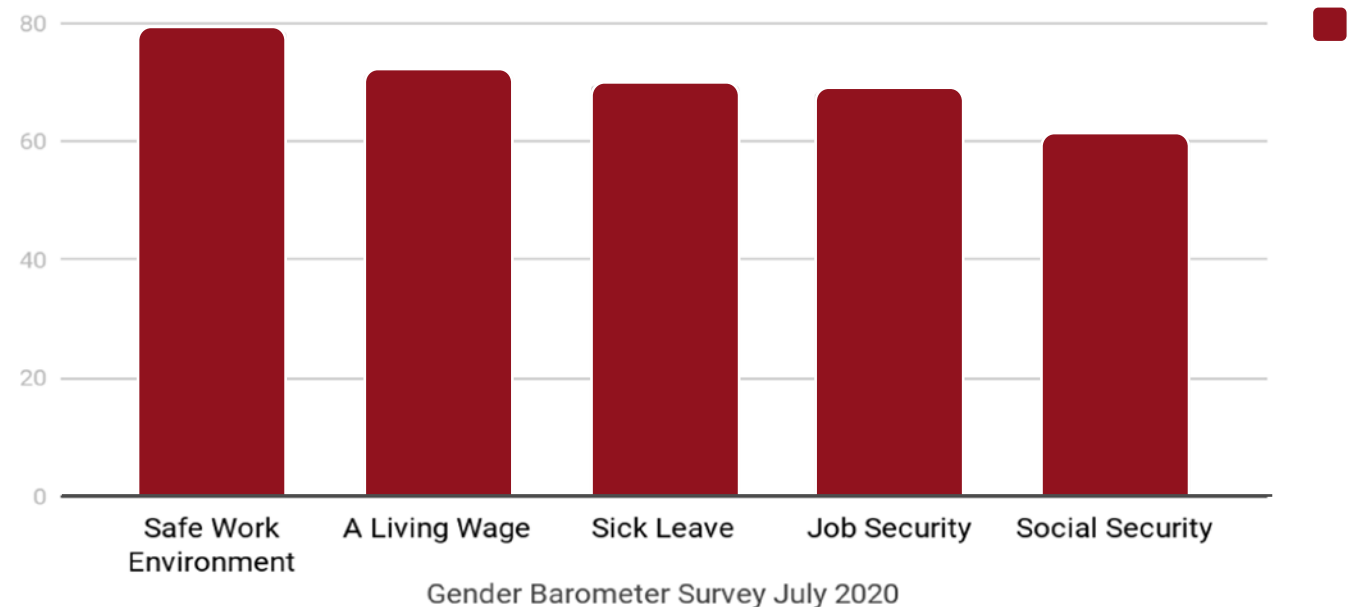
Safety, not working at night, having sick leaves, working regular and the legislated number of working hours, decent toilet facilities, and job security are therefore the main elements of decent work that female respondents highlighted. Women respondents were more likely than male respondents to work for less than the minimum wage (JD 220), with 16.4% of women vs. 11.2% of men agreeing to do so.

## The Most Important Aspects of Dignified Work for Women



For male respondents, the most important aspect of dignified work was also safety. Only 8.5% of respondents said that they would work in an unsafe work environment. The second most important requirement for dignified work was having a salary above the minimum wage of JD 220. Only 11.2% of respondents said they would work somewhere for less than JD 220. 14.4% of male respondents said they would work in a place that does not provide sick leave and official holidays (10% said they would work but they are forced), and 15% said that they would work without job security, (10.6% said they would work but they are forced). Twenty-three percent of men said they would work in a place that does not have social security, (10% said they would work but they are forced).

## The Most Important Aspects of Dignified Work for Men



In conclusion, women were more likely to be concerned with the work conditions at the workplace, working hours, and the ability to take sick leaves. Men, on the other hand, regarded dignified work mostly in terms of financial benefits, job security, and receiving social security.

