

A Study On Child Marriage in Jordan

Ruba Hikmat

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A Study On Child Marriage in Jordan

2017

Foreword

Higher Population Council (HPC) is pleased to issue the study on “The child marriage in Jordan”, which aims to provide a quantitative and qualitative diagnosis of the problem of the marriage of girls under the age of 18 in Jordan, based on the statistics of the general census of population and housing 2015, and to identify the causes of the problem, its impacts and its spatial extension, the study is prepared by the HPC as a part of its efforts and follow up on the demographic transition experienced by Jordan.

Undoubtedly, the child marriage is considered a phenomenon of violation of several legitimate human rights of girls, including the right to education, the right to develop abilities and conscious choice of the life partner without coercion, and the right to ensure equal marriage and the building of sound family relations. Moreover the violation of such rights negatively reflects on the life style and quality of the girl, her reproductive health as well as the economic effects, and the ability of the family to carry out its duties in the upbringing of young people, especially as the preparation of new generations is mainly dependent on their characteristics. It also threatens the demographic characteristics of society and efforts aiming to benefit from the phase of demographic transition, which Jordan is undergoing.

This report is made up of five chapters; the first chapter presents an introduction and the methodology of the study, the second chapter presents a definition for the child marriage and most outstanding results of many national, regional and global studies that address demographic, health, psychological and economic impacts of the child marriage. It also deals with the legislative framework governing the process of marriage in Jordan. Chapter three diagnoses the volume of the child marriage phenomenon at a national level in Jordan, and at several levels, among Jordanians, Syrians and other nationalities residing on the Jordanian land. It also analyzes the trends of problem according to the administrative divisions, and sheds light on some of the characteristics of married women under the age of 18. Chapter Four analyzes the discussions of the focus groups that include groups of married women under the age of 18, doctors, supervisors, educators, and local community leaders to discuss several issues; foremost of which are the effects of the problem and appropriate suggestions to minimize it. Lastly, the study concludes with a chapter which discusses the overall results of the study and provides recommendations to reduce the problem of the child marriages in Jordan.

Finally, we are quite confident that this study will constitute a qualitative addition to the national studies, and will be one of the important tools for drawing up the policies and developing plans and programs aiming to reduce the problem of the child marriages in Jordan.

May God guide all of us to serve our beloved Jordan and our Jordanian community under the leadership of His Hashemite Majesty King Abdullah II Bin Al Hussein the great, may God protect and guide him to on the path of goodness and grant his way the success.

Secretary General



Eng. Maysoon Eid Al- Zoubi

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The (HPC) also expresses thanks to Mayadin Alma'arefah for Training and Consulting Co. for implementation the study, thanks to Mrs. Ruba Hikmat Kawafha for drawing the cover image and thanks are also extended to the staff of the (HPC) who worked on the technical support, review, guidance and direction for the study in its final form.

We cannot forget to extend of our thanks and appreciation to the Center of Gender Research Support "KVINFO" for their tangible and financial support to implement of this study, hoping that this study serves as a reference for decision makers and program planners, and wishing wellbeing for all and the success and prosperity and for our beloved country.

Contributors

Research Team:

- Mayadin Alma'arefah for Training and Consulting Co.

The Higher population Council teamwork

- H.E Eng. Maysoon Al- Zoubi, Secretary General of the Higher population Council.
- Mrs. Rania Al.Abadi: Asst Secretary General for Technical Affairs and Coordinator of Strategic Planning.
- Mr. Ali Almutlaq: Director of Studies and Policies Unit
- Dr. Sawsan Al.Daiga: Director of Programs Unit.
- Mr. Ghaleb Al-Azzeh: Senior Researcher/ Studies and Policies Unit.

The technical committee formed for the study:

- Dr. Yusuf Abu Al.Zait: Islamic Center Association
- Mrs. Amal Haddadin: The Jordanian National Committee for women's Affairs.
- Mrs. Mai Sultan: National Council for Family's Affairs.
- Mrs. Amany Goda: Department of Statistics

Drawing Cover Image:

- Ruba Hikmat Kawafha

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Executive Summary

The study of the child marriage in Jordan has aimed at identifying the rate of spreading of this problem among Jordanians and non-Jordanians, finding out the reasons and its different adverse effects, as well as coming up with recommendations that contribute to the reduction of the child marriage and its negative impacts, in addition to supporting the design of the most effective national programs that can enhance the positive trends and practices of the community to deal with the problem.

To achieve the objectives of the study, the descriptive and analytical approach which combines the quantitative and qualitative method has been adopted by using qualitative and quantitative tools in data collection and analysis through depending and reviewing the annual reports of the Supreme Judge Department, and reading and analyzing the Jordan Population and Housing Census 2015, in addition to the evidence gathered by the focus groups discussion.

The results of the study have indicated that there are factors and reasons that forced families to marry off their daughters. Poverty, getting rid of financial responsibilities, and protecting honor of the girl are considered the main reasons that lead to the child marriage, while other reasons have sprung up among most of Syrian families due to custom and traditions, and protection of honor and dignity of the girl because of refugee.

Data collected from the Department of the Chief Justice and the Department of Statistics has confirmed that there is a growing problem at the national level in terms of child marriage who are generally below 18, and in particular among Syrian females.

The statistical analysis revealed that marrying off girls under 18 years is increasing in Jordanian society, where there is a clear rise in the number of marriages of girls who are below 18 years old during 2010-2015; where the ratio rose from 13.7% in 2010 to 15% in 2013. The ratio continued to rise in 2014 and 2015, as the ratios reached (16.2% and 18.1% respectively). The highest ratio was in Mafraq Governorate where the ratio was 24.5%, followed by Zarqa Governorate at 18.8% and then Irbid Governorate at 17.7%, while the remaining nine governorates did not exceed the national level where the ratios of rest of the governorates ranged from 13.3% in the capital Governorate, and 5.6% in Tafila Governorate. The 2015 Population and Housing census showed that the ratio of Jordanian women married below 18 years ranged between 9.5% in 2011 and 11.6% in 2015, while Syrian women residing in Jordan were the greatest in number to have married below 18 years; the ratios ranged between 33.2% in 2010 and 43.7% in 2015.

In addition, the rate of marriages registered with the Department of the Chief Justice of Syrian females who are below 18 during the period of 2011 to 2015 increased compared to the national rates recorded; where the rate rose from 12% of the total number of the registered marriages in

2011 to 18.4% in 2012, 25% in 2013, 32.3% in 2014, and continued to rise in 2015, reaching 34.6%. This means that one-third of Syrian females who married in 2015 were below 18, while this rate was 13.4% at the national level in Jordan.

The statistical data and field research indicated that early marriage deprives girls of completing their education due to marriage, as well as depriving them of skills development and employment opportunities. Most of the Jordanian child marriage girls acquire either elementary or preparatory education at the rate of (66.7%), while the Syrian girls are holders of elementary or preparatory certificates at the rate of (69.3%). In addition, the ratio of the illiterate Syrian women stands at (9.8%) while the ratio of the literate women stands at (15.2%). Due to the lack of educational opportunities, and dysfunctional social custom and traditions, the study found that the vast majority of Jordanian and Syrian women are neither working nor looking for jobs. The females who married below 18 were neither working nor looking for jobs. They formed the vast majority of the females who married throughout the years, and their rate was between 94.2% for ones who married in 2010 and 96.3% for the ones who married in 2015.

The data also indicates that the majority of Jordanian females who are got married below 18 or (76.7%) of them are living in houses owned by the family or a member of the family. While three-quarters of Syrian females (74.8%) who are got married below 18 are residing in rented and unfurnished accommodation.

The results of the field research manifested that child marriage has some negative health and psychological effects. Consequently, child marriage leads to encountering difficulties in pregnancy and birth, and also increases social responsibilities. The statistical data also indicated that more than half of Jordanian women who got married below (18) years, and (69.4%) of the Syrian women were not insured. The rate of maternal mortality due to pregnancy of women between ages 13-19 were 6.3% of the total deaths that occurred during pregnancy. On the other hand, no maternal mortalities occurred among the women between ages 13-19 during the 42 days after delivery (post-partum period).

The results showed that the ratio of Jordanian women who usually married Jordanian men stands at (98.1%), while (97.4%) of Syrian women married Syrian men. Jordanian husbands are more educated than their underage wives and their Syrian counterparts. The qualitative and quantitative research confirmed that the ratio of the unemployed Jordanian and Syrians husbands are high. (45.3%) of Jordanian husbands and (13.6%) of Syrian husbands have permanent jobs. According to the aforementioned ratios, the family responsibility and decision-making have become more complicated. As a result, the underage wives are usually abused by their husbands' family members. The rate of divorcees who got married below 18 reveals that 5.3% are of other nationalities, 3.7% are Jordanians, and 1.8% are Syrians, while the rate of widows and separated together does not exceed one percent.

The study recommended that there should be a strategy or policies established at the national level to combat child marriage and its negative effects. Moreover, there is a need to create a

supportive environment for community change through outreach of all segments of society, and to encourage media communications that will raise awareness of the negative effects of child marriage. The study also called for the need to ensure the right to education for all child married women through non-formal educational strategies, and to enhance reproductive health and development programs. The study also suggested to cancel the exception and considering the age of 18 years of marriage is binding for both sexes.

Chapter One

Introduction and methodology

1.1 Preface

Although Jordan is considered to be one of the low-to-middle countries in terms of the number of women who get married before the age of eighteen, in the last five years - after the deterioration of the security and economic situation in the region due to war, and concurrently with the influx of Syrian refugees - the subject of child marriage began to surface, in light of the assumption that in the coming years, Jordan will undergo a rise in the rate of marriages among females under the age of eighteen, fearing that this will cause problems to those girls such as exploitation, persecution, and deprivation of rights, which will reflect on their participation in the development, and Jordan's utilization of the demographic transition it goes through. The importance of this in-depth study of the child marriage which is based on the true diagnosis of the status quo in Jordan.

This study was organized in five chapters; chapter I present the objectives and the methodology. Chapter II reviews the theoretical framework and previous studies which discussed the child marriage internationally and in particular in Jordan, with a focus on mentioning the relevant laws and legislations and international programs and experiences used to reduce the child marriage. Chapter III presents an analysis of the statistical data extracted from the general population census for the year 2015, indicating the volume of the child marriages phenomenon at the governorate level and the administrative divisions. The chapter also provides a reading of data of the Supreme Judge Department for the last five years, while chapter IV reviews the results of qualitative research of the focused discussion sessions held with the target groups of Jordanian and Syrian women, such as those who were married before the age of eighteen, in addition to discussion sessions with female teachers, advisors, civil society, doctors and nurses. The study concludes with a summary of the main findings and recommendations.

1.2 Study Objectives

The study aims to come up with recommendations contribute to reducing the child marriage in Jordan, in order to promote the conditions of females, enhance their role in development process, exploit the demographic transition in Jordan and promote designing the most effective national programs which are capable of promoting positive practices and attitudes in society in order to deal with this problem and minimize the negative effects which may result from it, and aim in detail to:

- Review literature and global experiences which have addressed the phenomenon of child marriage.

- Review the legislative and political framework in light of the reduction of marriages of women under the age of eighteen.
- Identify the number of child marriages at the national level, at the governorate and Administrative Divisions level, and their trend during the period 2010-2015, and identify the spots most in need of intervention.
- Recognize the effects of the Syrian refugees on increasing the child marriage in Jordan.
- Identify the conditions of married women who are under the age of 18 years.
- Identify the causes of the child marriage problem from the view of the target groups.
- Know about the experiences of Jordanian women and Syrian refugee women who married before reaching the age of eighteen.
- Identify the reasons for the child marriage from the view the child marriage of educators, maternity and pediatrics doctors, and women leaders.
- Come up with specific recommendations to contribute to reducing the child marriage problem in Jordan.

1.3 Methodology

The study adopted a descriptive analytical approach, which combined quantitative and qualitative approaches using quantitative and qualitative tools in collecting and analyzing data. One of the features of this holistic approach is that it matches the studies of women's issues and gender in terms of using, interpreting, and deepening in the figures through qualitative experiences of the target groups, and women in particular.

1.3.1 The study data sources

- General Census of Population and Housing 2015, which conducted by the Department of Statistics, The required tables were determined according to the census questionnaire, as the distribution of child marriages by governorates and Administrative Divisions was covered, and the conditions of Jordanian and Syrian girls were revealed on a number of educational, health and economic indicators.
- Annual reports of the Supreme Judge Department, which illustrates the recorded marriages of females under the age of eighteen per governorate, during the period 2011-2015.
- Focus group meetings: The guide of the focused meetings and the main themes covered by the topics of discussion was developed. The guides of the focused groups' discussions aimed to discuss and interact with the target groups on the following themes: the views and tendencies, the culture prevailing in society, the time change of the phenomenon, the social and psychological causes and effects of the child marriage, family attitudes and behavior, deepening in marriage and education, marriage and reproductive health, and studying the ways and suggestions to face the problems arising from the child marriage in order to design and improve services and development programs.

1.3.2 Study Community and its Sample

The study community is married or engaged females under the age of eighteen. The following has been relied upon:

- A comprehensive calculation of the marriages of females under the age of eighteen at the national level provided by the General Population and Housing Census 2015.
- A comprehensive calculation of engagement cases of females under the age of eighteen, provided by the annual reports issued by the Supreme Judge Department.
- Samples of the targeted groups of the governorates which were identified by the census as the governorates which have the highest rates of child marriage as shown in the following table:

Table 1: distribution of the group targeted by the intensive discussion sessions

Governorate	Target group	Number	Venue of the Discussion Session
Irbid	Jordanian women married under the age of 18	8	Family & Child Protection Society
Irbid	Syrian women married under the age of 18	10	Family & Child Protection Society
Irbid	Female guides & teachers	11	Zat El Netaqain Governmental School
Amman	Civil society	8	The Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation
Amman	Female guides & teachers	8	Al Nozha Al Thanya Preparatory for Girls - Unrwa
Amman	Mothers whose daughters got married before the age of 18	9	Al Nozha Al Thanya Preparatory for Girls - Unrwa
Amman	Syrian women married under the age of 18	8	Noor Al-Hussein Foundation -Institute for Family Health
Amman	Maternity and pediatrics doctors & nurses	8	Noor Al-Hussein Foundation -Institute for Family Health
Amman	Civil society leaders	8	Noor Al-Hussein Foundation -Institute for Family Health
Zarqa	Maternity and pediatrics doctors & nurses	6	Aisha A Mother of the Believers Health Center - UNRWA clinic
Mafraq - Al Zaatari Camp	Maternity and pediatrics doctors & nurses	7	Noor Al-Hussein Foundation -Institute for Family Health

1.3.3 Search Procedures

- The research team has reviewed the international and national reports, and the national and Arab studies. The literature examining the causes of the marriage of girls under the age of eighteen and the implications of the marriage were reviewed. The research team also examined the available data worldwide, programs and interventions applied in the countries of the world, and evaluated those programs with scientific methodologies. Previous studies have also revealed Arab countries' strategies aiming to reduce its rates. A number of studies on Jordanian society and refugees communities in Jordan have been read and analyzed.
- The research team conducted a number of interviews with the public sector, international organizations and civil society. In-depth interviews were conducted with the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, UNICEF, Family and Child Protection Society, Institute for Family Health, and UNRWA. The interviews focused on recognizing the policies, programs and activities provided by those international and national institutions in order to deal with marriages of those who are under the age of eighteen.
- Reviewing the data of the General Census of Population and Housing 2015, as the data of the General Census of Population and Housing 2015 was relied upon to calculate the marriages of Jordanians and refugees under the age of eighteen, present the numbers and Ratio s of the child marriage and its spread, and study their economic and social conditions of them according to nationality, year of marriage and geographical distribution from 2010 to 30/11/2015, as this date is considered the time reference of the General Census of Population and Housing 2015.
- Through identifying hot spots - the areas of the highest rates of the child marriage- there was coordination with the active local communities in order to hold focused discussions with women who had married before they reached the age of eighteen, in addition to focused discussions with stakeholders.

1.3.4 Data Analysis

SPSS software was used to enter the basic data of the field sample. Excel was used to read and analyze tables and duplicates issued by both of the Department of Statistics and the Supreme Judge Department. While the qualitative data was obtained by the study from the interviews and the focused discussion sessions which were divided and organized according to The topics into main axes, then it was classified according to the frequency of ideas and words, moreover, ATLAS.ti program was also used to process the data as an utility due to its ability to handle and encode text.

1.4 Study Determinants

It is well known that qualitative studies - which are not limited to numbers and readings, and are based on the experience of the studied groups - require relatively more time than statistical studies. The research team has a time limit for completing the study, therefore, it was not able to hold more discussion session in other governorates all over the Kingdom.

Such sensitive studies require that the research team be fully committed to the ethics of research, and that participants and volunteers participate voluntarily in focused discussion sessions, the matter which limits the access to more diverse and distinctive experiences.

Finally, it is known that qualitative research does not lead to the generalization of its results. Consequently, the results of this study will not be distributed to Jordanian society except in relation to the statistical axis, and the prevalence of marriage cases for those who under eighteen in Jordan, while the attitudes, behavior, practices and experiences are generalized only to the sample of the study.

The challenges for statistical data derived from the General Census of Population and Housing are that the census did not reflect the real numbers of marriages in 2015 because It did not covered the December month of this year. Another challenge is that statistical data on child marriages are not constantly available from other sources such as family surveys and administrative records, which hinder tracking the trends of the phenomenon of child marriage.

1.5. Difficulties of Study

Difficulties are to obtain data according to the required characteristics, which may not be available in the forms used to register marriages, the matter which requires reconsideration of the design of these forms in order to cover all demographic, social, economic and other characteristics.

1.6 Study Features

This study is characterized by being used for the first time at the national and regional level - for population census data, which is one of the largest statistical operations conducted by the State, through which it can obtain detailed data on the population and their social, demographic, economic and other characteristics which can be categorized by sex, then identifying the age at the time of the first marriage, making it one of the main sources of the study of child marriage. Population census data also enable us to compare the data obtained from various regions in the country, in order to know to what extent this phenomenon is spreading.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Framework and Previous Studies

2.1 Child Marriage globally and definition

Despite the international attention paid to the issue of the marriage of those who under eighteen either males or female as a human rights and child rights issue, the number of girls who marry or enter into sexual relationships before the age of eighteen is increasing significantly. This phenomenon is spreading in African states. (75%) of the girls of a country like Niger are married or engaged in a sexual relationship before they reach the age of eighteen, that Ratio increases in the areas of the south; i.e. the rural areas, where that Ratio exceeds (88%) in some Nigerien regions¹. When we look into global figures, we find that there are 720 million alive women who married or entered into a relationship before the age of eighteen, i.e. (10%) of the world's population. 15 million girls are married every year, at the rate of 41,000 girls per day; i.e.28 girls marry every minute².