## Economic Situation Summarized

The economic situation of respondents is dire. While most respondents regard themselves as middle-class, 70.8% of respondents have salaries that place them below the poverty line of JD 450. Corona resulted in an 8% loss of full-time employment. Respondents feel financially insecurity, 61% of respondents felt nervous and depressed as a result. Sixty-nine percent of respondents were not registered with social security, with women being half as likely as men to have social security. Economic necessity was a determining factor for many respondents to choose to retire early or not. Those respondents who said they would retire early said they would do so to work in other jobs. And those who said they would not be able to retire early said that they could not afford to live on their retirement salary. This response was gendered. Male respondents were three times as likely to say that they would retire early to work in addition to receive a retirement salary. They were also more likely to say they could not retire because the retirement salary was too low.

There were differences between women and men in how they defined dignified. Women were more likely to be concerned with the work conditions at the workplace, working hours, and the ability to take sick leaves. Men, on the other hand, regarded dignified work mostly in terms of financial benefits, job security, and receiving social security.

There were gendered social reasons why women said they were unemployed. 12.7% of female respondents reported that they did not work because either their family or husband did not permit it. More than 7.3% of women said that they did not work because they would not be able to see their children, and 3.8% because workplaces did not have nurseries. Class identification did not result in more progressive views of working women.

These social reasons were secondary to the structural reasons women listed for not being able to work. They shared these structural reasons with men. The majority of women (21%) said that they did not work because there were no job opportunities in the area and 13.6% saying they did not work because they did not have the right credentials. Gender is significant when understanding unemployment. However, it is also important to keep the structural reasons in mind which prevent women and men from working. Respondents said that it was mainly structural reasons and not social reasons why they did not work.



## CONCLUSION

## Lessons Learned: A Note on Methodology

The data we gathered is extremely rich. In the report, we pick up some of the main themes that emerged. The data is open to much more analysis, however. Believing in the importance of open access to knowledge and information, the data will be available on the <http://jcass.org/default.aspx> for researchers to use for research and further analysis.

One of the lessons we learned is that to truly be able to analyze and understand many of the findings further qualitative research is necessary. Using a mixed-methods approach in which quantitative work is supplemented with qualitative research would help clarify many of the trends that emerged in our research. Following the example of :

[https://imagesmena.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2017/12/IMAGES\\_Leb\\_summary\\_Final\\_Web\\_Dec13.pdf](https://imagesmena.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2017/12/IMAGES_Leb_summary_Final_Web_Dec13.pdf) the future would help shed more light on the reasons, motivations that lead respondents to act in certain ways. It would also enable us to include the voices of research participants.

While the consultative process we chose was important to ensure that the concerns and priorities of academics, practitioners, and activists were addressed, it also meant that the questionnaire ended up being very long. Having a questionnaire that is too long is exhausting for fieldworkers and respondents. It can lead to questions not being answered properly. The questionnaire also covered multiple topics. To be able to do more in-depth analysis it will be better to focus on one topic in future barometers. The researchers of the Southern African Gender Protocol reached the same conclusion. As a result, their latest barometer focused on reproductive and sexual health (Morna, Rama, and Chigorimbo, 2019).

## A Note on Perception vs. Practices

More than 23.4% of those who did not go to university said that the main reason was that their grades were not good enough. Twenty percent of respondents reported not being able to go for financial reasons (16.3% because their parents could not afford to pay tuition fees and 4.7% because the fees were too high). It is interesting to note here, that the percentage of women who could not go to university because their parents could not afford it was lower (12.6%) than that of men respondents (19.7%). At an almost ten percent difference, 62.3% of female respondents vs. 54.5% of male respondents said that their parents paid for their university education. In other words, parents were more likely to pay tuition fees for their daughters than their sons. This percentage has to be contrasted with data from the World Value Survey that indicates that 28.7% of respondents believed that university education is more important for boys than for girls (Inglehart, R., C. Haerpfer, A. Moreno, C. Welzel, K. Kizilova, J. Diez-Medrano, M. Lagos, P. Norris, E. Ponarin & B. Puranen et al, 2014, p.19).