In this context, however, it is important to note that the problem of marriage or engaging in a sexual relationship for those who under the age of eighteen is not limited to poor and developing countries, as some might imagine. Rather, it is a global problem sweeping many rich and developed countries under different names; In the West, there are huge numbers of girls who have sex and may become single mothers before reaching the age of eighteen³. Differences are mainly attributed to other factors which are related to development factors and gender; i.e. girls' access to economic and knowledge resources, and the ability to use them; in other words, there is a wide disparity between poor and rich countries in terms of the availability and access to information, health services, contraceptive use, and others.

International reports and studies provide a very bleak picture of young married girls, describing them as the most marginalized and disadvantaged groups in the world; they are deprived of education, thus deprived of the opportunities for knowledge and skills, and therefore decent work opportunities for themselves and their families. They are socially marginalized, oppressed in the marital home, inside families of the husband, more vulnerable to violence⁴, have no decision in their lives, in their bodies, and their choices in marital relationships and childbearing are not available, they are also the most vulnerable to health and psychological risks.

Many terms were used to express the marriage of girls who are under the age of eighteen, The term of “child marriage “ which is the most stringent to refuse that kins of marriage was used. In other regions, people used the term of “child marriage or early marriage”, all of which

1. UNFPA, 2012, *Marrying too Young: End Child Marriage*, United Nations Population Fund UNFPA, New York

2. UNICEF, 2014, *A Study on Early Marriage in Jordan 2014*, Amman, Jordan

3. Look at: *A League Table of Teenage Births in Rich Nations*, UNICEF. And , Treffes, P., 2003, *Teenage Pregnancy, a Worldwide Problem*, Netherlands, 147(47).

4. UNFPA, 2012, *Marrying too Young: End Child Marriage*, United Nations Population Fund UNFPA, New York

are pointing out to, according to the definition of UNICEF (2015), “The formal marriage, or customary or legal sexual relations recognized as a formal marriage before the age of eighteen”. Although this kind of marriage sometimes extends to include males as well, but the number of girls included in this type of marriage far exceeds the number of boys, and the definition does not stand at that neutral descriptive limit, but rather to adopt a pre-defined moral definition indicates that the child marriage females has deeper negative effects than male marriage, and is assumed to negatively affect girls’ lives and end their childhood and adolescence by burdening them with roles and responsibilities before their physical, psychological and emotional maturity⁵. “

It is useful to distinguish between the international definitions of child marriage or children under the age of eighteen and the definition of the childhood age in the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which was not specific with regard to the age of majority. Article 1 of the Convention provides that the childhood may end before the age of eighteen, wherefore the Committee on the Rights of the Child urged States parties to the Convention to reconsider the age of majority in their national legislation if it was established for less than eighteen years⁶. This may justify the use of the term “minors” instead of “children”, as the minor is legally defined as: “Every human in his childhood and still under the guardianship of his father or guardian, also defined as “anyone who is not able to be legally responsible, and is directly related to his family. In most countries of the world, everyone under the legal age, who is at the age of eighteen years, is legally considered a minor.”

2.2 Causes of the child marriage

According to a joint statement⁷ issued by international organizations, including UNICEF, United Nations Commission on Women’s Empowerment, UNFPA, WHO and the Global Alliance for 2013⁸, several reasons for child marriage have been presented including:

- Some parents believe that early marriage will protect their daughters from sexual violence.
- Those poor families marry their young daughters in order to reduce the number of sons who are in need for food, clothing, and education. In some cultures, the main motive is the pony paid by the potential husband for the young bride.
- Social pressures in the community can push families into child marriage. For example, in some cultures it is believed that the marriage of girls before puberty will bring blessing to the family.
- Some communities believe that early marriage would protect girls from sexual assaults and violence, and they believe that the marriage is a means to ensure that their daughter will not

5 United Nations Children’s Fund (2015). Child Protection from Violence, Exploitation and Abuse.

6 Article 1 of the Convention (For the purposes of the present Convention, a child means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child), convention on the Rights of the Child, published by the United Nations and published on page 3993 of the Official Gazette No. 4787 dated 16-10-2006.

7 World Health Organization, 2014, New York Statement, Every Woman Every Child / Girls Not Brides Media Center: Child marriage: 39,000 marriages every day, 7 March 2013. WWW.WHO.int/ media center / news /

8 PMNCH / United Nations Foundation / UNFPA / UNICEF / UN Women / WHO / World Vision / World YMCA

get pregnant and bring shame to the family.

- Many families also see that marrying their daughters early is simply the only option they know⁹.

In the UNICEF report for 2001, reasons which are similar to the reasons contained in the statement were mentioned in addition to other reasons for the child marriage, foremost of which are poverty, protecting girls from sexual harassment, social marginalization or the enslavement of girls in varying degrees, whether sexually or otherwise, There are peoples such as India, consider the early marriage of a girl as a means of ensuring the transfer of property and money within families. Other people believe that early marriage of a girl enhances relationships within or between societies and avoids extramarital pregnancies¹⁰.

In 2007, Jane and Coors discussed the question: What factors contribute or prevent marriage at an early age? Based on the demographic and health surveys, the two researchers addressed in their research 20 countries of the countries where child marriage is prevalent, which are called the hot spots. Twelve of the factors causing risk and protection were analyzed. The research emphasized that there are four factors closely related to child marriage:

- Education of girls; the most important factor in child marriage.
- Age difference between husbands and wives, i.e. the unequal marriage, which results into negative outcomes, such as domestic violence.
- Regional difference, which requires focusing on areas most vulnerable to child marriage, and finally;
- Family poverty, which requires supporting families with the costs of delaying the marriage of their daughters¹¹.

The studies which differed in identifying the causes of marriage for those who under the age of eighteen including males and females, were part of a jurisprudential vision calling for the early marriage of boys and girls. In the judges' study (in 2010) entitled "Early Marriage and its Implications", The study aims to look into the issue of early marriage, and its implications through a comparative jurisprudential research of the Jordanian Personal Status Law and some Arab legislations by extrapolating Sharia texts and the general rules. The study concluded that the Islamic Sharia calls for and encourages early marriage aiming to preserve the young from perversion, and to protect the society against any corruption, as the researcher explains that the need for early marriage is a necessity at present, because of the weak values, but he added that marriage requires maturity, which varies from one person to another, and from one society to another. The researcher also pointed out that Sharia allows the marriage of young people within certain conditions and controls set by the Islamic jurists, and thus does not specify a specific age for marriage. The personal status laws specify a specific age for marriage and do not permit the

9 Pid 9

10 Middle East newspaper, UNICEF, Issue 8135, 1 March 2001.

11 Jain,S. and Kurz., 2007, New Insights on Preventing Child Marriage: A Global Analysis of Factors and Programs, International Center for Research on Women (ICRW), Washington DC.

marriage of young people in fear of causing harm to them. The study pointed to the disparity in the views of scientists for the effects of early marriages; some of them believe that such marriage entails negative effects, and some of them believe that it entails positive effects¹².

2.3 Demographic, Health and Psychological Impacts of the child marriage

The report of the United Nations Population Fund for 2013 revealed the demographic data on adolescent girls in the world. The report also emphasized the current status of adolescents, the underlying motives and the high costs of what he called “childhood maternity”. The report stated that every day, there are 20,000 childbirths of girls under the age of eighteen in developing countries, and the developed countries are also experiencing such situations, but on a much smaller scale. The report found that there are 3.7 million girls under the age of eighteen give births. The report also emphasized the impact of pregnancy on health, education, productivity and other pressures from many aspects, and at many levels, as it leads to girls’ dropping out of school, putting an end to the girl’s childhood and burdens the little girl with responsibilities which are bigger than her with her husband and his family, the report pointed out that a radical change occurs to the life of any teenage girl when they become pregnant, and this change is rarely for the better.

The report also indicates that there are 70,000 girls die every year; due to complications of pregnancy and childbirth, as well as the perpetuation of poverty and deprivation of basic rights, and wasting the potentials of girls. The report emphasized the underlying causes of teenage pregnancy before the age of eighteen, which include: child marriage and gender inequality, poverty, lack of access to education and reproductive health services, and poor investments for girls. The report recommended that countries in which young women were married should develop legislation prohibiting marriage under the age of eighteen, in order to avoid serious health risks to the health of a girl and her infant in the event of pregnancy under that age, which could put an end to the tragedy of the child marriage¹³.

One of the studies that specifically addressed the negative health effects is a study carried out by Fowler in 2014, which aims at coming up with data and recommendations which promote awareness messages conveyed by the international organizations such as UNICEF, UNHCR, and Mercy Corps in her campaign to limit the child marriage. The researcher targeted health clinics in the city of Irbid and interviewed Syrian women who were already married under the age of eighteen or families whose daughters were preparing to marry before the age of eighteen. In addition to a number of interviews with some of those who are working in those clinics. The study indicated that girls suffer from an increased risk of various health problems such as obstetric fistula, increased risk of neonatal mortality, birth-related diseases, and increased risk

12 Judges, Mustafa, 2010, Early Marriage and its Implications, Comparative Legal Jurisprudence Studies, Damascus University Journal of Economic and Legal Sciences, group (26), p (1).

13 UNFPA, 2013, The State of the World’s Population 2013: Childhood Moms, Facing the Challenge of Teen Pregnancy, https://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/AR-SWOP13_0.pdf

of HIV / AIDS, and that these health risks are due to pregnancy. The study recommended that the International and local institutions should focus more on prevention of health problems than on the prevention of child marriages. They believe that these institutions should make greater efforts to address the problems of child marriage because it is difficult to prevent the families' attitude to marry their underage daughters. UNICEF called for the continuation of awareness-raising campaigns about the negative effects of the child marriage; however it believes that there must be a healthy sex education, and guidelines for the prevention of early pregnancy and domestic violence¹⁴.

The study of Ahmed and others in (2013) focused on the study of the psychological effects of early marriage. The study aimed at assessing the psychological effects and depression of girls who marry early and comparing them with the unmarried girls. The data were collected from 100 women in Pakistan in the age group (13-35) years. The study concluded that early marriage and subsequent responsibilities, as well as early pregnancy and the probability of high child mortality, make girls more vulnerable to psychological and physical problems, loss of confidence in the marital relationship, and inability to adapt and maintain a healthy relationship, Accordingly, the study concluded that girls who marry early undergo depression more than those who have never married¹⁵.

In his study “early marriage between the provisions of Sharia and the provisions of the positive laws”, in 2015, Dr. Ahmad presented the other opinion and the contrary to what posed by international studies and reproductive health studies particularly, the negative impacts of early marriage, as he conducted an extrapolation of Sharia provisions in the heavenly religions of early marriage, and a historical study on the experiences of nations then compared it to the positive laws, in his study, he explains that there are many positive aspects of early marriage, including: achieving Sharia purposes, and satisfy the libido of both male and female as a result of the physical development of the adolescent at the age between (14-16) years, as it helps to lower the gaze, protects against the dangers of mental agitation, and revives the spirit of chastity and honor of young people, especially in light of the globalization of culture and the prevalence of sexual chaos under the pretext of personal freedom, he also concluded that early marriage revives the principle of social cooperation, and family cohesion¹⁶.

2.4 Economic Effects of the child marriage

Most studies have agreed that the child marriage has negative effects on human development outcomes; early marriage restricts their educational opportunities, and hence their knowledge and skills, thus their access to job opportunities, income and a better economic situation. The

14 Fowler, R., 2014, Syrian Refugee Families' Awareness of the Health Risks of Child Marriage and What Organizations Offer or Plan in order to Raise Awareness, SIT Graduate Institute/SIT Study Abroad SIT Digital Collections, Fall 2014.

15 Ahmed, s., Khan, S., Alia & Noushad, S., 2013, Psychological Impact Evaluation of Early Marriages, International Journal of Endorsing Health Science Research, Volume 1 Issue 2, December 2013.

16 Ahmed, Fouad, 2015, early marriage between the provisions of Sharia and the provisions of the statutes, Hijaz International Journal of Islamic and Arabic Studies, issue.12, August 2015.

World Bank shows that the child marriage may contribute to poverty and hinder economic growth. However, it is difficult to evaluate the economic cost of the child marriage because these practices are still a social rather than an economic issue. Most of the few available studies link the economic implications to tracking the calculation of education. Countries in which this phenomenon spreads such as sub-Saharan African countries and Bangladesh, up to 20% of secondary school dropouts are girls. Moreover, the impact of child marriage can add one year of the likelihood of mastering reading and writing and completion of secondary school by several Ratio points among the affected girls.” In general, the World Bank shows in its report on whether the cost of child marriage can be measured? There is no specialized economic research or clear estimates of the economic effects of the marriages of underage girls on countries and their economies, and income-related, productivity and economic growth.

On the other hand, a group of male and female researchers reviewed, in a specialized study¹⁷, the available literature on the economic effects of early marriage. The most important results were that the poorest countries are countries with high rates of early marriage. The child marriage is one of the solutions used by families to face poverty, particularly in case they receive dowry. The poor family reaps fast financial gains in the short term, but in return they lose the long-term development gains result from investing in girls, not to mention their human rights away from the economic calculations.

2.5 Strategies and Programs Used to End the child marriage

The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) report for 2016¹⁸ states that child marriage prevention programs are mostly based on strategies that include: empowering girls through education, building skills, support networks, educating and mobilizing parents and members of society, promoting opportunities for good formal education for girls, providing economic support and incentives for girls and their families, and strengthening the legal and political framework conducive to empowerment. The evaluations showed that the programs which focused on “educating girls and building skills and support networks for them” produced the strongest and most consistent results. On contrast, programs that had the least impact in terms of reducing child marriage were programs that attempted “to address the problem only at an overarching level, through changing laws for example.” The report also stressed on that the necessity of implementing the incentive programs in the poorest countries. It related the experience of implementing the incentive program in Kenya, the program that relied on providing incentives for the families to ensure girls’ continuity in schools, as well as introducing HIV awareness programs. This incentive program resulted in postponing the marriage of girls by (12) and boys by (40%).

UNFPA also evaluated another program in Bangladesh, aimed at building girls’ skills to reduce

17. Governance and Social Development Resource Center, 2007, Helpdesk Research Report: Child Marriage, <http://www.gsdr.org/docs/open/HD663.pdf>

18. United Nations Population Fund (2016), World Housing Situation 2016, UNFPA, p. 72.

child marriage. The program was implemented during 2012-2016 by a local association and the experimental study was conducted on a limited scale in Bangladesh with the participation of (9,000) girls between the age of 12 and 18 years. 72 experimental groups were chosen to be subjected to the program interventions and (24) control groups did not undergo any interventions. Intervention groups were exposed to one of the following three programs:

- Education: Girls have received private lessons in English and mathematics in school and lessons in computer and financial management out of school.
- Rights and Gender Culture: Through this program, girls received training in life skills that focused on gender, rights, negotiations, and critical thinking.
- Training in various livelihood skills, such as training on computer, business management, mobile phone repair, photography and first aid.

The results of the evaluation study showed that all intervention groups had a decline in the probability of early marriage compared to the control groups. Early marriage also decreased by 31% among girls who have received training on human rights and gender culture, and by (23%) among girls who had better education.

“Preventing Child Marriage in the Commonwealth: the Role of Education” study, 2015 stressed on the importance of girls education in reducing the probabilities of their marriage before the age of 18. The study directly focused on education as the perfect strategy for ending child marriage in the Commonwealth countries. The education meant in the study is the gender-sensitive education, which takes into account the needs of young girls, education of good quality a long-term impact. It is the education that includes the concept of patriotism and sex education, that is non-discriminatory and that respects community, family and child participation in the educational process. In addition, the educational environment should be child-friendly and should not overlook the violence against them; it should respect their rights and their human potential¹⁹.

Other UNFPA programs (2016) and CARE program (2013) are also concerned with reducing gender discrimination, achieving equality and reducing the potential of gender-based violence. They also work on the methodology of promoting the participation of men and young people in gender equality, empowerment and justice initiatives. These programs seek to change the traditional concepts of masculinity and expected male behavior, which will contribute in changing the prevailing culture, and thus, it is expected that this will result in reducing the child marriage in society²⁰.

In an important analytical study, prepared by Governance and Social Development Center (2007), (66) programs were reviewed and analyzed, in addition to a number of interventions that were implemented to reduce the child marriage. About (49) programs and interventions were implemented in Africa, (34) programs in South Asia and four programs in other regions in the

19 The Royal Commonwealth Society, 2015, Preventing Child Marriage in The Commonwealth: The Role of Education,

20 United Nations Population Fund (2016), World Housing Situation 2016, UNFPA, p.76.

world. The study showed that there are research deficiencies in evaluating the programs, and that the available studies are few and poor in quality, and that 10% of these pre-examined programs were evaluated in terms of the program effectiveness. The study classified the pre-examined programs into five main areas: educating families and society, Educating girls, political and economic initiatives, economic opportunities programs and human rights programs. The study presented a number of lessons learned that were somewhat similar to many studies, as well as programs and interventions evaluation reviews. One of these lessons was the multisectoral methodology, which provided many features, such as programs focusing on introducing health program services, family planning, and some other health and social services²¹. The study also introduced Community Coverage Methodology at all stages of the project, a methodology for focusing on articular ages (13 and 14 years), as well as the importance of girls' education methodology, and the need to replicate and adapt the programs in different parts of the world²².

Another important study was carried out by the International Center for Women's Research - with the support of the World Health Organization (WHO)²³. It presented all intervention programs and efforts to reduce child marriage, and was implemented during the period between 1973 and 2009. The study showed that 150 programs and efforts have been applied at an international level to reduce child marriage and that the majority of programs and efforts focus on young girls, making education and providing skills the main focus of intervention. Most efforts have also made the family and community partners in the process of implementing the program. These programs have also sought to change the social norms of child marriage, and many have provided economic support to parents; to improve education and attitudes towards reproductive health in a holistic sense. The female researchers team conducting this study clarified that among (150) programs that were implemented, only (23) programs were concerned in measuring and studying changes in the beliefs, behaviors and attitudes of individuals and society²⁴.

2.6 The Arab World and child Marriage

The age of marriage in the Arab world differs from one country to another. Here, it should be noted that the Personal Status Law in Yemen set the minimum age for marrying a girl by 15 years under Law No. 20 of 1992, but later amendments to the law did not set a minimum age for marriage. The law allowed the girl's guardian to decide whether the girl is physically and psychologically able to marry regardless of her age, which explains the marriage of Yemenite girls at the age of 10 or 9 years old.

In the Egyptian law, certifying marriage is prohibited for those who did not complete 18 calendar

21 USAID, 2007, ESD.

22 Governance and Social Development Resource Center, 2007, Helpdesk Research Report: Child Marriage, <http://www.gsdr.org/docs/open/HD663.pdf>.

23 International Center for Research on Women (ICRW), 2009, Malhotra,A.,Warner, A., Mc Gonagle,A. and Rife, S., Solutions to End Child Marriage: What the evidence shows.