The Arab Barometer, on the other hand, has found that most publics surveyed believe women should have equal rights to men in a variety of areas including access to university education (75 percent), employment (84 percent), and political office (62 percent). (Robbins and Thomas, 2018, p.2). It is important to read the attitudes of the public against their practices to get a fuller vision of whether and how perceptions play out in reality.

### ● Understanding Family Lives and Gender Roles

Most respondents grew up in families with traditional gender roles in which mothers did most of the housework, cleaning, and cooking. Nonetheless, respondents recalled that their fathers played with them and studied with them when they were young. Overall, 79% of respondents recall family lives without violence against them or their mothers. It was more likely for self-perceived working-class male respondents to have experienced being beaten or humiliated than any other group. Twenty-eight percent of respondents said they were slapped, pushed, or shaken by their fathers. The percentage of male respondents who remember this was 38.9% compared to 15.6% of female respondents.

Memories of childhood violence are therefore not only gendered but also determined by class. Working-class men and below working-class men are the most likely to have experienced violence against them as boys. It is important to keep the intersectionality of respondents in mind to avoid making simplistic generalizations. Intersectionality refers to the fact that women (and men) cannot be understood only in terms of their gender.

At 79% the overwhelming majority of respondents said that they never saw or heard their mother being insulted or humiliated by their father or another male relative. Remembering violence against mothers was gendered. Female respondents were more likely to remember seeing their mothers being insulted, belittled, or humiliated at a rate of 17.4% compared to 12.8% of male respondents. In terms of self-identified class, working-class respondents were most likely to remember their mothers being insulted or humiliated at a rate of 9.4%. As is the case with experiencing violence themselves, memories of mothers being exposed to violence are also class-based and gendered.

When we asked unmarried respondents about what they thought was important for them in marriage, female respondents cared mostly about being able to work after getting married and marrying

someone who is not married already. The overwhelming majority of women 68.5% said they would not marry a foreigner. Just under half of the respondents said they would not marry someone with dark skin. For male respondent's skin color was not as important as for female respondents, neither was it to marry a foreigner. Nonetheless, men gave more weight to how their future wife looks than women respondents. Men also preferred marrying women who already worked. These perceptions lead to interesting questions about gendered beauty standards and racism.

Overall, married respondents reported being extremely satisfied with their marriages. Despite only 7% of ever or about to be married respondents saying that love was important, 93% of respondents said they had found love in their marriage. Married respondents also said they were happy in their marriage and they felt respected. In all answers, there was a gender gap of about 10% in favor of male respondents. Overall, male respondents seemed to feel happier, more respected, and more supported than female respondents.

On the other hand, male respondents reported loving and respecting their wives more than wives reported loving and respecting their husbands. This is an important finding that should be probed further with more in-depth qualitative research. Questions remain about whether husbands' satisfaction is because wives are more likely to suppress their dissatisfaction. Do husbands feel more respected because they are more respected by their wives? Why do wives feel less respected when husbands are more likely to say they respect them?

The main cause of conflict between spouses were financial concerns. This was followed by disputes over children and child-rearing. Interestingly, 77% of respondents reported being able to solve their problems themselves without involving their families or outside parties. Fifty percent of respondents said they resolved their marital problems by speaking it through.

Overall, men were more likely to make decisions in the household, not just about general household concerns, but also about their spouse's ability to work, leave the house, or even see her family. Female respondents confirmed that husbands were the primary decision-makers. However, female respondents were more likely than male respondents to say that the decision was taken jointly when male respondents said that they were the ones who made the decision. This is particularly alarming when it comes to decisions that only concern women, like women's ability to see their family or leave the house. Only 13.8% of women reported that it is their own decision, while 56.8% of female respondents said that their ability to leave the house and visit relatives is a joint decision.

Of course, we do not know whether this is a fact, or whether women feel that it should be a joint decision. However, the response, whether based on reality, or based on what respondents feel should be a reality, points to a perception that a woman's mobility and ability to see her parents is not a personal choice only, but rests on her husband's approval and permission.