24 International Center for Research on Women (ICRW), 2009, Malhotra,A.,Warner, A., Mc Gonagle,A. and Rife, S., Solutions to End Child Marriage: What the evidence shows, p.7.

full years of both sexes. The law also required disciplinary punishment for anyone who certifies marriage in violation of the law. Although the Egyptian law tightens the prohibition on marriage for those under the age of 18, and no exceptions are allowed, the wording of the legal text on marriage opens the door to violations on the grounds that it does not prohibit marriage to persons under 18, it just prohibit certifying this marriage.

The Egyptian law is similar to Kuwaiti law regarding this point. The violations of the law are committed under the pretext of certifying the contract in the court. The Kuwaiti personal status law forbids the marriage contract to be certified or ratified unless the girl completes 15 years and the boy 17 years old by the time of certifying the contract, according to article 26. On the other hand, article 24 states that the eligibility of marriage is only reason and puberty; that is, the law did not prohibit the marriage of a girl before the age of fifteen, but rather the certification of the contract before that age.

The Iraqi law did not take a different position from the comparative laws. In the Iraqi Personal Status Law, it sets sanity and completing 18 years old as conditions to the eligibility of marriage. Article (7) stipulates that: “sanity and completing 18 years old are a must for the eligibility of marriage.” However, paragraph (2) of article (8) allows the judge to authorize marriage for a person who has completed fifteen years old and asked for it, on condition that he/she proves an absolute necessity to the judge, as well as religious puberty and physical fitness. It is clear that the Iraqi law prohibits the marriage of a girl under the age of 15 years, and the age between 15 and 18 years is appreciated by the judge and under the conditions mentioned.

In Palestine, the texts of the law differ between the applicable law in the Gaza Strip and the law in force in the West Bank. However, the provisions are the same. The law in force in the Gaza Strip is the law of rights no. 303 of 1954, and it stipulates in article (6) that the age of the man who proposed to a girl must be 18 years or more and his fiancé must be seventeen years or older. But the law makes an exception to this rule as it allows the judge to marry a girl who is over age of nine. The same applies to the West Bank Personal Status Law No. 61 of 1976. It also sets the minimum age of marriage for a girl of seventeen years, with the same exception as in the Gaza Strip: allowing the marriage of a girl over 9 years. It is noticed that in comparative laws there is no such exception in terms of allowing marriage in this young age.

As for the Arab Maghreb countries, the Libyan law is different from the comparative laws and even from the provisions of the international conventions. Article 6 of the law stipulates completing twenty years old – as well as Mind and puberty – as conditions to the eligibility of marriage. According to the law, the court may authorize marriage before reaching that age for a certain benefit or necessity and after the consent of the guardian. Although the Personal Status Law in Tunisia set the minimum age of marriage at twenty as in Libya, it set the marriageable age of the girl to seventeen years and provided that the marriage contract could not be concluded before the age specified in the law except by special permission from the courts. This special permission is given only for serious reasons, and after verifying a clear interest between the

spouses. The law in this form, although it has an exception to the age of seventeen - prevented the customary marriage, which explains the lack of child marriages in Tunisia.

Fahimi and Ibrahim (2013)²⁵ presented an important policy paper on child marriage in the Arab world and the mechanisms to end this phenomenon. The two authors began to identify how child marriage results in perpetuation and continuity of the circle of poverty, low education, high fertility and poor health, all of which hamper societies and prevent economic and social development. The paper also illustrated that the highest rates of children marriage in the Arab regions are in the poorest countries, including Yemen, Sudan, Somalia and Southern Sudan. It also showed that the probability of marrying girls belonging to the poorest fifth of the population before the age of 18 is at least four times more than that of the richest fifth.

The paper linked between the goal of eradicating child marriage and achieving the development goals of combating poverty, improving health and quality of life for everyone. It also included a number of recommendations, most notably:

- Eradicating extreme poverty and hunger: child marriage goes through the cycle of poverty, poor health and low level of education from a generation to another.
- Promoting gender equality and women's empowerment: minor wives do not have a good opportunity to be aware of their rights because of the unfair power dynamics between "minor wives" and their husbands, as well as their husbands' families.
- Reducing child mortality: giving birth during the early and intermediate adolescence has serious implications on the health of mothers and newborns. Minor mothers are likely to give birth to premature, incomplete children and suffer from low birth weights.
- Imposing and enforcing the legal age for marriage: the report recommended that judges and law enforcement agencies should be trained. There should also be a smooth public system working well in birth registration, in order to ensure that girls have access to documents of their age.
- The policy paper also called for preventing families that circumvent the law by arranging religious marriage ceremonies for their underage daughters, and then wait for the formal registration of the marriage after the girls reach the legal age of 18 years. This is very important, since in case the husband decides to separate and leave the wife (or vice versa), the child wife becomes without cover or legal protection to guarantees her right, and the right of her children.
- Increasing public awareness: by encouraging parents to keep their daughters in school until finishing secondary school and providing financial assistance to families with limited financial resources, as well as raising public awareness about children's rights to education and protection from exploitation and changing Attitudes and positions towards child marriage through targeted campaigns. Community leaders, including religious figures, should also be invited to help change the attitudes of girls and women if they advocate the child.

25 Fahimi, F. and Ibrahim, S., 2013, Ending Child Marriage in the Arab Region, Population Reference Bureau, <http://www.prb.org/Publications/Reports/2013/child-marriage-mena.aspx>.

- Helping girls by ensuring that they can continue their education, reducing the stress of getting pregnant immediately after the marriage, and improve access to reproductive health care and opportunities, including access to counseling and family planning services.
- Gaining political support: by ensuring that effective programs are in place to empower girls and provide incentives to their families in order to prevent child marriage.

Finally, the policy paper stated that it is necessary to use international and regional institutions with a standing in the region, such as the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and the League of Arab States. The two authors consider that, due to their status, they are the most appropriate for taking up the issue of eliminating child marriage as a part of the development agenda of the region. They can take up the issue by identifying “hot spots” in the region, where the phenomenon of child marriage is very popular. This would support research that could improve policies, programs and develop databases for the successful program that resulted in keeping girls in school and postponing marriage.²⁶

One of the Arab studies that showed a contradiction with the international studies concerning the importance of education as a factor in this issue, and highlighted the power of habits and traditions, is that of Fadlallah (2013). The study is entitled “Attitudes towards early marriage - a field study in Al Malahah village in the White Nile,” and the researcher aimed to know the general characteristics of Al Malahah village inhabitants regarding early marriage, and to know the differences in their attitudes towards early marriage, which is attributed to the level of education and gender. The results concluded that the phenomenon of early marriage in Al Malahah village is a social habit and an integral part of a community so they support it. In addition, the research did not conclude any differences related to gender and educational level; all villagers support early marriage, and education has not added them anything. The researcher accounted this for the fact that habits have greater effect than the level of education. No matter the level of one’s education, he/she cannot oppose the traditions of his/her society as their upbringing and environment decide their thinking and decisions. The study recommended that parents should be educated about this issue and that educational programs should be presented to societies that have high rates of child marriages²⁷.

One of the important reports that reveal the fact of child marriages in Syria before refugees is a cluster survey conducted by UNICEF (2008)²⁸ within the third round of MICS. The survey tools were based on models and criteria developed by the international multi-indicator cluster surveys, in order to collect information on women and children situations in the countries of the world. The cluster survey in Syria showed that about 3.4% of women marry at an early

26 Fahimi, F. and Ibrahim, S., 2013, Ending Child Marriage in the Arab Region, Population Reference Bureau, <http://www.prb.org/Publications/Reports/2013/child-marriage-mena.aspx>.

27 Fadlallah, Bahjah, 2013, Attitudes towards early marriage - a field study in Al Malahah village in the White Nile, a research submitted to the Faculty of Arts to receive the bachelor’s degree, Egypt: University of Khartoum - Faculty of Arts.

28 UNICEF, 2008, Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 2006, Central Bureau of Statistics, UNICEF - United Nations Children’s Fund - Arab Family Health Project - League of Arab States.

age before they reach the age of 15 years. This Ratio varies among governorates, while Daraa Governorate has the highest one, with (5.2%), the lowest Ratio is in Tartous governorate (1.1%). This Ratio decreases among women with high level of education and increases among families with high economic and social levels. It also differs in urban and rural areas. In urban areas it reached about (4.0%), while in rural areas (2.7%). As for women who got married before the age of 18 years, they reached about 17.7%, and currently married women between the ages of 15-19 years: (9.7%).

2.7 The Jordanian Society and Child Marriage

Most studies of child marriage in Jordanian society focused on the international reports issued by the United Nations organizations that depend on the general statistics estimates data. These organizations depend also on some academic researches that study representative local communities attempting to provide data that explain this phenomenon, and to list expected causes, factors and impacts. In Jordan, comparing to the Arab countries, under-18 years old marriage is medium or low, due to the spread of education and because of the increase in the number of the girls educating in primary and secondary schools.

The United Nations Population Report, 2013, issued by the United Nations Population Fund under the title of “Child Maternity: Facing the Challenge of Teenage Pregnancy,” concluded that the Ratio of child marriage in Jordan was between 8% and 14% from 2005 to 2012, although the Personal Status Law of 2010 which restricts the cases of marriage under the age of 18 years. The report also stated that the Ratio of child marriages in Jordan during 2012 reached 13%. Basing on the preliminary results of the UNICEF study, the report concluded that the rate of reproduction at the age of (15) in 2012 reached (0.1%), at the age of 16 years (1.2%), at the age of (17) (2.9%), and at the age of 18 (6.9%). It indicated that these Ratio s were no different from those before the adoption of the Temporary Personal Status Law of 2010, which was expected to narrow the cases allowed for marriage under the age of (18) years.

In addition to interpreting the General Department of Statistics data, as well as the annual reports of the Chief Justice of the Court for the period 2005-2012, on which UNICEF relied in its study “A Study on Early Marriage in Jordan 2014”²⁹, UNICEF in the same study revealed the practices and the conduct of marriages between Jordanians and Syrians. It held in-depth interviews and focused panel discussions with parents and women who got married under the age of 18, as well as local community, service providers, elders, and others. The report showed that about 87.4% of the registered children marriages in Jordan in 2013 included Jordanian citizens, and that the Ratio of Syrian refugee girls reached (6.7%), noting that this is not the real number, for not all Syrians register their marriages.³⁰ UNICEF recommended supporting the minimum legal age for marriage, which is 18 years old for boys and girls, in line with International standards. It also recommended supporting education and providing secure and safe places where girls can

29 UNICEF, 2014, A Study on Early Marriage in Jordan 2014, Amman, Jordan.

30 UNICEF, 2014

discuss their issues, as well as talking to parents, the local community and religious leaders; all these matters play a role in addressing early marriage.³¹

In law, the issue of marriage in personal status law is stated in texts that passed through several stages of amendment. Article 5 of the Personal Status Law No. 61 of 1976 stipulates that “for the eligibility of marriage, the fiancé and fiancée must be sane; the fiancé must have, at least, 16 years old, and his fiancée 15 years old. Then, this article was amended under the amended law No. 82 of 2001, to read as follows: “The eligibility of marriage requires that the fiancé and fiancée be sane and that each of them has completed 18 years old. However, the judge may authorize the marriage of a person who has not completed this age if he has completed the age of fifteen years and there was an interest in this marriage. The bases of such interest are set in accordance with the instructions that issued by the Chief Justice for this purpose.”

Although the Personal Status Law No. 36 of 2010 stipulates the eligibility of marriage in Article 10, which is reaching 18 full solar years, this general principle is met with some exceptions. It allows marrying a girl who completed 15 years old, according to specific conditions, are set out in the instructions issued for this purpose by the Department of the Chief Justice as follows: “(B) In spite of the provisions of paragraph (a) of this article, the judge may, with the consent of the Chief Justice, authorize in special cases the marriage of who completed 15 solar years old, in accordance with instructions issued for this purpose, if his/her marriage has a necessity of an interest. He/she who gets married in accordance therewith acquires full eligibility in all matters related to marriage, divorce and their effects.”

The instructions referred to under the above-mentioned article are the instructions of authorizing marriage to those who are under the age of 18 for 2011 issued under Article 10 of the Jordanian Personal Status Law, as follows:

“Article 1: The judge may - with the consent of the Chief Justice - authorize the marriage of a person who has completed fifteen solar years old, if his/her marriage has a necessity of an interest according to the following:

1. The suitor shall be fit to the fiancée in accordance with the fitness elements stipulated in paragraph (a) of Article (21) of the Personal Status Law.
2. The judge shall be sure of the full satisfaction and the free choice.
3. The Court shall ascertain the necessity of the interest, whether economic, social, security or other, which leads to achieving a benefit, or preventing a cause of corruption, by the way it find appropriate for the ascertainment, and on condition that the need is considered as a necessity.
4. The court shall take into account, as much as possible and as appropriate, the existence of an apparent interest when authorizing the marriage, such as the appropriate age difference between the fiancé and the Fiancée, if the marriage is not be repeated, and if it is not a reason for dropping out of school.

31 UNICEF, 2014

5. The contract shall be concluded with the consent of the guardian, and under the provisions of articles (17), (18) and (20) of the Personal Status Law.
6. The court shall organize an official record that includes its ascertainment of the said matters which it has adopted for approving the marriage, and its submission thereon. The transaction and the record shall then be submitted to the Department of the Chief Justice for review and taking the appropriate decision.
7. After the authorization of the Chief Justice, a duly authorized marriage certificate shall be registered.
8. The marriage contract shall be carried out after verifying the absence of any religious or legal obstacles.

The personal status of the Christian communities is divided into four Christian families (and a family means a community or a church):

- The age of marriage according to the Catholic community: The canonical legislator in the Eastern Church law group and the legal right group have set, in the chapter of marriage Preventives, that: the age of marriage for men is 16 years, and women, 14 years old. The legislator has permitted imposing an older age for marriage according to the civil laws. However, the church - despite these texts - does not agree to marry those who are under the legal age unless there are reasons that convince the bishop in charge.
- The age of marriage according to the Orthodox community: Article 30 of the Family Code of Byzantium stipulates the conditions for marriage considering that the minimum age for marriage is 12 years old for women and 14 years old for men. Although the legislator has established a marriage age for both couples, things go otherwise. The church refuses to marry a girl at the age of twelve, and a boy at the age of fourteen, and requires puberty to complete the marriage, with the permission of the church spiritual presidency, and for reasons that convince the bishop who authorized marriage.
- The age of marriage according to the Evangelical Episcopal Church: Article 21 of the Personal Status Law of the Jerusalem archbishopric of the Episcopal Church in Jerusalem and the Intermediate East defines the conditions of the validity of the marriage. These conditions include, besides the general conditions of the contract, namely the consent and eligibility – the condition of age, which is set in the third paragraph. According to this condition, the person who asks for marriage must complete 18 years old for males, and sixteen for females.
- The age of marriage according to the Coptic community: Article 21 of the Code of Personal Status of the Orthodox Copts states that the age of marriage is 18 years for both sexes, and that the child marriage is not permitted at all.

Among the academic studies on the child marriage in Jordan, we review the study of Al-Jawamis

(2014), entitled “Trends of the Students of Grade 10 and the Secondary School towards Early Marriage in the City of Amman.” The study aimed to identify trends of students in grade 10 and in the secondary stage in the governmental and private schools in the City of Amman towards early marriage by identifying the awareness of students in these classes about the concept of marriage, the marriage contract, and the extent of female students’ early marriage. The study also aimed to identify the motives and social pressures affecting the female students’ decision to get married and their preference between learning and marriage. It used a random stratified sample of 5% of female students in public and private schools by reference to the students database from the Planning Department in the Ministry of Education for the second semester of the academic year 2012/2013. The sample volume was (3176) female students. The study also found low probability of female students trends to get married at this age, that the students’ support for the early marriage motives was of a moderate extent, that the most influential motives in their marriage decision is jealousy of relatives and friends, and that the least influential motive was the existence of a love relationship. One of the most influential social pressures in the marriage decision is the family’s poverty, and the least influential motive is that teachers drive the female students with low achievement to leave school³².

Al-Zyoud, S. (2012) was conducted on the Jordanian Society’s Position on Early Marriage,” where the position of the Jordanian Society on early marriage was highlighted through a simple random sample of (500) male and female students by using a closed questionnaire. This study has found that the Jordanian society has a positive attitude towards early marriage. However, according to the sample, this doesn’t mean that there are no negative attitudes. There are social and economic reasons for early marriage. The social reasons include the desire to get rid of the domination and cruelty of the parents. The economic reasons are related to poverty and the material status of the family where most families see it as a means of eliminating the burdens and expenses of the girl.

The study shows that early marriage has negative effects on all social, economic, psychological, health and educational levels. The negative effects include the increase in violence against women and children, the increase in divorce rates, and the lack of psychological, emotional and social comfort of women, the violation of their rights including depriving girls from completing her education. The researcher recommended the development of successful solutions to address the economic problems experienced by some families, to undertake research and studies on the risks of early marriage, its disadvantages and its effects on the society and delaying its progress, to prompt psychologists and social workers to play their role in educating parents about the negative effect of early marriage on women and children and to work on taking

32 Shereen, 2014, Trends of the 10th grade and secondary school students towards early marriage in Amman, Master Thesis, Women Studies, Jordan, University of Jordan.

formal procedures in the Shari'a courts particularly as regards ensuring the right legal age of marriage³³.

2.8 The community of refugees in Jordan and the child marriage

The UN Women, in cooperation with The Queen Zein Al Sharaf Institute for Development (ZENID) within the child protection and social violence³⁴, conducted a study on social violence and the protection of the Syrian refugee children in Jordan , focused on early marriage 2013". The UN Women looked into the violence based on discrimination against women, education, the refugees' ability to enjoy the most basic resources and specialized services, their ability to understand the implications of child marriage which leads to health risks and how lack of knowledge in this regard can adds to their financial burden.

The study targeted 3% of the Syrian refugee families registered in each governorate, based on UNHCR data until the 10th of 2012. The study used several quantitative and qualitative tools. A questionnaire was distributed to (613) individuals, married and unmarried, males and females, and it held in-depth interviews with actors in the local community.

The study revealed that 51.3% of females and 13% of males living outside the camp were married below the legal age, and that 44% of all participants in questionnaires believed that marriage before reaching the legal age of 18 years is normal for girls. The study examined the reasons for the child marriage in the Syrian refugee community such as the belief that marriage is protection for women, economic advantages for the family by reducing the number of children in families, and reducing the burden of raising girls, lack of knowledge about the implication of early marriage. Despite the increase in early marriages resulting from displacement and homelessness 100% of respondents in the sample agreed that early marriage among Syrians is a tradition that dates back to the pre-Syrian crisis and deemed as acceptable practice.

The study presented a number of solutions and recommendations, including: raising awareness among parents, community leaders, clans, tribes and policy makers about the health implications of girls' early marriage and their rights which are violated as a result of early marriage, inviting donors to support community initiatives to change the effects of social norms, and launching long-term programs that address the causes of early marriage. This concerns the institutions that call for initiating educational programs, improving access to education, and supporting the belief that keeping girls in school delays the age of marriage. The study also recommended calling all the entities involved in the provision of services to intensify their efforts in order to lend a helping hand and concentrate their efforts In order to better assist in this process with information and services³⁵.

The survey also has found that early marriage is socially acceptable in Syria, especially in

33 Al-Zyoud., Ismail, 2012, The Position of Jordanian Society on Early Marriage, Studies of Social and Human Sciences, Volume (39) (2).

34 UN women, 2013, Inter-agency assessment Gender-based Violence and Child Protection among Syrian refugees in Jordan, with a focus on Early Marriage, Amman, Jordan

35 UN women, 2013, Inter-agency assessment Gender-based Violence and Child Protection among Syrian refugees in Jordan, with a focus on Early Marriage, Amman, Jordan.

rural areas. It shows that the majority view that the age of 15-18 years is the most appropriate age for marriage. 44% of the survey respondents consider that 15-17 is the natural age of the girl's marriage, 65% believe that there has been no change in the age of marriage since the Syrians came to Jordan, 23% the age of marriage has declined since the Syrian refugees' arrival to Jordan, and (10%) believe that the age of marriage has risen since their arrival to Jordan. According to the report a girl can accept a man above the average age of marriage under the current circumstances. They say that such marriage brings there economic benefits for the girl's family and economic guarantees for the girl. Such a marriage provides an opportunity for the girl to integrate with the husband's family if she is younger, have an easy access to Jordan with her family and enjoy more privileges³⁶.

A modern academic study has been carried out by by Shakuba (2015). It studied the early marriage in the Syrian refugee camps in Jordan. The researcher has conducted a field study on Al Zaatari camp. She has examined Za'tari camp as a model for the Syrian refugees communities in Jordan. The Ratio of married women in the age group (15-18) years (73.3%). The Ratio of marriage among girls who have spent more than a year in the camp exceeds (64.6%)while the Ratio of marriage among girls who have spent six months or less than six months in the camp is(10.8%). The study has pointed out that the reasons for the marriage of female Syrian refugees are security in the absence of educational opportunities, the instability of the family, the loss of parents, the desire of parents, residence with relatives and residence with brothers. Refugee girls have also indicated that customs and traditions encourage their marriage before reaching 18 years. The economic reasons behind girls' early marriage are represented having a better standard of living and the desire to have access to all the needs required by the girl. The study also presented some of the physical health effects on girls such as child mortality, miscarriage, lack of knowledge of contraceptive methods, physical fatigue, anemia, and premature delivery³⁷.

36 UNFPA, 2013, The State of the World's Population 2013: Childhood Moms, Meeting the Challenge of Teen Pregnancy, https://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/AR-SWOP13_0.pdf

37 Shakbua, Israa, 2015, early marriage in the Syrian refugee camps in Jordan - field study at al-Zaatari camp, unpublished master thesis, Jordan: University of Jordan - College of Graduate Studies.

Chapter Three

The problem of child marriage girls in Jordan

There are multiple sources that provide access to data relating to the child marriage. The data issued by Supreme Judge Department constitutes the administrative sources of data through which the number of marriages registered for the 15-18 year olds. Another source of data in this respect is the Jordan Population and Housing Census 2015 which gives the actual number of child marriages of the 11-18 year olds. A question is directed to every person aged 13 about his or her marital status, whether this person is married or has previously been married; if he says that he is married, he is asked about his age when he married for the first time.

The Jordan Population and Housing Census 2015 was used to monitor and study the phenomenon of child marriage in Jordan according to the Jordanian and Syrian and the other nationalities, (taking into account the females holding the Syrian nationality while residing in Jordan.) The census registered (414358) married woman under the age of 18 years in Jordan, including (253155) Jordanian woman, while the number of Syrians women (113370) and the other nationalities (47833)

The percentages of married women under the age of 18 years of the total married women for each category were as follows: the general percentage (21%), the Jordanian women (17.6%), the Syrian women in Jordan (38.5%), while the other nationalities in Jordan (19.2%).

3.1. Age at the marriage time.

The data of the General Population and Housing Census 2015 showed in Table (2) the age at the time of first marriage per nationality and gender. The average age at the time of first marriage is defined as the age at which the largest Ratio of females and males are married. The data indicates that the age at the first marriage of Jordanian males is older than the age at the time of the first marriage of the Syrians and the other nationalities, reaching 25.6 years compared to 23.7 years and 25.3 years for the Syrians and for the other nationalities, respectively.

Table (2): Average Age at First Marriage per nationality and Gender, 2015

Nationality	Gender	
	Male	Female
Jordanian	25.6	21.2
Syrian	23.7	18.9
Others	25.3	21.1

Source: Department of Statistics, Population and Housing Census 2015

The average age at the time of first marriage for Jordanian females was older than the average age at the time of first marriage for the Syrian females and the females with other nationalities that reached 21.2 years compared to 18.9 years for Syrian females and 21.1 years for females of other nationalities.

The data in Table 3 indicates that the capital governorate recorded the greatest age at the time of marriage for males, with 25.8 years followed by Karak governorate with an average age of marriage of 25.4 years. The governorates of Madaba, Ma'an and Aqaba came in third place with an average age of marriage of 25.2 years. Mafraq Governorate recorded the lowest average age of first marriage for males, amounting to 23.9 years. Karak governorate recorded the largest age at the time of the first marriage for females where it reached 21.4 years followed by Balqa and Madaba with an average age of marriage of 21.2 years. In contrast, Mafraq Governorate recorded the lowest age at the first marriage of females, reaching 20.1 years old.

Table (3): Average Age at First Marriage Time per governorate and Gender

Governorate	Gender	
	Male	Female
Capital	25.8	21.0
Balqa	25.1	21.2
zarqa	25.0	20.4
Madaba	25.2	21.2
Irbid	25.1	20.7
Mafraq	23.9	20.1
Jerash	24.3	20.7
Ajloun	25.0	21.0
Karak	25.4	21.4
Tafila	24.9	21.1
Ma'an	25.2	20.9
Aqaba	25.2	21.1

Source: Department of Statistics, Population and Housing Census 2015

3.2 The volume of the problem of child marriage in Jordan

3.2.1 The volume of the problem of child marriage for girls under the age of 18 years, from the data of marriage contracts registered in the Supreme Judge Department

The data of the Supreme Judge Department regarding the registration of marriages indicated an increase in the number of marriages of women under the age of 18 during 2011-2015, where the

number of marriages for this female group increased from 8,093 marriages in 2011 to 10,834 Marriages in 2014 to 10,866 marriages in 2015 and an increase of 34.3% between 2011 and 2015.

Table (4) shows the Ratio of registered marriages of females under the age of 18 years per governorate during 2011-2015. The data indicates an increase in the proportion of marriages of females under the age of 18 during the period 2011-2015, where the rate rose from 12.6% of the total number of registered marriages in 2011 to 13.2% in 2013, 13.3% in 2014 and 13.4% In 2015.

The data on the basis of governorates, showed a fluctuation in the ratios of marriages registered for females under the age of 18, with Mafraq governorate registering the largest Ratio, ranging between 12.6% in 2011 and 21.4% in 2015, with an increase of 70% between 2011 and 2015, Followed by Zarqa Governorate where the Ratio ranged between 15.5% in 2014 and 18.4% in 2013. Aqaba governorate ranked third and the Ratio of marriages recorded for females under the age of 18 ranged from 11.4% in 2014 to 17.2% in 2012.

While the governorates of Tafila and Karak recorded the lowest rates of registered marriages for females under the age of 18 in 2015, at 5.3% and 6.0%, respectively. It is thought-provoking to note the sharp decline recorded by the post-2012 Jerash governorate, from 18.1% in 2012 to 9.6% in 2014 and then rose to 11.1% in 2015.

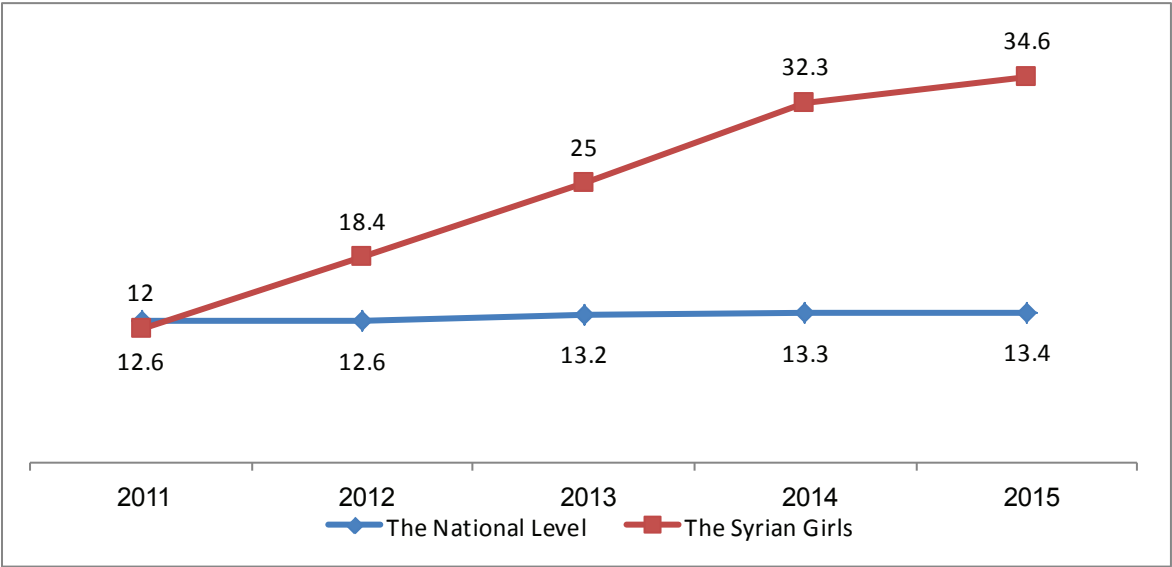
Table (4): Ratio of registered marriages of females under the age of 18 per governorate, during the period 2011-2015

Governorate	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Capital	12.6	12.4	12.7	12.6	11.6
Balqa	11.3	11.0	10.5	12.0	11.4
zarqa	16.9	16.4	18.4	15.5	17.4
Madaba	9.7	10.1	10.1	10.8	11.7
Irbid	11.6	11.9	13.0	14.5	13.9
Mafraq	12.6	13.3	15.5	19.5	21.4
Jerash	16.1	18.1	12.4	9.6	11.1
Ajloun	10.4	8.5	8.5	11.6	12.4
Karak	7.0	5.3	7.1	6.1	6.0
Tafila	6.9	6.8	7.5	6.6	5.3
Ma'an	7.5	9.7	11.0	10.7	9.4
Aqaba	13.1	17.2	13.6	11.4	14.3
Kingdom	12.6	12.6	13.2	13.3	13.4

Source: Supreme Judge Department, Annual Reports

Figure 1 shows that there is a significant increase in the Ratio of marriages registered for Syrian females under the age of 18 during the period 2011-2015 compared to the national recorded Ratios. Looking at the figure, the Ratio of female Syrian women under the age of 18 has doubled three times over the period 2011-2015, rising from 12% of the total number of registered marriages in 2011 to 18.4% in 2012, 25% in 2013 and 32.3% in 2014 and continuing to rise to 2015 reaching 34.6%. This means that one third of the Syrian women who married in 2015 were under the age of eight and 13.4% at the national level in Jordan.

Figure (1): Ratio of registered marriages of females under 18 years of age (The national level) and Syrian females under the age of 18, during the period 2011-2015



Source: Supreme Judge Department, Annual Reports

3.2.2 The volume of the problem of married women under the age of 18, according to the data of the Department of Statistics

First: the volume of the problem of married women under the age of 18 years at the national level (all nationalities)

Data from the General Population and Housing Census in 2015 shows that the Ratio of females who were married under the age of 18 years (which is calculated by dividing the number of females who married for the first time before the age of 18 and their current age of 13 and above the total number of females who married and their age was 13 years and above) was 15.1% of the total females who married during the period 2010 to 2015, and the highest was in Mafrq governorate where 24.5% followed by Zarqa governorate, 18.8% and then Irbid Governorate, 17.7%. While the remaining nine governorates did not exceed the national level where The

Ratio s for the other governorates ranged between 13.3% in the capital governorate and 5.6% in Tafila governorate.

Overall, the data showed an increase in the ratio of females who were married under the age of 18 years in Jordan, from 13.7% in 2010 to 15% in 2013, an increase of 9% between 2010 and 2013, (16.2% and 18.1%), respectively. Based on these results, increase percentage of females who married below the age of 18 years of age in Jordan reached 24.5% during the period 2010 to 2015.

The results on the basis of governorates showed a difference in the Ratio of females who married while being less than 18 years during 2010-2015. In Mafraq governorate, the proportion of females who married below the age of 18 years increased from 19.4% and 19.7% in 2010 and 2011 to In 2010 to reach 21.4% in 2013. The rates continued to rise, reaching 29.2% in 2014 and 31.1% in 2015, with an increase of 38% during 2010 and 2015, as is the case in Zarqa and Irbid governorates. On the other hand, the proportion of females who married under 18 in Tafila increased by 3.7% in 2010 to 9.8% in 2015. The data indicate that there is a clear rise in the proportion of females who have married under the age of 18 years in Jordan and in all governorates without any exception.

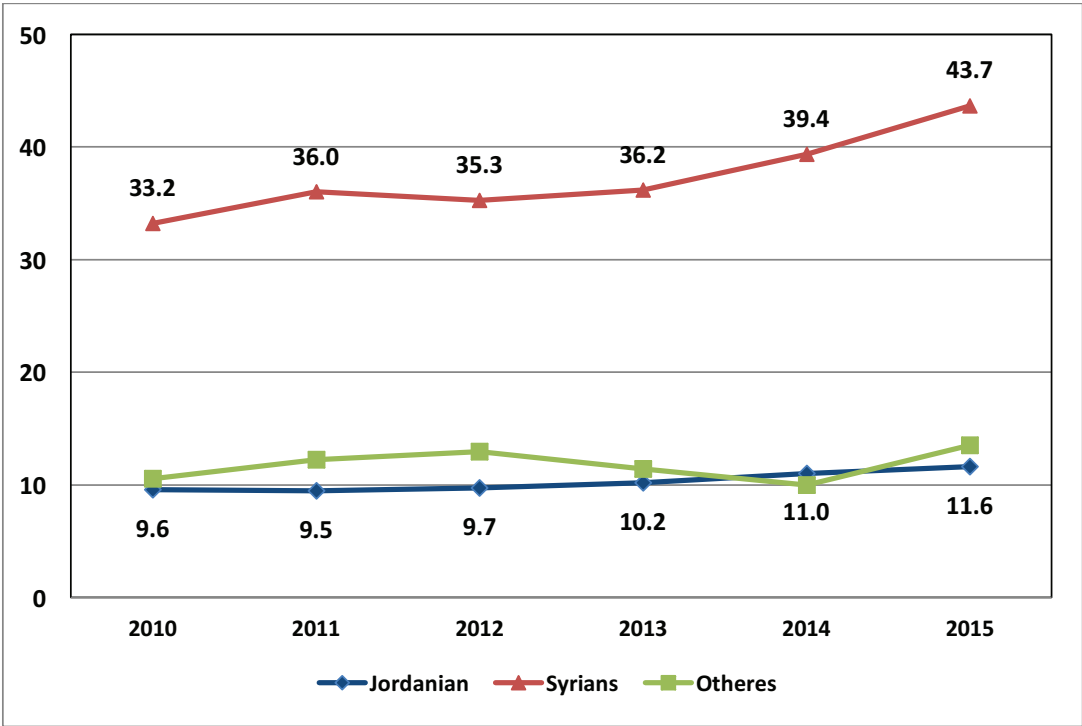
Table (5): Ratio of Females Aged 13 Years and above whom married at Age under 18 per governorate and Year of Marriage 2010-2015

Governorate	Year of Marriage						Total
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	
Capital	12.6	13.0	12.5	12.9	13.4	16.2	13.3
Balqa	10.5	12.4	10.5	13.0	11.9	14.6	12.0
zarqa	17.5	18.4	19.1	17.7	19.4	21.0	18.8
Madaba	10.1	8.8	11.5	10.7	13.2	12.5	11.0
Irbid	16.5	16.4	16.6	17.3	19.2	20.8	17.7
Mafraq	19.4	19.7	21.4	26.4	29.2	31.1	24.5
Jerash	9.7	11.6	13.1	13.1	15.9	14.4	12.9
Ajloun	8.6	8.5	8.4	10.3	10.6	13.5	9.9
Karak	6.1	8.0	8.4	8.2	8.1	8.6	7.8
Tafila	3.7	2.8	5.9	6.4	6.3	9.8	5.6
Ma'an	6.4	4.8	7.7	9.4	11.9	9.7	8.2
Aqaba	8.2	9.6	12.2	12.1	10.4	9.5	10.4
Kingdom	13.7	14.2	14.3	15.0	16.2	18.1	15.1

Source: Department of Statistics, Population and Housing Census 2015

The females who married below the age of 18 years out of the total number of females who were married in Jordan, per nationality, in 2010-2015, figure 2 shows that Jordanian females are the least married at the age of 18 years ranging from 9.5% in 2011 to 11.6% in 2015. This means that out of every nine Jordanian women married in 2015 there is a female Jordanian married below the age of 18 old. On the other hand, female Syrians living on Jordanian land were the most married at the age of 18 years, with 33.2% in 2010 and 43.7% in 2015, which means that out of the 10 female Syrians married in 2015, four were married under 18.

Figure (2): Ratio of Females Aged 13 Years and above who Married at Age Under 18 per nationality and Year of Marriage 2010-2015



Source: Department of Statistics, Population and Housing Census 2015

Second: the volume of the problem of marriage of Jordanian women under the age of 18 years

Table (6) shows the Ratio of Jordanian females who married below the age of 18 years per governorate and year of marriage, 2010-2015. The data indicated that the Ratio of Jordanian females who were married below the age of 18 years was 10.2% out of the total number of Jordanian women who married during the period 2010-2015, the highest of which was 14.5% in Zarqa Governorate followed by Irbid governorate, 10.7%, Mafraq Governorate, 10.2%, while the Governorates of Tafila and Ma’an recorded the lowest ratios of Jordanian women who married below the age of 18 years, where Jordanian women who were married in those Governorates did not exceed 5%.

Looking at the data, there is an increase in the Ratio of Jordanian women who have married below the age of 18 of age, from 9.6% in 2010 to 11.6% in 2015, recording an increase of 17.4% between 2010 and 2015.

The results showed a difference in the Ratio of Jordanian females who married at the age of 18 years during 2010-2015. In Zarqa governorate, the Ratio of females who were married under the age of 18 increased from 13.6% in 2010 to 14.7% in 2012, (14.9% and 16.2%) respectively. In Irbid governorate, the Ratio of females who married under the age of 18 increased by 10% in 2010 and continued to rise to 12% in the year 2015 with an increase of 17% over 2010-2015.