Most respondents said that decisions concerning purchases or using birth control were taken jointly. Sixty-three percent of male and female respondents said that contraception was mostly a joint decision. Likewise, 63.8% of respondents said that they made financial decisions jointly. However, for the remaining 35% of respondents, it was mainly men who made these decisions. 29.8% of male respondents vs. only 6.6% of female respondents said that large investments were their individual choices.

When it came to the division of labor inside the home, most respondents seemed to conform to traditional gender roles with female respondents doing most of the housework, and men doing most of the fixing and purchases. Seventy-three percent of ever-married female respondents said that they did most household work while only 5.3% of ever-married male respondents said that they did housework. Fifty-two percent of ever-married male respondents said that they never did housework.

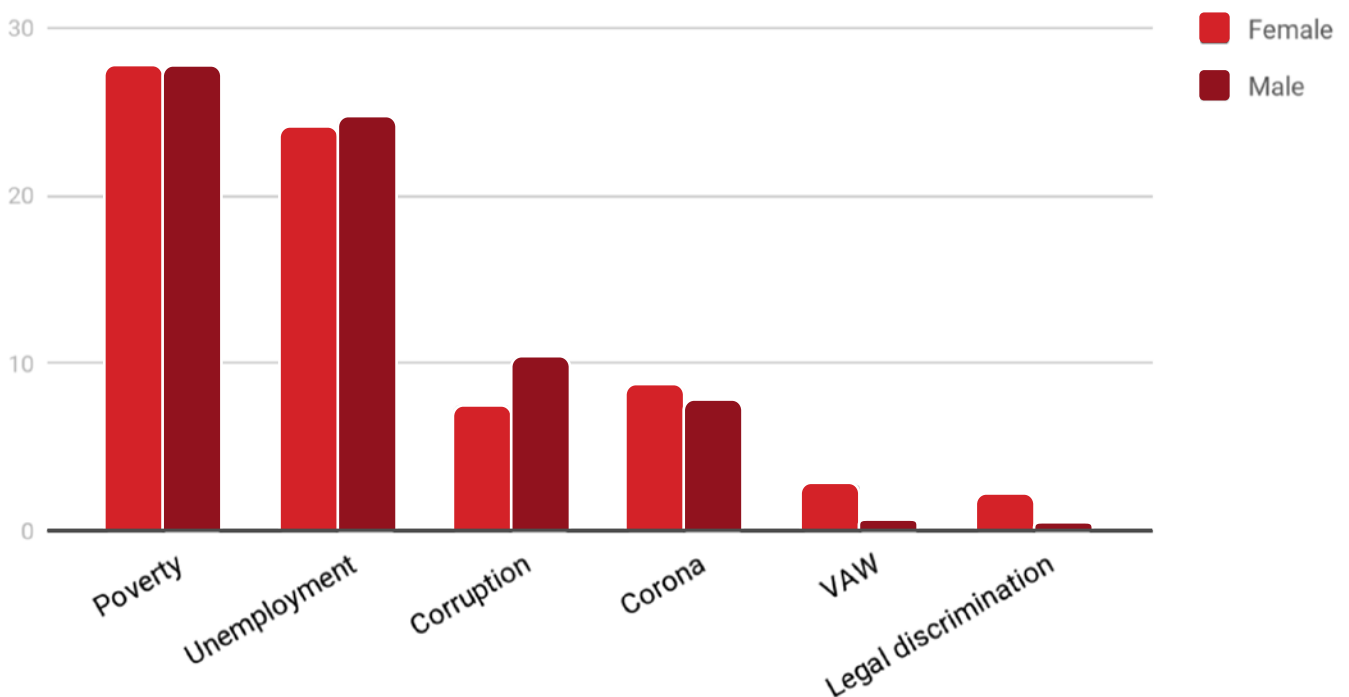
When it came to the contribution of wives to household expenses, however, there was a big gap in perception between what female respondents reported contributing to the household and what male respondents believed their wives contributed. This gap in perception is significant and requires further detailed qualitative research. A similar gap existed when men spoke about their contribution to child-rearing. It is interesting to note that in traditionally male tasks, men were less likely to acknowledge it when women contributed to the task. Likewise, in traditionally female tasks, women were less likely to acknowledge it when men contributed to the task.