Table (6): Ratio of Females Aged 13 Years and above who Married at Age Under 18 per nationality and Year of Marriage 2010-2015

Governorate	Year of Marriage						Total
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	
Capital	10.1	9.6	9.7	9.9	10.6	11.1	10.1
Balqa	8.3	9.9	8.8	9.8	10.5	10.8	9.6
zarqa	13.6	13.9	14.7	14.0	14.9	16.2	14.5
Madaba	6.0	6.1	7.2	6.1	9.5	10.7	7.4
Irbid	10.0	9.7	9.7	10.9	12.0	12.0	10.7
Mafraq	9.2	9.8	9.0	9.8	11.0	13.5	10.2
Jerash	7.8	7.1	8.5	9.0	12.0	9.9	9.0
Ajloun	5.4	5.4	4.3	6.9	6.8	9.2	6.3
Karak	4.4	4.1	4.9	4.4	5.2	6.5	4.8
Tafila	3.4	2.6	5.4	5.9	5.2	7.1	4.8
Ma'an	5.1	3.3	4.7	7.7	7.1	5.5	5.6
Aqaba	6.3	6.9	9.5	8.8	8.6	7.6	8.0
Kingdom	9.6	9.5	9.7	10.2	11.0	11.6	10.2

Source: Department of Statistics, Population and Housing Census 2015

Third: The volume of the problem of Syrian marriage under the age of 18 years

Table (7) shows the Ratio of Syrian females who married below the age of 18 per governorate and year of marriage 2010-2015. The data indicates that more than one-third of Syrian females married below the age of 18 years, or 37.2% of the total Syrian females who married during 2010 to 2015. Ajloun governorate recorded the highest Ratio of Syrian females who married below the age of 18 and by 44% Followed by Al Mafraq governorate with 42.7% and then

Madaba and Irbid Governorates with 40.8% and 40.1% respectively.

The data shows that a large proportion of Syrian females in Jordan married below the age of 18 of age. In view of the data, there is a rise in the proportion of Syrian females who married below the age of 18 years during 2010- 2015 from 33.2% in 2010 to 43.7% In 2015, an increase of 10.5 Ratio points during that period. The data at the governorate level also showed varying levels of the proportion of Syrian females who married below the age of 18 years during 2010-2015.

Table (7): Ratio of Females Aged 13 Years and above who Married at Age Under 18 per governorate and Year of Marriage 2010-2015

Governorate	Year of Marriage						Total
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	
Capital	29.0	33.9	29.4	30.1	31.9	39.0	32.0
Balqa	27.9	41.4	30.3	37.1	27.9	51.7	36.2
zarqa	35.5	34.4	34.5	36.0	41.1	42.9	37.4
Madaba	37.3	34.0	45.0	45.2	43.0	38.8	40.8
Irbid	37.2	39.8	40.3	37.8	40.5	46.4	40.1
Mafraq	34.7	34.7	38.8	44.5	50.1	49.9	42.7
Jerash	26.7	24.0	37.2	31.0	50.9	29.2	33.8
Ajloun	37.7	42.7	42.0	49.5	45.6	47.6	44.0
Karak	36.1	55.2	38.9	37.1	36.2	32.5	39.3
Tafila	12.9	9.5	40.0	10.5	47.4	50.0	25.8
Ma'an	23.9	23.4	38.4	28.4	58.6	41.7	36.9
Aqaba	36.7	30.6	40.7	40.7	36.2	36.2	37.2
Kingdom	33.2	36.0	35.3	36.2	39.4	43.7	37.2

Source: Department of Statistics, Population and Housing Census 2015.

Fourth: the volume of the marriage problem of other nationalities under 18 years.

The table (8) shows Ratio of female from the other nationalities holders who married at the age under 18 years according to the Governorate and the year of marriage 2010 -2015. The data indicated that the Ratio of females of other nationalities holders who married at the age under 18 years has reached 11.7% of the total females of other nationalities holders who married during the period of 2010 to 2015, The highest Ratio was in Jerash Governorate, where the ratio reached up to 21.2%, followed by Zarqa Governorate, by 17.5%, then Mafraq governorate with a ratio of 14.5%, while Ajloun governorate registered the lowest rate for females of other nationalities

holders who married at the age under 18 years, where the rate reached up to 6.8% of the total females who married in that governorate.

The data showed a fluctuation in female ratios of a campaign of other nationalities holders who married at the age under 18 years, where the rate reached up to 10.6% in 2010, Ratio rose to 12.2% and 13% in 2011 and 2012 respectively, then the ratio decreased to 11.4% and 10% in the years 2013 and 2014 respectively, and then ratio re-increase significantly in 2015, where the ratio reached to 13.5%. This means that the rate of increase between 2014 and 2015 reached to 26%.

According to the Governorates, the results showed differing ratios of females from other nationalities holders who married at ages under 18 years during the period 2010-2015, in Jerash Governorate, females ratio of other nationalities holders who had married at ages under 18 years from 14.6% in 2010 rose to 23.9% in 2011 and to 24.2% in 2015, in Zarqa Governorate, females ratio of other nationalities holders who had married at the age under 18 years of 15.8% in 2010 to 21.3% in 2011 and 2012 then the ratio decreased after 2012 to reach up to 14.6% in 2014 then the ratio increased up to 17.1% in 2015.

Table (8): Ratio of females of other nationalities holders who are aged 13 years and older and married at the age under 18 years according to the Governorate and the year of marriage 2010-2015.

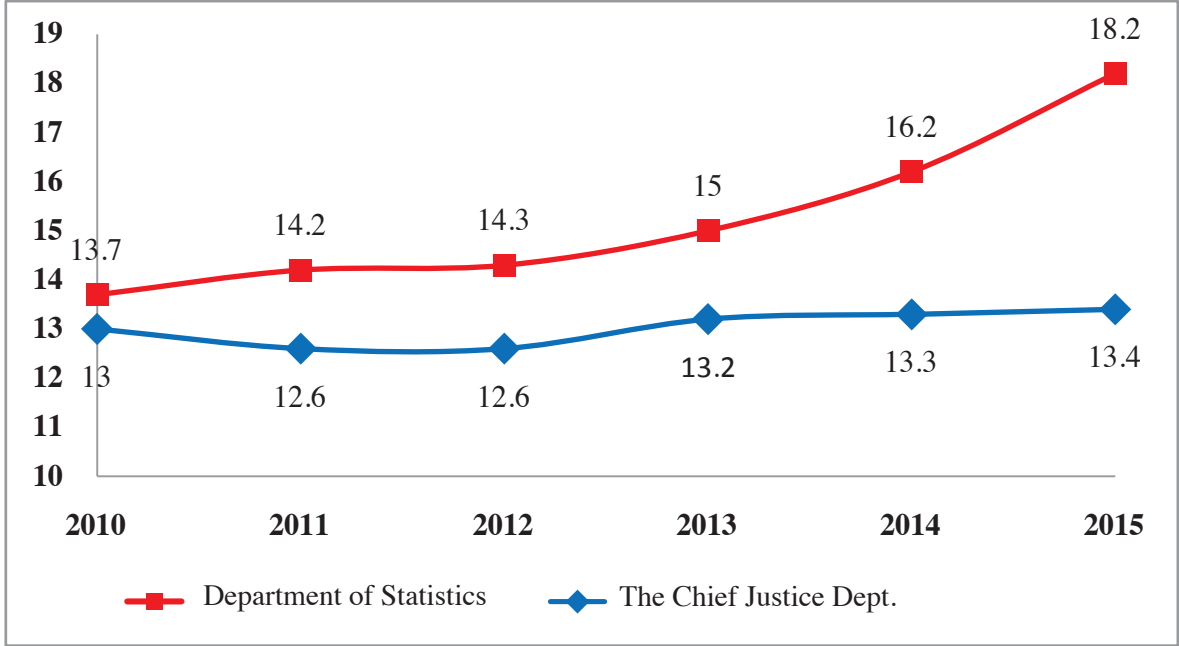
Governorate	Year of marriage						Total
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	
Capital	8.7	9.1	9.8	9.1	7.5	12.6	9.3
Balqa	19.2	6.7	10.4	18.3	11.2	6.1	12.8
Zarqa	15.8	21.3	21.3	15.4	14.6	17.1	17.5
Madaba	10.8	10.2	12.2	7.0	3.4	1.5	8.0
Irbid	11.8	15.5	13.0	9.3	13.6	9.9	12.4
Mafraq	14.0	9.6	18.2	25.2	9.4	8.0	14.5
Jerash	14.6	23.9	22.4	23.6	19.0	24.2	21.2
Ajloun	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	30.0	6.8
Karak	5.3	8.4	23.2	17.2	18.3	4.1	11.9
Tafilah	0.0	0.0	7.4	18.2	0.0	35.7	10.0
Ma'an	0.0	10.5	17.6	17.2	0.0	0.0	11.1
Aqaba	7.1	15.8	13.7	12.7	7.5	7.7	10.8
Kingdom	10.6	12.2	13.0	11.4	10.0	13.5	11.7

Source: Department of Statistics, Population and Housing Census 2015

Based on the foregoing, the data issued by both The Chief Justice and the Department of

Statistics has confirmed that there is a growing problem at the national level in the marriage of females who are generally younger than 18 years and among Syrian females in particular. (See, Figure 3).

Figure 3: Ratio of women who are aged 13 years and older and married at the age of less than 18 years by The Chief Justice and the Department of Statistics during the period 2011-2015.



Source: Department of Statistics, Population and Housing Census 2015

Source: Supreme Judge Department, Annual Reports

3.3 Geographical distribution of child Marriage in Jordan

3.3.1 Geographical distribution of child Marriage in Jordan (All Nationalities).

Appendix (6) shows Numbers and relative distribution of females child marriage by the district and the year of marriage for all nationalities. The data indicates that the largest ratio of Registered marriage cases in the capital governorate during the 2010-2015 years were in District Marca, Al-Qweismeh and Ratio of Registered marriage cases in the district of Marka of the total Registered marriage cases in the capital governorate ranged between 25.3% in 2014 and 27.2% in 2010 and 2012 as the ratios in Al-Qweismeh district ranged between 19.7% in 2011 and 23.9% in 2013.

Registered marriage cases in the district of Ain Al-Basha formed the largest Ratio of Registered marriage cases in Balqa governorate and ranged from 49.2% in 2012 and 55.6% in 2015, while

the district of South Shuna occupied the second rank in the registration of marriage cases and the ratio of what is registered was ranged between 12.1% in 2011 and 17.3% in 2010. The district of Zarqa and Rusaifa were the biggest registration of marriage cases in Zarqa Governorate and the ratio of what is registered was ranged between 35.7% in 2013 and 41.5% in 2014. While the ratio of registered cases ranged in the district Rusaifa between 33.9% in 2014 and 39 0.2% in 2013. Registered marriage cases in Madaba district formed the vast majority of registered marriage cases in Madaba governorate, where ratio ranged from 80.2% in 2013 and 83.1% in 2012.

The district of Irbid and Ramtha witnessed registration of the largest number of registered marriage cases in the governorate of Irbid, and ranged the ratio of registered marriage cases s in the district of Irbid between 39% in 2012 and 43.1% in 2011. In contrast, the ratio of registered marriage cases s in Ramtha district ranged between 23.8% in 2015 and 27.7% in 2010. Northern West Badia occupied the first rank in the registration of marriage cases, where the ratio of what is registered was ranged between 48.1% of the total cases of registered marriage in Mafraq Governorate in 2012 and 56% in 2014. Jerash district witnessed registration of the largest number of registered marriage cases in Jerash Governorate, and the ratio of registered cases between 82.8% in 2014 and 90.6% in 2011.

The district of Ajloun and sakhra witnessed registration of the largest number of marriage cases in Ajloun governorate and the ratio of registered cases in Ajloun district ranged between 29.5% in 2012 and 48.1% in 2013, while the ratio of registered cases in sakhra district ranged from 22.9% in 2013 and 37.7% in 2010 and the districts of Karak, southern Mazar, Tafila, Seer, Ma'an, Petra, Aqaba and Alqoirh witnessed registration of the largest number of marriage cases in the four southern governorates.

3.3.2 Geographical distribution of Jordanian women married under 18 years

Appendix (7) shows the Ratio al distribution of cases of Jordanian female marriage aged 13 years and older and married at the age under 18 years according to the district and the year of marriage 2010-2015. The data indicates that the largest ratio of Registered marriage cases in the capital governorate during the years 2010-2015 as Al-Qweismeh district was the highest rate that reached up to 28.6% of the total cases of marriage for female Jordanian who married at the age under 18 years in the capital governorate, ratio of marriage in Al-Qweismeh district between 26.9% in 2010 and 31.9% in 2013, and then ratio of Marca district reached 27.9% and

marriage ratios ranged in this district between 26.9% in 2013 and 28.8% in 2010, as Amman district ratio up to 20.1%.

Registered marriage cases in Ain Al-Basha district formed the largest ratio of registered marriage cases in Balqa governorate and ranged from 51.1% in 2012 and 56.2% in 2013, while Deir Alla district occupied the second rank in the registration of marriage cases and the ratio of what is registered was ranged between 9.2% in 2010 and 20% in 2013.

In Zarqa Governorate, zarqa and Rusaifa districts were the biggest registration of marriage cases in Zarqa Governorate and ratio of what is registered in Zarqa district ranged between 40% in 2013 and 45.2% in 2010. While the ratio of registered cases in the district Rusaifa ranged between 37.6% in 2010 and 2014 and 43.4% in 2013.

Registered marriage cases in the district of Madaba formed the vast majority of registered marriage cases in Madaba governorate where the ratio ranged from 70.8% in 2014 and 80.7% in 2015.

Irbid and Ramtha district witnessed registration the largest number of registered marriage cases in Irbid governorate. The ratio of registered marriage cases in Irbid district ranged between 31.2% in 2012 and 33.9% in 2011. In contrast, the Ratio of registered marriage cases ranged in the district of Ramtha between 26.6% in 2015 and 32.8% in 2011.

Balaama district occupied the first rank in the registration of marriage cases, where the ratio of what is registered was ranged between 15.3% of the total cases of registered marriage in Mafraq Governorate in 2014 and 23.2% in 2011 and Jerash district witnessed registration the largest number of registered marriage cases in Jerash Governorate, the ratio of registered cases between 70.9% in 2014 and 80.5% in 2011.

Ajloun and Kufranja district witnessed registration the largest number of marriage cases in Ajloun Governorate, The ratio of registered cases in Ajloun district between 31.9% in 2012 and 55% in 2011, while the ratio of registered cases in the district Kufranja ranged between 22.8% in 2013 and 40 % in 2010 and the districts of Karak, southern Mazar, Tafila, Seer, Ma'an, Petra and Aqaba witnessed registration the largest number of marriage cases in the four governorates based in the territory of the South.

3.3.3 Geographical distribution of Syrian women under 18 years.

Appendix (8) shows the Ratio al distribution of marriage cases of Syrian women who their ages 13 years and older and married at the age under 18 years according to the district and the marriage year 2010-2015. The data indicates that the greatest ratio of registered marriage cases in the capital governorate during the years 2010-2015 that was in Amman and marca and the ratio of registered marriage cases in Amman district between 17.7% in 2015 and 22.3% in 2011. The Ratio of registered marriage cases in marca district of total registered marriage cases in the capital governorate between 23.5% in 2011 and 25.9% in 2014.

Registered marriage cases in Ain Al-Basha district formed the greatest ratio of registered marriage cases in Balqa governorate, ranging from 43.9% in 2010 and 61.2% in 2011 while salt district occupied the second rank in registration of marriage cases and the ratio of what is registered was ranged between 12.5% in 2013 and 38.8% in 2012. Both Zarqa and al azraq districts were the highest registration for marriage cases in Zarqa governorate and the ratio of what is registered in Zarqa district was ranged between 32.4% in 2013 and 27.2% in 2011. While the Ratio of registered cases in Zarqa governorate ranged between 17.3% in 2014 and 28.9% in 2013. Registered marriage cases formed in Madaba the vast majority of registered marriage cases in Madaba governorate where its ratio ranged between 83.3% in 2011 and 96.6% in 2014.

Irbid and Ramtha has witnessed the largest number of registration of Syrian marriage cases that are registered in Irbid governorate. The Ratio of registered marriage cases in Irbid district between 44.2% in 2010 and 48.7% in 2011. In contrast, the Ratio of registered marriage cases in Ramtha 19.6% between 2012 and 26.5% in 2010.

Northwest Albadaia district occupied the first rank in registration of Syrian marriage cases, where the Ratio of what was registered ranged between 62.7% of total registered marriage cases in the Mafraq Governorate in 2012 and 69.4% in 2015. Jerash district witnessed the biggest number of registered marriage cases in Jerash governorate and the Ratio of registered cases ranged between 92.9% in 2015 and 100% in 2012. Ajloun and sakhra has witnessed registration the largest number of marriage cases in Ajloun governorate and the Ratio of registered cases ranged between Ajloun district 11.4% in 2011 and 40.4% in 2014, while the Ratio of registered cases in sakhra district between 40.4% in 2014 and 35.1% in 2010. Districts of Karak, southern Mazar, Tafila, Seer, Ma'an, Petra, Aqaba and Wadi Araba witnessed registration the largest number of marriage in the four southern governorates.

3.4. Educational Status

Table 9 shows the distribution of Jordanian women aged 13 years and older and married at the age under 18 years according to the year of marriage 2010-2015 and educational status. The results indicate that 66.7% of Jordanian women married at the age under 18 years of primary and basic educational qualifications holders while the ratio of females reached up to 18.9% of secondary qualification holders. As it should point out that there are 5.4% of Jordanian females who are illiterate and 8.2% of them can read and write. See the figure No.(4).

As the females of primary and Elementary qualifications formed the greatest ratio of Jordanian women who married at the age under 18 years in all years during the period 2010-2015, its ratio ranged between 65% in 2010 and 69.3% in 2015. The females of Intermediate high school and bachelor holders formed reached up to a small ratio that amounted 0.6% amounted only.

Table (9): Proportionate distribution of Jordanian girls whose ages are 13 years or more and got married under 18 years old by year of marriage 2010-2015 and the educational status

Marriage Year	Under 18 years old							Total
	Educational status							
	illiterate	Read & write	Elementary, Preparatory, basic,	Vocational Education	Secondary	Intermediate Diploma	Bachelor's and above	
2010	6.1	8.7	65	0.1	18.8	0.4	0.8	4,229
2011	5.6	7.9	67.2	0.1	18.1	0.6	0.5	3,767
2012	5.2	7.6	66.3	0.2	19.9	0.5	0.2	4,033
2013	5.4	8.2	65.8	0.1	20.2	0.3	0	4,357
2014	4.7	8.5	67.3	0.4	18.8	0.3	0	4,558
2015	5.3	8.2	69.3	0.3	16.9	0	0	3,483
Total	5.4	8.2	66.7	0.2	18.9	0.4	0.2	24,427

Source: Department of Statistics, Population and Housing Census 2015.

Table (10) shows the proportionate distribution of Jordanian girls whose ages are 13 years or more and married at the age of 18 or more by marriage year 2010 - 2015 and the academic status. The results indicate that the higher proportion of Jordanian girls who married at the age of 18 or elder are of the post-graduate (Bachelor or higher) and reached the Ratio of 37.1%. Meanwhile, the Ratio of girls who got the preliminary, preparatory and basic schools certificates is 20%. On the contrary, Ratio of illiterate girls reached 2.3% and who can read and write 4.3%. Girls who

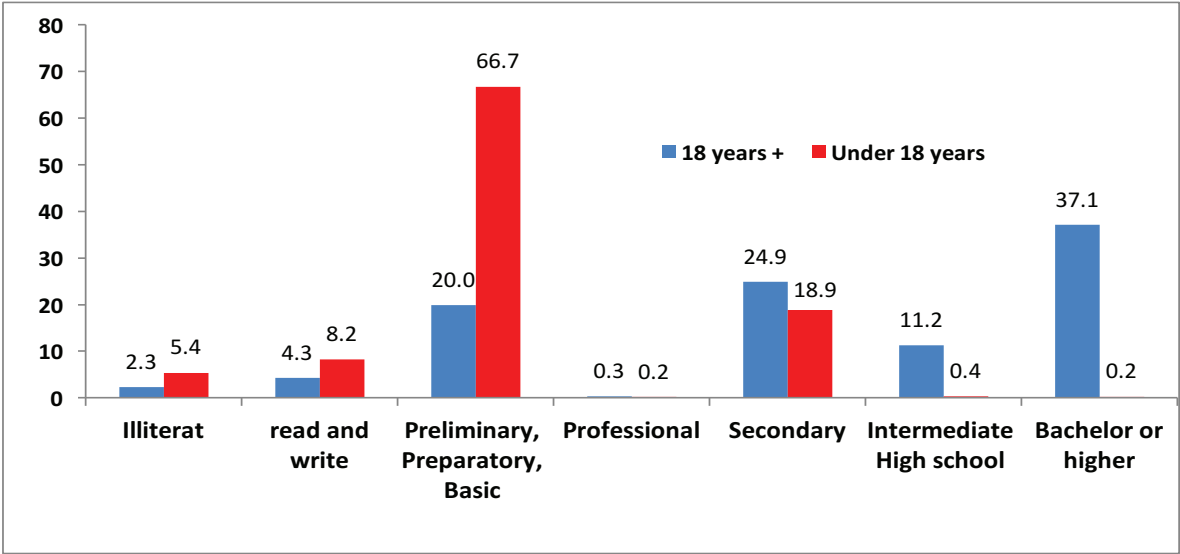
got the bachelor degree or higher formed the highest proportion among Jordanian girls who married at the age of 18 or elder in all years during the period 2010-2015, and their proportion ranged from 36% in 2015 and 38.2% in 2012. Girls who got the professional schools certificates formed low Ratio of 3.0% only. View figure no. (4).

Table (10): Proportionate distribution of Jordanian girls whose ages are 13 years or elder and got married at 18 years old or more by year of marriage 2010-2015 and the Educational status

Marriage Year	18 years or more							Total
	Educational Status							
	illiterate	Read & write	Elementary, Preparatory, basic,	Vocational Education	Secondary	Intermediate Diploma	Bachelor's and above	
2010	2.6	4.5	19.8	0.3	24.7	11.7	36.4	40.060
2011	2.3	4.5	20.0	0.3	24.1	11.7	37.1	36.271
2012	2.4	4.3	19.4	0.3	24.0	11.3	38.2	37.375
2013	2.2	4.1	20.0	0.3	24.3	11.3	37.8	37.759
2014	2.0	4.1	20.1	0.3	26.1	10.8	36.7	35.870
2015	2.3	4.1	20.7	0.3	26.4	10.2	36.0	26.434
Total	2.3	4.3	20.0	0.3	24.9	11.2	37.1	213.769

Source: Department of Statistics, Population and Housing Census 2015.

Figure (4): proportionate distribution of Jordanian girls whose ages are 13 years or elder married by the age at the time of marriage and the Educational status



Source: Department of Statistics, Population and Housing Census 2015.

Besides, the results showed that the higher Ratio of the Syrian girls who married under the age of 18 from the girls who got the preliminary, preparatory and basic certificates reached 69.3%, meanwhile the Ratio of the girls who got the secondary certificate 5.3%. Girls who got the Intermediate high school and the bachelor or higher 0.1% and 0.2% respectively, and the illiterate girls 9.8% and the acquainted 15.2%. Girls who got the preliminary and primary and basic certificates formed the higher proportion among Syrian girls who married at the age under 18 years in all years during the period 2010-2015 and their proportion ranged from 66.5% in 2011 to 72.6% in 2015. Girls who got the professional schools certificate formed low ratio reached only 0.1%. (View table no 11)

Table (11): The proportionate distribution of Syrian girls whose ages are 13 or more and married at the age under 18 years by the marriage year 2010-2015 and the Educational status.

Marriage Year	Under 18 years old							Total
	Educational Status							
	illiterate	Read & write	Elementary, Preparatory, basic,	Vocational Education	Secondary	Intermediate Diploma	Bachelor's and above	
2010	10.3	14.6	67.1	0.0	7.1	0.3	0.6	3.597
2011	10.5	15.2	66.5	0.2	6.9	0.3	0.4	3.376
2012	10.8	13.7	68.6	0.1	6.3	0.1	0.4	3.499
2013	9.9	15.7	69.5	0.1	4.7	0.1	0.0	4.112
2014	8.6	16.6	70.7	0.0	4.1	0.0	0.0	4.551
2015	9.1	14.8	72.6	0.3	3.2	0.0	0.0	4.032
Total	9.8	15.2	69.3	0.1	5.3	0.1	0.2	23.167

Source: Department of Statistics, Population and Housing Census 2015.

As for Syrian girls who married at the age of 18 or more, they didn't reach the same academic level like Jordanian girls who married at the same age. Because, the Ratio of girls who got the secondary schools certificate reached only 19.6% and girls of the Intermediate high school and the bachelor degree or higher 4.7% and 8% respectively. Besides, the results showed that the higher Ratio of Syrian girls who married at the age of 18 or elder is from the girls who got the preliminary, primary and basic schools certificate with Ratio of 45.1% and the Ratio of the illiterate girls is 10% and the acquainted is 12.2%. Girls who got the preliminary, preparatory

and basic schools certificate formed the highest Ratio among Syrian girls who married at the age of 18 or more in all years during the period 2010-2015 and their proportion ranged between 43.7% in 2010 and 50% in 2015. Girls who got the professional schools certificate formed low Ratio that reached only 0.3%. (View table 12)

Table (12): The proportionate distribution of Syrian girls whose ages are 13 years or elder and married at the age of 18 or more by the marriage year 2010-2015 and the Educational status.

Age of Marriage	18 years or more							Total
	Educational Status							
	illiterate	Read & write	Elementary, Preparatory, basic,	Vocational Education	Secondary	Intermediate Diploma	Bachelor's and above	
2010	11.3	13.1	43.7	0.4	17.9	5.8	7.8	7.288
2011	11.8	12.9	43.9	0.3	17.7	4.7	8.7	5.951
2012	11.0	11.1	42.3	0.4	19.4	6.4	9.4	6.413
2013	9.4	12.6	45.0	0.3	20.0	4.4	8.3	7.198
2014	8.3	11.3	46.6	0.3	22.1	4.0	8.4	5.097
2015	8.0	12.2	50.0	0.3	22.1	2.3	5.0	5.097
Total	10.0	12.2	45.1	0.3	19.6	4.7	8.0	38.897

Source: Department of Statistics, Population and Housing Census 2015.

Table (13) shows the proportionate distribution of girls from the other nationalities (Otherwise Jordanian and Syrian nationalities) who married at the age under 18 by the marriage year (2010-2015) and the academic status. The results indicates that the highest proportion of the girls from the other nationalities who marries at the age under 18 are from the girls who got the preliminary, preparatory and basic schools certificate with ratio of 61.4%, as the Ratio of the girls who got the secondary schools certificates is 14.2% and Ratio s of the girls who got the Intermediate high school and the bachelor degree are 1.3% and 0.3% respectively. On the contrary, the proportion of the illiterate girls reached 9.3% and the acquainted 12.9%. Data showed that girls who got the preliminary preparatory and basic schools certificates formed the highest proportion among the girls from the other nationalities who married at the age under 18 in all years during the period 2010-2015 and their proportion ranged from 57% in 2012 and 69% in 2015. Girls who got the professional schools certificates formed only low ratio of 0.6%.

Table (13): proportionate distribution of girls of others nationalities whose age is 13 and above who got married under 18 years old during marriage according to marriage year 2010-2015 and the Educational status.

Age of Marriage	Under 18 years old							Total
	Educational status							
	illiterate	Read & write	Elementary, Preparatory, basic	Vocational Education	Secondary	Intermediate Diploma	Bachelor's and above	
2010	11.4	10.9	60	1.1	15.1	0.7	0.8	989
2011	9	12.8	61	0.7	12.6	3.3	0.5	935
2012	12.1	14.3	57	1.3	13.2	1.5	0.5	1,118
2013	9.6	11.4	64.3	0	12.7	2	0	952
2014	6.5	16.5	58.7	0	18.3	0	0	782
2015	5.3	11.4	69	0	14.2	0	0	772
Total	9.3	12.9	61.4	0.6	14.2	1.3	0.3	5,548

Source: Department of statistics, Population and Housing Census, 2015.

In addition, table (14) proportionate distribution (except Jordanians and Syrians) whose age is 13 and above who got married according to marriage age (2010-2015) and the academic case.

Table (14) proportionate distribution of others nationalities girls whose age is 13 and above who got married at the age of 18 years or more according to marriage year 2010-2015 and the Educational status.

Age of Marriage	18 years old or more							Total
	Educational status							
	illiterate	Read & write	Elementary, Preparatory, basic,	Vocational Education	Secondary	Intermediate Diploma	Bachelor's and above	
2010	11.3	10.5	22.9	0.5	23.2	8.9	22.6	8,227
2011	7	8.6	23.7	1.3	20.3	8.7	30.5	6,593
2012	6.6	8.4	24.3	0.4	23.1	10.3	26.9	7,448
2013	5.3	8.5	20	0.3	22.5	11.9	31.3	7,217
2014	5.5	5.6	23.3	0.5	23.9	9.7	31.5	6,874
2015	6.3	6.4	24.2	0.3	24.3	8.9	29.7	4,888
Total	7.1	8.2	23	0.5	22.9	9.8	28.5	41,247

Source: Department of statistics, Population and Housing Census, 2015.

Results shows that 28.5% of high Academic case (bachelor's and above), while ratio of Secondary education girls is 22.9% and the others of pre-primary, primary and preparatory is 23%.in return, illiterate girls ratio reached 7.1% and who can read and write is 8.2%. In addition, bachelor's received girls and above constituted the higher ratio among girls of others nationalities who got married at the age of 18 and above at all years except 2010 that their ratio ranged about 22.6% in 2010 and 31.5% in 2014.Furthermore girls of Vocational Education constituted a low ratio reached only 5.0%.

3.5 Relation with economic activity

Table (15) Shows The proportionate distribution of Jordanian girls whose age is 13 and above who got married according to marriage year 2010-2015 and the relation with the economic activity.

Table (15) The proportionate distribution of Jordanian girls whose age is 13 and above and got married according to age during marriage, marriage year 2010-2015 and relation with the economic activity.

Age of marriage	Age during first marriage							
	Under 18 years old				18 years old and above			
	Employed	unemployed and looking for a job	unemployed and not looking for a job	Total	employed	unemployed and looking for a job	employed and not looking for a job	Total
2010	2.4	3.4	94.2	4,289	20.1	13.7	66.2	40,506
2011	2.2	3.3	94.5	3,851	18.5	15.2	66.2	36,826
2012	1.5	3.7	94.8	4,113	17.8	15.9	66.3	38,297
2013	1.7	2.8	95.5	4,437	17	16.5	66.4	39,145
2014	1.6	2.6	95.8	4,696	15.8	16.1	68.1	37,912
2015	1.5	2.2	96.3	3,752	14.8	15.8	69.4	28,611
Total	1.8	3	95.2	25,138	17.5	15.5	67	221,297

Source: Department of statistics, Population and Housing Census, 2015.

Data indicate that total Jordanian females who got married under 18 years old in 2010-2015 reached 25,138 girls. Girls who are unemployed and do not look for a job constituted the overwhelming majority of them or accounted for 95.2% whereas those who are employed constituted 1.8% and those who are unemployed and looking for a job 3%.

In addition, girls who got married under 18 years old and are unemployed and not looking for a job constituted the overwhelming majority among girls who got married at all years which their ratio constituted 94.2% of those who got married in 2010 and 96.3% of those who got married in 2015. Furthermore, ratio of girls who are employed differed according to the first marriage year which ranged 1.5% of those who got married in 2012 and 2015 and 2.4% of those who got married in 2010.

In addition, girls who are not working or looking for work formed the largest Ratio of females who married at the age of 18 years and older (67%), while women who work reached up to 17.5% and those who do not work and looking reached up to 15.5%.

In addition, girls who got married at the age of 18 and above and are unemployment, not looking for a job constituted higher ratios among girls who got married at all years whose ratio ranged about 66.2% of those who got married in 2010-2011 and 69.4% of those who got married in 2015.

Table (16) shows proportionate distribution of Syrian married girls whose age is 13 and above, according to year of marriage 2010-2015 and the relation with the economic activity.

Table (16): The proportionate distribution of married Syrian girls whose age is 13 and above according to age during marriage and year of marriage 2010-2015, and the relation with the economic activity.

Age of marriage	Age at first marriage							
	Under 18 years old				18 years old and above			
	Employed	unemployed and looking for a job	employed and not looking for a job	Total	employed	unemployed and looking for a job	employed and not looking for a job	Total
2010	1.4	4.2	94.4	3,626	2.8	5.4	91.9	7,323
2011	1.6	1.9	94.6	3,384	3.1	4.6	91.3	5,977
2012	1.0	4.3	94.7	3,523	2.4	4.3	92.4	6,471
2013	1.3	4.1	94.6	4,127	2.0	4.2	92.8	7,271
2014	1.5	4.4	94.1	4,585	2.2	4.8	93.0	7,063
2015	1.1	3.7	95.3	4,082	2.7	6.2	91.0	5,243
total	1.3	4.1	94.6	23,327	2.5	5.4	92.1	93,348

Source: Department of statistics, Population and Housing Census, 2015.

The data indicate that total Syrian girls who got married under 18 years old reached 23,327 girls; girls who are jobless and are not looking for a job constituted the majority of them, or representing 94.6%, while those of them who are employed constituted accounted for 1.3% and those who are unemployed but looking for a job represent 4.1%.

Girls who got married under 18 years who are unemployed and not looking for a job constituted the overwhelming majority among girls who got married in all years and their ratio ranged amongst 94.1% to whom got married in 2014 and 95.3% who got married in 2015.

Girls who are unemployed and not looking for a job constituted the majority among those who got married at the age of 18 and above, whose No. reached 36248 girls or what represent 92.1% while the girls who are employed constituted 2.5% and girls who are unemployed and looking for a job are 5.4%.

Also, girls who got married at the age of 18 and above who are unemployed and not looking for a job constituted the overwhelming majority among girls who got married at all years and their ratio ranged amongst 91% to whom got married in 2015 and 93% to those who got married in 2014.

Table (17) shows girls of others nationalities proportionate distribution (except Jordanians and Syrians) whose age is 13 and above who got married according to marriage age 2010-2015 and the relation with and the economic activity.

Table (17): girls of others nationalities proportionate distribution whose age is 13 and above who got married according to marriage age and marriage year of 2010-2015 and the relation with and the economic activity.

Age of marriage	Age at first marriage							
	Under 18 years old				18 years old and above			
	employed	unemployed and looking for a job	employed and not looking for a job	Total	employed	unemployed and looking for a job	employed and not looking for a job	Total
2010	18.9	1.3	79.8	996	24.1	3.7	72.3	8,436
2011	10.5	1.2	88.4	946	19.2	4.4	76.4	6,789
2012	10.7	0.6	88.7	1,137	16.3	5.8	77.9	7,638
2013	8.2	2.6	89.2	964	16.9	4.9	78.2	7,492
2014	1.8	1.6	96.6	795	13.1	4.7	80.2	7,184
2015	3.6	2.0	94.5	812	11.9	5.7	82.2	5,197
total	9.4	1.5	89.1	5,650	17.3	5.1	77.5	42,736

Source: Department of statistics, Population and Housing Census, 2015.

Data indicate that total girls of others nationalities who got married under 18 years old reached 5.650 girls, and girls who are unemployment and not looking for a job constituted the overwhelming majority of them or represented 89.1% while girls who are employed are 9.4% and who are unemployed are 1.5%. Also, girls who got married under 18 years old who are unemployed and not looking for a job constituted the majority among girls who got married at all years and their ratio ranged amongst 79.8% to whom got married in 2010 and 94.5% to whom got married in 2015.

Furthermore girls who are unemployed and not looking for a job constituted the majority among those who got married at the age of 18 and above, whose No. reached 33.139 girls or accounted for 77.5% while girls who employed reached 17.3% and girls who are unemployed and looking for a job are 5.1%.

3.6 Health insurance case

Table (18) shows Jordanian girls proportionate distribution whose age is 13 and above according to marriage year 2010-2015, the first marriage age and health insurance case. Data indicate that more than half Jordanian female who got married under 18 years old or represented 54.9% are not health insured. And Jordanian girls' ratio of who are not health insured ranged according to the first marriage age is from 54% in 2013 and 56.5% in 2010.

Unlike those Jordanian girls who got married under 18 years old, the majority of Jordanian girls who got married at the age of 18 and above who are health insured according to the first marriage age are from 60.2% in 2015, 65.2% in 2010 and 2011.

Table (18): Jordanian girls' proportionate distribution whose age is 13 and above who married according to marriage year 2010-2015, marriage age and health insurance case.

Age of marriage	The age at first marriage			
	Under 18 years old		18 years old and above	
	Uninsured	Insured	Uninsured	Insured
2010	56.5	43.4	34.8	65.2
2011	54.7	45.3	34.8	65.2
2012	54.9	45.1	35.6	64.4
2013	54.0	46.0	36.3	63.7
2014	54.6	45.4	37.9	62.1
2015	54.6	45.4	39.8	60.2
total	54.9	45.1	36.4	63.6

Source: Department of statistics, Population and Housing Census, 2015

Table (19) shows Syrian girls' proportionate distribution whose age is 13 and above according to marriage year 2010-2015, the first marriage age and health insurance case. Data indicate that the majority of Syrian girls who got married under 18 years old or accounted for 69.4% are not health insured. In addition, Syrian girls' ratio of who are not health insured ranged according to the first marriage age is from 65.8 % in 2013 and 72.1% in 2011. Data indicate that the majority of Syrian girls who got married at the age of 18 and above or represented 71.9% are health insured. Besides Syrian girls' ratio that got married at the age of 18 and above who are health uninsured ranged according to the first marriage year from 70.6% in 2014 and 72.7% in 2015.