While women reported doing most childcare, they also said they mostly disciplined their children both verbally and physically. Female respondents are twice as likely to say they verbally and physically discipline their children than male respondents. This contrasts with participants' memories of mostly being disciplined by their fathers as children. This begs the questions of whether disciplining practices have changed or whether memories of fathers' disciplining are more pronounced.

## ● Economic Lives

When asked what the main problems facing Jordan today were, over 68% of respondents listed economic problems, namely poverty, unemployment, and low salaries. When we asked respondents to tell us what the main problems were that affected them personally the answers were similar. The main problems were economic; namely poverty and unemployment. The percentages of women and men who believed this were almost identical. It is important to note that female respondents did not list traditional women's issues as the main problems facing them. Violence against women was only mentioned by 2.7% of female respondents. Legal discrimination between men and women was mentioned by 2.1% of our female sample.

### Main Problems by Gender



The answers did not change much when we asked respondents to list the main problems facing women in Jordan in general. Poverty and unemployment were again the main two problems respondents (both female and male) listed. However, when asked about women specifically 21.6% of female respondents said it was violence against women, while 10.5% said laws that do not treat women and men equally.

Poverty and unemployment were the main problems listed when respondents were asked what the main problems are facing men, albeit at higher percentages. Respondents' answers to the variations in the questions are telling. Regardless of how the question was asked, respondents maintained that the problems of poverty and unemployment were the biggest problems facing Jordan, them personally, women, and men. While this confirms findings by the Arab Barometer (2019), these questions have never been asked to women as individuals and about women and men as women and men.

In most women's rights literature, poverty and unemployment are usually not understood as the main problems facing women. Yet, Jordanian women clearly say that they are. The question that remains is how to understand poverty and unemployment as a woman's problem. What does this mean in terms of programming, and understanding women's issues? While legal discrimination and GBV were also listed as problems facing women, these problems were secondary when female respondents were asked about the problems facing them personally. This does not suggest stopping

working on GBV and equality before the law and gender justice. However, it does suggest that programming needs to seriously consider prioritizing economic problems as women's issues.

Besides, poverty and unemployment are problems which women share with members of their community, and wider Jordanian society. In development literature communities are often blamed for women's problems. Men in women's communities are often seen as the main culprits. While this might be the case in terms of domestic violence, such analysis ignores structural causes that marginalize women and men for certain communities alike. Solutions have to target these structures not to pit members of impoverished communities against each other.

To be able to understand structural violence let us examine the example of economic violence against women. It is important to not just ask women about what happens to women's salaries, and whether a male family member has taken away money from women (CSS, forthcoming 2020). Economic violence is not just an individual action against an individual woman. It is not about men inside women's families and their communities depriving women of income, it is more than this.

As shown by the participants' answers in this survey, economic violence is structural. Economic violence is when 67% of respondents said that when they went to school during the winter, they could not feel their fingers from the cold and 36% of respondents recall feeling hungry at school. Economic violence is when women and men say that they were unable to go to university because their parents could not afford to pay for them, and tuition fees are so high. It is when 48% of respondents worry about having enough money to buy food when 41% of respondents say they are unable to buy clothes. Economic violence is when female and male respondents have to take loans every single month to buy food and basic goods. Economic violence is shared by women and men in the same communities. As a result, both the women and men living in Ajloun suffered from inadequate schooling. And women and men in Tafileh did not have the same access to public transportation as inhabitants of other governorates and had fewer work opportunities.

Most Jordanians do not have enough income to cover their monthly expenses. 58.4% of respondents said they needed more money monthly. The response rates were almost identical in terms of gender. This means that the majority of Jordanian women face monthly income insecurity, one aspect of economic violence. This is an important problem facing women, which should become a priority of women's rights activism and programming.