Table (19) Syrian girls proportionate distribution whose age is 13 and above who got married according to marriage year 2010-2015, marriage age and health insurance.

Age of marriage	Age at first marriage			
	Under 18 years old		18 years and above old	
	Uninsured	Insured	Uninsured	Insured
2010	71.0	29.0	72.2	27.8
2011	72.1	27.9	71.3	28.7
2012	70.2	29.8	73.3	26.7
2013	65.8	34.2	71.5	28.5
2014	68.0	32.0	70.6	29.4
2015	70.1	29.9	72.7	27.3
total	69.4	30.6	71.9	28.1

Source: Department of statistics, Population and Housing Census, 2015

In addition, Table (20) shows girls of others nationalities proportionate distribution (except Jordanians and Syrians) whose age is 13 and above who got married according to marriage age 2010-2015, the age during the first marriage and the health insurant case . Data indicate that three-fourth of girls of others nationalities who got married under 18 years old or represented 75.2% are health insured, and girls of others nationalities ratio who are health insured according to first marriage year to 69.9% in 2011 to and 81.3% in 2010. As data indicate that the majority of girls of others nationalities who got married at the age of 18 and above or accounted 70.3% are health insured. In addition, girls of others nationalities ratio who got married at the age of 18 and above who are health insured ranged according to the first marriage year to 68.6% in 2015 and 72.3% in 2010.

Table (20): Girls of others nationalities proportionate distribution whose age is 13 and above who got married according to marriage age (2010-2015), the age during the first marriage and the health insurant case.

Age of marriage	Age at first marriage			
	Under 18 years old		18 years and above old	
	Uninsured	Insured	Uninsured	Insured
2010	81.3	18.7	72.3	27.7
2011	69.9	30.1	69.7	30.3
2012	74.2	25.8	70.9	29.1
2013	74.9	25.1	69.2	30.8
2014	72.6	27.4	70.5	29.8
2015	78.2	21.8	68.6	31.4
Total	75.2	24.8	70.3	29.7

Source: Department of statistics, Population and Housing Census, 2015

3.7 Girls current marital case

Table (21) shows girls proportionate distribution whose age is 13 and above who got married under 18 years old according to marriage year 2010-2015 and the current marital status and nationality.

Table (21): girls proportionate distribution whose age is 13 and above who got married under 18 years old according to marriage year 2010-2015 and the marital status and the nationality.

Nationality	Marital status	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Total
Jordanian	Married	95.2	95	94.7	95.9	96.6	98	95.9
	Divorced	4.3	4.4	4.9	3.7	3	1.7	3.7
	Other	0.5	0.6	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.4
	Total	4289	3851	4113	4438	4696	3752	25139
Syrian	Married	96.7	96.8	96.6	98.1	97.1	98.8	97.4
	Divorced	2.1	1.9	2.1	1.5	2.3	0.9	1.8
	Other	1.3	1.3	1.2	0.4	0.6	0.3	0.8
	Total	3626	3384	3523	4131	4585	4082	23,331
other	Married	94.2	91.1	93.1	93.2	97.2	96.3	94
	Divorced	5.2	8.1	5	6.1	2.8	3.7	5.3
	Other	0.6	0.7	1.9	0.7	0	0	0.7
	Total	996	946	1137	964	795	812	5650

Source: Department of statistics, Population and Housing Census, 2015

Data indicate that the overwhelming majority of Jordanian and Syrian girls and of having others nationalities who got married for first time at any age except 18 are married referring as (95.9%, 97.4%, 94%) respectively.

When referring to divorced girls ratio who got married except the age of 18, it is clear that 5.3% of girls having others nationalities are divorced now, in addition to 3.7% of the Jordanian and 1.8% of the Syrian, while widow and divorced girls ratio together did not exceeded one percent.

In addition, Jordanian wives whose age under 18 during first marriage were constituted the overwhelming majority among girls who got married for the first time under 18 years old and at all years during 2010-2015, and their ratio ranged amongst 94.7% in 2012 and 98% in 2015. As well as the Syrian girls and girls of others nationalities who got married for the first time under 18 years old.

Generally, the divorce ratio in Jordan among girls who got married at the age of 18 and above is Comparatively low, Jordanian divorced girls ratio reached 2.6%, Syrian girls 1.9% and girls of others nationalities 2.4%. As data indicate that divorced and widow girls did not exceed one%. (See table No. 22).

Table (22): Girls proportionate distribution whose age is 13 and above who got married at the age of 18 and above, the current marital status and the nationality.

Nationality	Marital status	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Total
Jordanian	Married	96.3	96.4	96.4	96.9	97.5	98.7	96.9
	Divorced	3.1	3.1	3.1	2.6	2.1	1	2.6
	Other	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.5
	Total	40,506	36,826	38,297	39,145	37,912	28,611	221,297
Syrian	Married	95.5	95.9	97	97.6	97.6	97.8	96.9
	Divorced	2.5	2.1	1.7	1.4	1.8	1.5	1.9
	Other	1.9	2	1.4	1	0.5	0.7	1.2
	Total	7323	5977	6471	7275	7063	5243	39,352
other	Married	95.9	95.9	96.9	97.3	98.1	97.9	96.9
	Divorced	3.3	3.1	2.5	1.7	1.5	1.8	2.4
	Other	0.7	1	0.6	0.9	0.5	0.3	0.7
	Total	8,436	6,789	7,638	7,492	7,184	5,197	42736

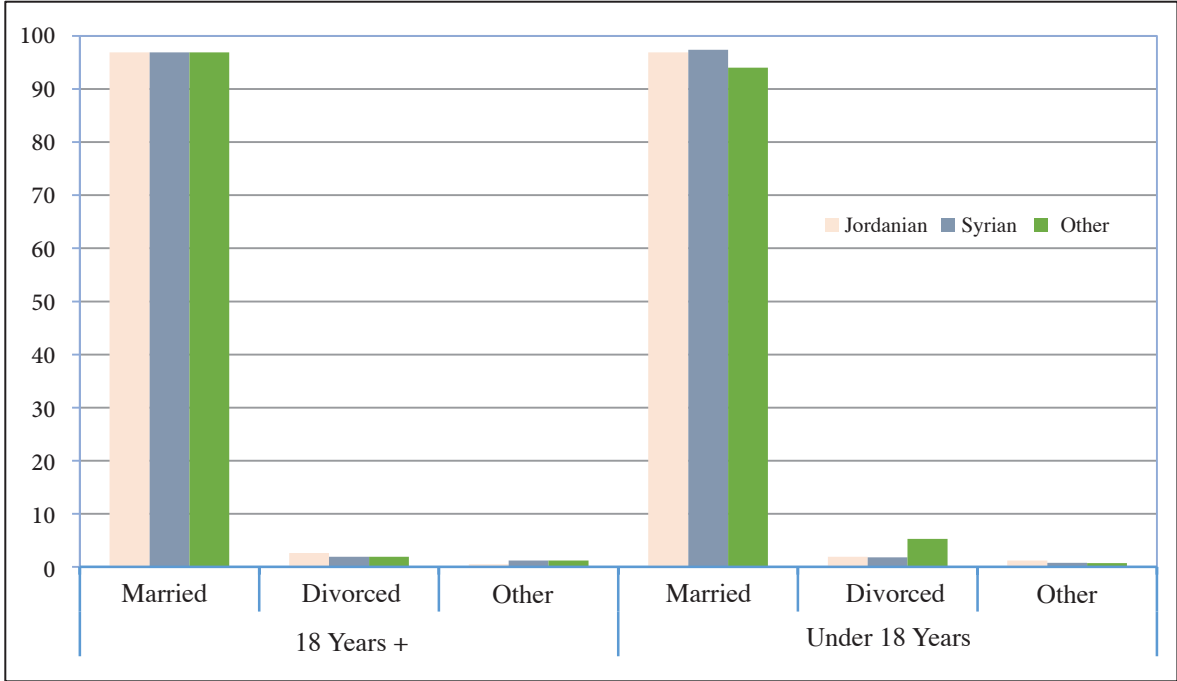
Source: Department of statistics, Population and Housing Census, 2015

Add to the above, it is as shown that the overwhelming majority among girls having multi-nationality in Jordan who got married for the first time at the age of 18 and above and in all

years during 2010-2015 are married now, and their ratio to Jordanian girls ranged among 96.3% in 2010, 98.7% in 2015 and Syrian girls 95.5% in 2010, 97.8% in 2015, and girls of others nationalities 95.9% in 2010 – 2011 and 98.1 in 2014.

In comparison among girls who got married under 18 years old and those who got married at the age 18 and above, it is shown as in figure (5) that the overwhelming majority of girls who got married during 2010-2015 are married and low ratio did not exceed 6% are widow and divorced girls, furthermore, the higher Ratio ratio among divorced girls whose age under 18 was girls of others nationalities.

Figure (5): Girls proportionate distribution whose age is 13 and above who got married according to the first marriage age and, the current marital status and the nationality during marriage years 2010-2015.



Source: Department of statistics, Population and Housing Census, 2015

In addition, when referring to divorced girls Ratio whose age is 13 and above who got married under 18 years old in terms of the nationality and marriage year 2010-2015. Besides, the ratio of divorced girls who got married under 18 years old is calculated by dividing the ratio of divorced girls who got married for the first time before completion 18 years old who are 13 years old now and above by total of divorced girls whose age is 13 and above. Data indicate that Jordanian divorced girls who got married under 18 years old reach 13.9% of total Jordanian divorced girls who got married during 2010 to 2015, and this ratio rose among divorcees of others nationalities which reached 22.9%, on the other hand data showed clear rising among Syrian divorcees, and it was become clear that among every five Syrian divorcees, there are two divorcees who got married under 18 years old with ratio reached 40%. (See table No. 23).

In addition to looking at data, it is shown that there is difference among years, the higher ratio of Jordanian divorcees who got married under 18 years old to those who got married in 2015 with ratio reached 18.9% in return the lower ratio of Jordanian divorcees who got married in 2010 with ratio reached 12.8%. On the other hand, Syrian divorcees who got married under 18 years old whose ratio ranged 28.8% to those who got married 2010 and 44.7% to those who got married in 2014. As to divorcees of others nationalities who got married under 18 years old ranged 15.6% to those who got married in 2010 and 31.2% to those who got married in 2013.

Table (23): Divorced girls ratio whose age is 13 and above who got married under 18 years old according to marriage age 2010-2015 and nationality.

First marriage year	Under 18 years old		
	Jordanian	Syrian	Other Nationality
2010	12.8	28.8	15.6
2011	12.9	33.3	26.6
2012	14.5	41	22.9
2013	13.7	37	31.2
2014	14.8	44.7	17.1
2015	18.9	32.5	24.4
Total	13.9	40.0	22.9

Resource: Department of statistics, Population and Housing Census, 2015.

As administrative records data of Supreme Judge, the ratio of accumulative divorce cases which happened in legal courts related to the wife under 18 years old of total accumulative divorce cases to all ages indicate that there are a drop in divorce cases proportions during 2010-2015, at which the ratio decreased from 6.3% in 2010 to 4.7% in 2015.(see table No. 24).

Table (24): the ratio of divorce cases which happened in legal courts related to the wife under 18 years old during 2011-2015.

Marriage year	accumulative divorce cases under 18 years old	Total accumulative divorce cases	Ratio
2015	1026	22070	4.65
2014	1158	20911	5.54
2013	1014	18976	5.34
2012	1038	17696	5.87
2011	733	16086	4.56
2010	995	15707	6.33

Source: Supreme Judge Department, annual reports of 2010-2015.

3.8 The current age and first marriage time

Table (25) shows married girls proportionate distribution whose age is 13 and above according to current age, the age during the first marriage time and nationality. As this data show all marriage cases of girls who got married at the age under 18 regardless marriage year, it was shown that Jordanian girls constituted the most number among girls who got married under 18 years old, as their No. reach 253,155 girls or represented 61.1%, while the number of Syrian girls reached 113.30 or represented 27.4% and girls of others nationalities reached 47.833 or represented 11.5%.

Table (25): The proportionate distribution of all married girls whose age is 13 and above, according to current age, age during first marriage and nationality

Current age	Age during first marriage							
	Under 18 years				18 years old and above			
	Jordanian	Syrian	other	total	Jordanian	Syrian	other	total
13	0.01	0.08	0	0.03	0	0	0	0
14	0.02	0.32	0.02	0.1	0	0	0	0
15	0.28	1.5	0.39	0.63	0	0	0	0
16	0.86	2.6	0.79	1.33	0	0	0	0
17	1.63	3.43	1.71	2.13	0	0	0	0
18	1.75	3.6	2.09	2.29	0.22	0.76	0.25	0.28
19	1.76	3.51	2.26	2.3	0.55	1.4	0.61	0.66
24-20	8.17	15.3	11.3	10.48	7.7	12.8	8.53	8.37
29-25	7.98	13.91	14.26	10.33	13.89	18.28	17.01	14.78
34-30	8.03	12.53	13.78	9.93	14.96	18.36	17.42	15.66
39-35	9.52	10.82	11.8	10.14	13.89	13.68	15.22	14.04
44-40	8.82	8.05	8.08	8.53	12.83	10.86	11.26	12.41
49-45	8.42	6.69	5.72	7.64	11.17	7.93	8.32	10.44
54-50	8.63	5.52	5.21	7.38	8.29	5.35	6.13	7.68
59-55	8.5	4.2	5.69	7	5.55	3.89	4.64	5.25
60+	25.61	7.94	16.89	19.77	10.97	6.69	10.62	10.45
Total	253,155	113,370	47,833	414,358	1,184,273	173,431	201,812	1,559,516

Source: Department of Statistics, General Population and Housing Census 2015

* Distribution reflects the status quo in 2015

Furthermore, girls who got married whose current age is under 18 constituted 4.2% of total girls who got married under 18 years, in addition, the high ratio was of Syrian girls which reach 7.9% of total Syrian girls who got married under 18 years, then followed by girls of others nationality whose ratio reached 2.9% then Jordanian girls that reached 2.8%.

As it was noticeable that the more the current age of Jordanian girls decreases the more the ratio of whom got married under 18 years increases, as the quarter of girls who got married under 18 years whose current age is 60 and above. While data showed oscillation in Syrian girl ratio as it is shown that the higher ratio of Syrian girls who got married under 18 years whose current age between 20 and 39 with ratio reached 2.6%. As well as girls of others nationalities, data showed oscillation in their ratio in terms of their current age whereas the higher ratio is of whose current age is 60 and above with ratio reached 16.9%.

While Jordanian girls who got married at the age of 18 and above their ratio ranged among 0.2% of whom got married at the age of 18 and 15.0% to girls who got married whose current age is 30-40. In return the ratio of Syrian girls who got married at the age of 18 and above ranged among 0.8% of whose current age is 18 and 18.4% of whose current age is 30-40, as to girls of others nationalities, ratio ranged among 0.3% of whose current age 18 and 17.4% of whose current age 30-34.

Table No. (26) Illustrates the relative distribution of Jordanian females at age of 13 years and above, who have married under 18 years by the current age and the age at time of first marriage.

Table No. (26): relative distribution of Jordanian females at age of 13 years and above, who have married under 18 years by the current age and the age at time of first marriage*:

Current Age	Age at time of first marriage							Total
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
13	17.6	29.4	52.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	17
14	16.7	16.7	7.4	59.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	54
15	0.7	0.4	1.5	10.4	86.9	0.0	0.0	711
16	0.8	0.5	0.3	4.0	36.6	57.9	0.0	2,183
17	0.4	0.2	0.3	1.4	17.5	35.9	44.3	4,131
18	0.5	0.2	0.2	1.5	14.5	30.5	52.7	4,431
19	0.7	0.3	0.3	1.7	15.7	30.7	50.6	4,457
20-24	1.1	0.6	0.3	2.9	16.8	30.5	47.8	20,692
25-29	2.5	1.1	0.5	3.0	16.0	30.2	46.7	20,203
30-34	2.2	1.3	1.0	4.1	18.3	30.2	43.0	20,335
35-39	1.2	1.0	0.8	4.4	18.4	30.4	43.9	24,108
40-44	0.7	0.7	0.9	4.9	18.1	29.6	45.0	22,340
45-49	0.5	0.6	1.2	6.3	19.4	30.8	41.3	21,320
50-54	0.3	0.6	1.9	9.1	21.3	30.5	36.2	21,838
55-59	0.2	0.9	2.8	11.7	23.2	29.0	32.1	21,508
60+	0.5	1.6	4.9	13.4	26.2	26.2	27.2	64,827
Total	0.9	1.0	2.1	7.6	21.0	29.4	38.1	253,155

Source: Department of Statistics, Population and Housing Census 2015

* Distribution reflects the status quo in 2015

The data indicates that 38.1% of the Jordanian females, who have married under 18 years, have married at age of 17 years, followed by the females married at age of 16 years in percentage reached 29.4% and 21% married at age of 15 years. The Jordanian females, who have married at age of 11 and 12 represented low percentage reached 1.9%.

Moreover, the table shows that 52.9% of the females who are currently 13 years old, have married at age of 13 years, while 47.1% of females have married at ages of 11 and 12 years old. In addition, 59.3% of the females, who are currently 14 years old, have married at age of 14 years, while 40.7% have married at ages of 11, 12 and 13 years. The vast Majority of females, who are currently at age of 15 years or percentage of 86.9%, have married at age of 15 years, while 57.9% and 44.3% of the females, who are currently 16 years and 17 years, have married at these ages successively.

The data shows that low percentage of the females, who are currently 20 years and above, have married under 14 years and such percentage ranged between 0.3% for the females, who are currently 20-24 years old and 7% for females, who are currently 60 years old and above. In addition, the data indicates that the largest percentage of females, who are currently 20 years old and above have married at age of 17 years old, and the percentage of the females, who have married at such age, ranged between 27.2% for those, who are currently 60 years old and above and 47.8% for those who are currently 20-24 years old.

Table No. (27) shows the relative distribution of the Syrian females at age of 13 years and above, who have married under 18 years according to the current age and the age at time of the first marriage. The data illustrates that 35.6% of the Syrian females, who have married under 18 years, have married at age of 15 years old followed by the females married at age of 16 years in percentage of 30% and 1.3% have married at age of 11 and 12 years. The Syrian women, who have married at age of 17 years, represented percentage of 13.8%.

The table illustrates that the 88.5% of the Syrian females, who are currently at age of 13 years, have married at age of 13 years, while 11.5% of them have married at age of 12 years. In addition, 76.3% of the females, who are currently at age of 14 years, have married at age of 14 years, while 23.7% have married at ages of 11, 12 and 13 years. Large percentage of the females, who are currently at age of 15 years (or percentage of 67.2%) have married at age of 15 years, while 45.2% and 31.9% of the females, who are currently at age of 16 years and 17 years have married at these ages successively.