Surely, this economic violence is also gendered. While women share problems with their communities, they also experience these problems differently. To engage in gender gender-sensitive programming these differences have to be understood and highlighted.

As a result of legal discrimination against working women, male respondents were less likely to have health insurance than women. Work and decent employment in which labor law is respected are crucial in fighting poverty and unemployment. Both male and female respondents stressed the importance of dignified work. However, what elements of dignified work respondents stressed varied according to their gender.

The overwhelming majority of respondents asked for health insurance. Female respondents, however, prioritized safety, not working at night, having sick leaves, having regular working hours, decent toilet facilities, and job security as the main elements of dignified work. Male respondents, on the other hand, regarded dignified work mostly in terms of financial benefits, job security, and receiving social security. True dignified work needs to take all these elements into account to meet the needs of all Jordanians, women, and men.

Reliable and safe public transportation is another way to ensure all people living in Jordan can reach their work. Respondents of both sexes suggested the following changes to improve public transportation: 1) increasing the cleanliness of public transportation 2) regulating the schedule and frequency of buses, 3) punctually, 4) safer and slower driving 5) stopping at designated stops, 6) prohibiting smoking, 6) covering more geographic areas in Jordan, 7) providing a hotline for complaints.

Overall, our Gender Barometer shows that the biggest problems facing women are problems women share with their communities, namely poverty, and unemployment. These problems weigh heavily on respondents. An alarming 62% of respondents said that they feel sad, 41% of these respondents said they feel sad daily. Female respondents were more likely to say that they feel sad than male respondents.



Anger was also more common among female respondents than males. 63.2% of female respondents said they feel angry while 57.2% of male respondents said they feel angry. These emotions are cause for concern. They also show the mental burden of economic distress. They do not just impact the women themselves, but also their children, especially boys in impoverished communities. To better the lives of women living in Jordan, it is important to understand how women connect to their communities and to target the structural problems which impoverish and marginalize these women and their communities.



## Recommendations

- The percentage of women and men who reported feeling sad daily is alarmingly high. Women respondents were more likely to feel extreme anger. Emotional health is a crucial part of wellbeing which women's rights should target.
- Gender-Based Violence has to be seen not only as domestic violence but also as structural violence against women, men, the girl child, and the boy child. When it comes to physical abuse boys from impoverished communities are especially vulnerable and should be protected and targeted by programs. More importantly, however, programs need to address structures that impoverish members of marginalized communities.
- Economic violence is also gendered. While women share problems with their communities, they also experience these problems differently. To engage in gender-sensitive programming these differences have to be understood and highlighted. Economic violence is when women and men say that they were not able to go to university because their parents could not afford to pay for them, and tuition fees are too high.
- Programing needs to work on ensuring that public schools are properly funded, have well trained and paid teachers, and proper facilities, toilets, and heating are right for girls and boys as well as ensure that they get the education to which they are entitled. This is not just a basic right but also a gendered right.
- Free university education, bursaries, and admission are based on merit is the best way to ensure that both qualified women and men can go to university. 23% of men reported not being able to go to university because they needed to work instead. This gendered disparity needs to be addressed as well as the social barriers some women face when going to university.
- More than 58.1% of Jordanian women do not have enough income to cover their basic economic needs. Women's rights activism and programming need to prioritize fighting gendered economic violence. In addition to responding to the main problem facing women on the ground, this type of work will also increase the legitimacy of women's right initiatives in the eyes of most women and men.
- Working women and working men should have the same right to provide their spouses with health insurance. Legislation should be unified across the private and public sectors to ensure that all workers have a right to insurance.
- While positive discrimination in the case of unmarried daughters and sisters is not bad, similar laws should be there for unmarried unemployed sons and brothers.
- Policies and labor law must take into consideration how Jordanians define dignified work. Men and women had different definitions. These gendered differences have to be considered when drafting policies and reforming laws. Women were more likely to be concerned with the work conditions at the workplace, working hours, and the ability to take sick leaves. Men regarded dignified work mostly in terms of financial benefits, job security, and receiving social security. True dignified work needs to take all these elements into account to meet the needs of all Jordanians, women, and men.





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## Annex 2 : Sample Methodology

### ● Study population

The Gender Barometer survey population involved adults from both genders, aged (18 years old and above). The sample consisted of Jordanians, and communities living in Jordan since 1967 such as people from the Gaza camp and the children of Jordanian mothers. Respondents were captured from all governorates in Jordan.

### ● Sampling methods

A stratified cluster sample was designed for this study. The survey targeted Jordanians from all over Jordan, covering the twelve governorates, whose age group was 18+ years old.

The purpose of the sampling was to get a representative sample of the target population randomly. This sample was designed in a probability proportional to size (PPS) way to provide valid and reliable survey estimates across the entire Kingdom of Jordan - rural and urban areas, the twelve governorates, and smaller communities within. The sample was also designed to ensure reliable estimates in terms of geographical distribution (North, Center, and South) and the governmental level. Jordan was divided into three regions, the North covers Ajloun, Irbid, Jerash, and Mafrq), the Center covers Amman, Balqa, Madaba, and Zarqa), and the South covers Aqaba, Karak, Ma'an, and Tafileh.

Using the 2015 Jordan Population and Housing Census as a sampling frame and the updates of this frame (2019 updates), a sample of 2400 households was drawn using a stratified cluster sampling with a margin error of (5%) with a confidence level of 95%. The Kingdom was subdivided into area units called census blocks, which were then regrouped to form clusters – the Primary Sampling Units (PSU-Blocks) for this survey. Stratification was achieved on three levels:

- 1)** The classification of governorates into rural and urban areas,
- 2)** Administrative divisions within each urban and rural area,
- 3)** Clusters were identified and selected using PPS within each administrative division. The distribution of the sample among this stratum was proportional to the relative population size of each stratum (probability-proportional to the cluster size).

Collective homes such as student housing, prisons, nursing homes, factory accommodations were excluded, as they did not fit the definition of a Jordanian Household. A household was defined as a group of people living in the same dwelling space who eat meals together, acknowledging the authority of a man or a woman as the head of the household. Following the determination of the targeted community in each cluster (blocks), a sample of eight households was randomly drawn from each cluster with an equal probability systematic selection. After the household selection and obtaining the permission of household residents to participate in the survey, all the eligible household members were entered into the CSPRO program, which ran a random selection of the household members to participate in the survey. Hence, one member participated in the survey from each household.

### ● Sample size

The sample size included 2400 participants, which were chosen to represent the 18 years old and above years adult population. Such adult population consists of:

- Jordanians (nation-wide)
- Both genders (males and females)

## ● Sampling-Jordan

A 'multistage stratified cluster random sampling technique' was applied to recruit the study subjects. The design was based on age (all age groups from 18-99), gender (male, female), and nationality (Jordanian). Based on the proposed methodology, a sample size of 2400 was calculated for the entire country. Each region was assigned a sample proportionate to its population size. Table 2 illustrates the sample distribution per governorates.

**Table 1: Jordanians' Sample Distribution, PSU Per Governorate (Unweighted):**

Governorate	Total
Amman	764
Balqa	135
Zarqa	285
Madaba	90
Irbid	375
Mafrq	120
Jerash	90
Ajloun	90
Karak	165
Tafelah	90
Ma'an	90
Aqaba	106
<b>Total</b>	<b>2400</b>

## Annex 3 : Human Resources and Recruitment

### ● CSS-based staff

Project Manager and project coordinator.  
Statistical Expert  
Experts  
Field Coordinator and trainers  
Administrators  
Technical Support

## ● Recruitment of Field Staff

To recruit staff for this project (data collectors and supervisors), CSS has a list of applicants who either worked with CSS in previous projects or applied to work as data collectors. From these lists, CSS nominated/selected sixty data collectors and twenty supervisors, who were the most qualified for this project.

**Table 5: Eligibility Criteria for Field Workers**

Eligibility Criteria for Field Workers	
<b>Lingual Skills</b>	Mandatory Fluency in Arabic
<b>Educational Background</b>	Mandatory: At least a BA Level of education
<b>Professional Experience</b>	Previous survey experience is necessary, especially for supervisors and field editors
<b>Physical Fitness</b>	Mandatory: to be physically fit to walk for long distances, carry equipment, and tolerate the heat
<b>Working Schedule</b>	Mandatory: to work full time on the survey with flexible and shifting working hours (i.e. evenings and weekend) to maximize the capacity to detect the identified household

## ● Training of the Field Workers

Due to COVID-19 meetings and gathering restrictions, the training of data collectors and supervisors were divided into 3-days training workshops, so each day we train twenty data collectors and seven supervisors. The training was led by the CSS team.

The objective of the training of the field workers was to train them on:

- Selection of participants/households;
- Ethics during conducting the survey;
- Gender Barometer instrument (questionnaires), which included all the questions that will be asked for this survey;
- Utilization/recording on CSPro (software questionnaire);
- Tracking the interviews (forms);
- Quality control at the field level;
- Testing the survey.

The training took place at the University of Jordan (Faculty of Business) during the period 23-25 June 2019. A multi-disciplinary team from CSS led the training. The composition of trainee fieldworkers participating in the workshop is detailed in table 6.

**Table 6: Number and Roles of Trainees in the Fieldworkers Training Workshop:**

Cadre	Number
Data Collectors	60
Field Supervisors	20
Quality Control and Logistic Support	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>85</b>

## Comments and Learned Expertise Form the Training

Even though it was not planned, we truly benefited from the small-numbered groups since it was like a focus group discussion to have deep analysis. During the training, we followed a methodology by which the trainers and the trainees answered the questions each day before we discussed the questions one by one together. We believed that the position of the interviewee differs from the position of the interviewer and it plays an influential role in understanding the questionnaire. When the researcher asks the questions, he/she might not pay attention to some parts if it makes sense or it does not, either if it is understandable or not, if it is annoying or judgmental or sensitive. By periodical revisions since March, the questionnaire day by day became more fruitful.

Taking into account all the comments/notes from the training and the updates on the questionnaire, the fieldwork started on June 30th and ended on July 12th, 2020. In the first couple of days, the researchers sent us their feedback, if there was any comment or any case that the questions are not covered, so we could adjust the questions, adding options according to the need. Each researcher did five questionnaires per day which is a huge load due to the length of the questionnaire. The fieldwork takes 12 days and there was an additional day since one of the assigned days was too hot.

Note: As a response to COVID-19, CSS has committed to all of the National Health protocols when it comes to the use of Masks, gloves, hygiene when interviewing the respondents. In addition to reducing the number of data collectors in each car from four to three, so there is enough space in each car and enough distance between the passengers.

## Data Management

### Data Entry

Data entry was conducted in the field. Data collectors used Android tablets to record the answers to the questions (by CSS data collector)

CSS software (CSPRO) was used on Android tablets to record all data. A Storage Device Memory Card (SD) was integrated into the Android tablets to ensure that a backup copy of data is stored, should any Android tablet failure occur. No additional data entry is required since all data are entered live on Android tablets.

Data from Android machines were transferred and aggregated to the CSS server directly. CSS Only has access to the household and individual data sets for monitoring and checking, while field workers are still in the field.

### Data Monitoring and Quality Control

CSS personnel was allocated to routinely monitor the implementation of the survey and the quality of data. The progress of the survey was monitored by tracking the households covered against the data collection work plan, to ensure that there were no discrepancies between the planned and actual work plan.

Quality control was ensured by multiple verification processes. Primarily, the data were downloaded from the data management platform daily. Data was screened to remove and modify any duplicate ID, whenever incurred. The interview duration was monitored to ensure the adequacy of the time of data collection, being compared to an estimated duration to complete the full questionnaire. An additional verification step was undertaken by randomly selecting the participants for a checkup phone call to verify the duration and conduct of interviews.



Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the  
Netherlands



اللجنة الوطنية الأردنية  
لشؤون المرأة  
The Jordanian National  
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