The data illustrates that low percentages of the females, who are currently at age of 20 years and above, have married under 14 years and such percentages ranged between 2.6% for the females, who are currently at age of 20-24 years and 25-29 years, and 10.7% for the females, who are currently at age of 60 years and above. The data shows that the larger percentage of

the females, who are currently at age of 20 years and above have married at age of 17 years and the percentage of those, who have married at such age ranged between 20.6% for those who are currently 60 years old and 36.3% for those who are currently 25-29 years old.

Table (27): Relative distribution of the Syrian females at age of 13 years and above, who have married under 18 years old according to the current age, and the age at the first marriage*

Current Age	Age at time of first marriage							Total
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
13	0.0	11.5	88.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	96
14	0.0	6.6	17.1	76.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	363
15	0.6	1.3	7.0	23.9	67.2	0.0	0.0	1,705
16	0.6	0.3	2.9	12.7	38.3	45.2	0.0	2,948
17	0.3	0.3	1.7	6.6	24.0	35.3	31.9	3,891
18	0.3	0.4	1.5	8.1	20.5	29.9	39.3	4,079
19	0.3	0.4	2.5	10.4	21.0	28.7	36.7	3,980
20-24	0.3	0.4	1.9	11.0	22.4	29.6	34.3	17,345
25-29	0.2	0.4	2.0	10.3	21.3	29.5	36.3	15,769
30-34	0.4	0.9	3.6	11.4	23.0	28.1	32.7	14,201
35-39	0.5	0.9	3.5	14.2	22.7	26.6	31.7	12,262
40-44	0.3	0.7	4.7	13.1	24.2	25.2	31.8	9,121
45-49	0.2	1.3	5.2	16.0	24.2	25.6	27.5	7,589
50-54	0.5	1.2	7.1	17.4	23.2	24.5	26.1	6,254
55-59	0.5	2.1	7.0	14.8	26.7	24.1	24.9	4,766
60+	0.7	2.5	7.4	15.5	30.8	22.3	20.6	9,001
Total	0.4	0.9	3.9	12.8	24.4	27.4	30.1	113,370

Source: Department of Statistics, General Population and Housing Census 2015

* Distribution reflects the status quo in 2015

Table (28) illustrates the relative distribution of the females from the other nationalities (other than the Jordanian and Syrian nationalities), who are 13 years and above and married under 18 years according to the current age and the age at time of the first marriage. The data illustrate that 35.8% of the female, who have other nationalities and married under 18 years, have married at age of 17 years followed by the females married at age of 16 years in percentage of 32.4% and 0.8 married at age of 11 and 12 years. The females of the other nationalities, who have married at age of 15 years, represent 25.1%.

The table illustrates that 79.3% of the females of other nationalities, who are currently at age of 15 years, have married at age of 15 years, whole 20.7% have married at age of 14 years. In addition, 66.3% of the females, who are currently at age of 16 years, have married at age of 16

years, while 33.7% have married at age of 11.15 years. Half of the females, who are currently 17 years, or percentage of 50.1% of the females have married at age of 17 years, while 18.6% and 26.5% have married at age of 15 years and 16 years successively.

The data illustrates that low percentages of the females, who are currently at age of 20 years and above, have married under 14 years and such percentage ranged between 3.2% for the females who are currently at age of 20-24 years and 8.3% years for those who are currently at age of 60 years and above. Moreover, the data illustrates that the larger percentage of the females who are currently at age of 20 years and above have married at age of 17 years and the percentage of those who have married at such age ranged between 26.4% for those who are currently at age of 60 years and 41.6% for those who are currently 24-20 years.

Table (28): Relative distribution of the females of other nationalities at age of 13 years and above, who have married under 18 years old according to the current age, and the age at the first marriage*

Current Age	Age at time of first marriage							Total
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
13	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0
14	0.0	0.0	70.0	30.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10
15	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.7	79.3	0.0	0.0	188
16	0.3	0.3	6.1	4.2	22.8	66.3	0.0	377
17	1.1	0.7	1.0	2.1	18.6	26.5	50.1	819
18	0.2	0.0	0.5	2.4	21.4	30.8	44.7	998
19	0.4	0.5	0.0	3.0	16.2	34.9	45.2	1,083
24-20	0.6	1.4	1.2	5.7	21.4	28.0	41.6	5,403
29-25	1.8	1.9	2.8	6.8	19.3	30.8	36.6	6,823
34-30	1.8	2.1	2.5	7.9	19.7	29.2	36.9	6,593
39-35	0.8	1.3	2.2	8.0	21.6	27.1	38.9	5,645
44-40	0.7	1.1	3.3	8.7	22.3	26.2	37.6	3,866
49-45	0.6	1.7	3.8	11.4	19.2	28.5	34.8	2,736
54-50	0.8	1.3	2.4	13.4	22.4	28.1	31.7	2,494
59-55	1.1	0.8	2.9	14.0	20.6	27.3	33.3	2,721
+60	0.8	2.3	5.2	13.4	26.7	25.1	26.4	8,077
Total	1.0	1.6	2.9	9.0	21.8	28.2	35.5	47,833

Source: Department of Statistics, General Population and Housing Census 2015

* Distribution reflects the status quo in 2015

3.9 Marital status and current age:

Table (29) illustrates the relative distribution of the Jordanian females, who are 13 years and above, according to the current age and the marital status. The data shows that the married Jordanian females have formed the highest percentage from the Jordanian females, who are at age of 13 year and above, in percentage reached to 56.1%. the females, who have never married occupied the second rank in percentage of 36.4%. The divorced, widow and separated females represented percentages of 1.7%, 5.7% and 0.1% successively.

The percentage of the females, who have never married, is remarkably different among those who are currently 20 years and above. The percentages showed pattern inclines to the decrease over the age. The percentage of those, who have never married ranged between 3.2% from those who are currently, at age of 60 years and above, and 63.6% from those who are currently at age of 20-24 years. Calculation of correlation coefficient between the current age and the percentage of the females, who have never married, shows there is strong inverse correlation between both variables in an amount of (0.795-). This means that the more the age the less the percentage of the females, who have never married and vice versa.

Further, the percentage of the married females was remarkably different among the females, who are currently at age of 20 years and above and the percentages showed a wobbling pattern. The percentage of the wives ranged between 35.3%, who are currently at age of 20-24 years and 83.7% from those who are currently at age of 40-44 years. Calculation of correlation coefficient between the current age and the percentage of the married women shows that there is direct correlation of medium strength between both variables reached (0.234) and this means that the more the age the more the percentage of the married females and vice versa.

The percentage of the divorced women among the females who are 20 years and more is different, because it ranged between 1% among the females who are currently at age of 20-24 years and 2.7% of the females, who are currently at age of 45-49 years and 50-54 years. Calculation of correlation coefficient between the current age and the percentage of the divorced females showed that there is direct correlation of medium strength between both variables reached (0.308) and this means that the more the age the more the percentage of the divorced females and vice versa.

The percentage of the widows who are currently at age of 20 years and more showed substantial difference, because such percentage ranged between 0.1% for the women who are currently at age of 20-24 years and 41.1% for the females who are currently at age of 60 years and above. Calculation of correlation coefficient between the current age and the percentage of the widow

females showed that there is very strong direct correlation between both variables reached (0.802) and this means that the more the age the more the percentage of the widow females and vice versa.

Table (29): Relative distribution of the Jordanian females, who are at age of 13 years and above, according to the current age and the marital status*

Current age	Marital Status					Total
	Has never married	Married	Divorced	Widow	Separated	
13	99.97	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	66,633
14	99.92	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	66,760
15	98.95	1.03	0.02	0.00	0.00	67,701
16	96.56	3.35	0.08	0.00	0.00	63,482
17	93.64	6.17	0.17	0.02	0.01	64,910
18	89.20	10.46	0.32	0.01	0.00	64,694
19	83.82	15.65	0.45	0.02	0.05	68,092
20-24	63.60	35.26	1.01	0.07	0.06	307,255
25-29	26.84	70.86	1.95	0.24	0.11	252,389
30-34	15.63	81.36	2.33	0.54	0.14	234,122
35-39	12.54	83.51	2.55	1.22	0.18	215,590
40-44	10.98	83.71	2.62	2.50	0.20	195,734
45-49	9.41	82.50	2.72	5.12	0.26	169,558
50-54	7.24	80.13	2.67	9.66	0.30	129,393
55-59	5.16	75.56	2.41	16.51	0.36	91,940
60+	3.18	54.01	1.46	41.08	0.28	201,101
Total	36.38	56.10	1.68	5.69	0.15	2,259,354

Source: Department of Statistics, General Population and Housing Census 2015

* Distribution reflects the status quo in 2015

Table (30) illustrates the relative distributed of the Syrians, who are 13 years and above according to the current age and the marital status. The data showed that the married females represented the highest percentage in percentage reached to 65.7%, while those who have never married represented 26.2%, the widows 6.3% and the divorced and separated represented 1.5% and 0.3% successively. The percentage of the married females, who are at age of 13-17 years is different, because the results showed that 0.6% of those who are 13 years are married compared with 23.4% of those who are currently at age of 16 years, in percentage of 33.1% from those, who are currently 17 years.

The percentage of those, who have never married and are currently at age of 20 years and more, is remarkably different among those who are currently 20 years and above. The percentages showed pattern inclines to the decrease over the age. The percentage of those, who have never married ranged between 2.4% from those who are currently, at age of 60 years and above, and 27.8% from those who are currently at age of 20-24 years. Calculation of correlation coefficient between the current age and the percentage of the females, who have never married, shows there is strong inverse correlation between both variables in an amount of (-0.784). This means that the more the age the less the percentage of the females, who have never married and vice versa.

Table (30): relative distribution of the female Syrians at age of 13 years and above by the current age and marital status*

Current age	Marital Status					Total
	Has never married	Married	Divorced	Widow	Separated	
13	99.35	0.63	0.02	0.00	0.00	14,830
14	97.40	2.54	0.03	0.03	0.00	13,969
15	88.35	11.41	0.17	0.00	0.07	14,635
16	76.06	23.41	0.40	0.06	0.08	12,313
17	66.33	33.12	0.50	0.02	0.03	11,556
18	55.60	43.18	0.89	0.19	0.14	12,164
19	45.76	52.89	0.85	0.32	0.19	11,823
20-24	27.82	69.78	1.21	1.05	0.15	54,777
25-29	11.24	84.85	1.61	2.07	0.23	53,478
30-34	7.44	87.45	1.84	3.04	0.23	49,752
35-39	6.31	87.16	1.79	4.37	0.37	38,415
40-44	5.59	85.63	2.34	5.97	0.47	29,612
45-49	4.77	82.33	2.46	9.68	0.76	22,402
50-54	3.46	77.68	2.60	15.83	0.43	16,092
55-59	3.06	69.78	2.21	24.30	0.66	11,881
60+	2.42	47.15	1.67	48.35	0.41	21,105
Total	26.24	65.71	1.48	6.31	0.27	388,804

Source: Department of Statistics, General Population and Housing Census 2015

* Distribution reflects the status quo in 2015

Further, the percentage of the married females was remarkably different among the females, who are currently at age of 20 years and above and the percentages showed a wobbling pattern. The percentage of the wives ranged between 47.1%, who are currently at age of 60 years and

above and 87.5% from those who are currently at age of 30-34 years.

The percentage of the divorced women among the females who are 20 years and more is different, because it ranged between 1.2 % among the females who are currently at age of 20-24 years and 2.6% of the females, who are currently at age of 50-54 years. Calculation of correlation coefficient between the current age and the percentage of the divorced females showed that there is strong direct correlation between both variables reached (0.582) and this means that the more the age the more the percentage of the divorced females and vice versa.

The percentage of the widows who are currently at age of 20 years and more showed substantial difference, because such percentage ranged between 1% for the women who are currently at age of 20-24 years and 48.4% for the females who are currently at age of 60 years and above. Calculation of correlation coefficient between the current age and the percentage of the widow females showed that there is very strong direct correlation between both variables reached (0.854) and this means that the more the age the more the percentage of the widow females and vice versa.

Table (31) shows the relative distribution of the females of other nationalities (other than the Jordanian and Syrian nationalities), who are at age of 13 years and above by the current age and the marital status. In addition, the data showed that the married women represented the largest percentage (53.4%), whole the females, who have never married, represent 39.5%, the widows 4.7% and the divorced and the separated 2.1% and 0.2% successively.

The percentage of the married females who are currently at age of 13-17 years is different, as the results showed that 0.1% of those who are currently at age of 14 years were married compared with 3.5% of those, who are current 16 years and 7.1% from those who are current 17 years.

The percentage of the females, who have never married, is remarkably different among those who are currently 20 years and above. The percentages showed pattern inclines to the decrease over the age. The percentage of those, who have never married ranged between 5.3% from those who are currently at age of 60 years and above, and 63.7% from those who are currently at age of 20-24 years. Calculation of correlation coefficient between the current age and the percentage of the females, who have never married, shows there is strong inverse correlation between both variables in an amount of (-0.841). This means that the more the age the less the percentage of the females, who have never married and vice versa.

Further, the percentage of the married females was remarkably different among the females, who are currently at age of 20 years and above and the percentages showed a wobbling pattern. The percentage of the wives ranged between 34.9%, who are currently at age of 20-24 years and 81.4% from those who are currently at age of 40-44 years. Calculation of correlation coefficient between the current age and the percentage of the married women shows that there is direct correlation of medium strength between both variables reached (0.315) and this means that the more the age the more the percentage of the married females and vice versa.

The percentage of the divorced women among the females who are 20 years and more is different, because it ranged between 1.2% among the females who are currently at age of 20-24 years and 3.5% of the females, who are currently at age of 40-44 years. Calculation of correlation coefficient between the current age and the percentage of the divorced females showed that there is direct correlation of medium strength between both variables reached (0.264) and this means that the more the age the more the percentage of the divorced females and vice versa.

Table (31): Relative distribution of the females of other nationalities, who are 13 years and above, by the current age and the marital status*

Current age	Marital Status					Total
	Has never married	Married	Divorced	Widow	Separated	
13	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	12,060
14	99.92	0.06	0.03	0.00	0.00	11,973
15	98.47	1.46	0.07	0.00	0.00	12,254
16	96.32	3.52	0.09	0.07	0.00	10,253
17	92.59	7.09	0.32	0.00	0.00	11,058
18	86.81	12.61	0.58	0.00	0.00	11,428
19	80.26	18.72	0.73	0.13	0.16	11,693
20-24	63.71	34.93	1.15	0.12	0.09	62,347
25-29	33.70	63.31	2.31	0.45	0.23	62,055
30-34	20.42	75.58	2.97	0.81	0.22	52,467
35-39	15.20	79.80	3.32	1.41	0.27	42,868
40-44	11.69	81.44	3.55	2.90	0.43	30,097
45-49	10.24	80.77	3.35	5.11	0.53	21,753
50-54	8.23	77.58	3.29	10.15	0.75	16,205
55-59	5.72	75.34	2.86	15.67	0.42	12,818
+60	5.25	52.20	1.76	40.25	0.53	31,138
Total	39.48	53.45	2.08	4.75	0.25	412,467

Source: Department of Statistics, General Population and Housing Census 2015

* Distribution reflects the status quo in 2015

The percentage of the widows who are currently at age of 20 years and more showed substantial difference, because such percentage ranged between 0.1% for the women who are currently at age of 20-24 years and 40.3% for the females who are currently at age of 60 years and above. Calculation of correlation coefficient between the current age and the percentage of the widow females showed that there is very strong direct correlation between both variables reached (0.803) and this means that the more the age the more the percentage of the widow females and vice versa.

3.10 Age at the first marriage and the current age of the husband:

Table (32) shows the relative distribution of the married Jordanian women currently, who are 13 years and above and married under 18 years by the age at time of the first marriage and the current age of the husband. The data shows that the total number of the Jordanian females who have married under 18 years and married of husbands, who are current less than 18 years, reached 5,456 females. The results showed that the vast majority (86.7%) of the females who have married at age of 15 years are married of husbands at current ages of 15 years, while the remaining percentage are married of wives at current ages less than 15 years. In addition, 56.8% of the females, who have married at age of 16 years, are married of husbands at current ages of 16 years, while the remaining percentage (43.2%) are married of husbands under 16 years. Further, 43.4% of the females, who have married at age of 17 years, are married of husbands, who are 17 years, while the remaining percentage (56.6%) are married of husbands at current ages less than ages of the wives.

Table (32):relative distribution of the currently married Jordanian females, who are at age of 13 years and above, and married under 18 years by the current age of the husband and the age on the first date of marriage.

Current age of marriage	Age at first time of marriage for							Total
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
13	25.0	12.5	62.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	8
14	17.2	6.9	6.9	69.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	29
15	1.0	0.6	1.8	10.0	86.7	0.0	0.0	512
16	0.9	0.5	0.3	4.2	37.3	56.8	0.0	1,661
17	0.5	0.2	0.3	1.4	18.0	36.2	43.4	3,246
18	0.7	0.1	0.2	1.5	14.5	30.5	52.5	3,681
19	0.8	0.2	0.3	1.8	15.7	30.3	51.0	3,789
20-24	1.1	0.6	0.3	2.8	16.9	30.8	47.5	18,295
25-29	2.5	1.1	0.5	2.9	15.8	30.4	46.9	18,479
30-34	2.2	1.3	0.9	3.8	18.1	30.5	43.1	18,731
35-39	1.1	0.9	0.8	4.1	18.0	30.5	44.6	21,994
40-44	0.7	0.7	0.8	4.5	17.7	29.8	45.7	19,810
45-49	0.5	0.6	1.0	5.7	19.0	30.9	42.3	17,898
50-54	0.3	0.4	1.6	7.9	21.2	31.2	37.5	17,029
55-59	0.1	0.7	2.4	10.6	22.6	30.0	33.7	14,759
+60	0.4	1.1	3.5	11.4	23.4	28.4	31.9	25,481
Total	1.0	0.8	1.3	5.8	19.4	30.5	41.3	185,402

Source: Department of Statistics, General Population and Housing Census 2015

* Distribution reflects the status quo in 2015

The data illustrates that the current age of the husbands of 41.4% of the Jordanian females, who have married at age of 17 years, is 20 years and above and the current age of the husbands of 30.2% and 19.2% of the females, who have married at age of 16 years and 15 years, is 20 years and above. In addition, the current age of husbands of 3.2% of the females who have married at age of 11-13 years is 20 years and above. The percentage of the Jordanians, who have married at age of 11 years and the current ages of the husbands 20 years and above ranges between 0.1% for the husbands, who are currently 55-59 years and 2.5% for the husbands who are currently 25-29 years.

Percentage of the Jordanian females, who have married at age of 14 years and the current ages of their husbands, is 20 years and above, ranges between 2.8% for the husbands, who are currently 20-24 years, and 11.4% for the husbands who are currently 60 years and above.

Percentage of Jordanian females, who have married at age of 14 years and the current age of their husbands, is 20 years and above, ranges between 2.8% for the husbands, who are currently 20-24 years and 11.4% for the husbands who are currently 60 years and above. The percentage of the Jordanian females, who have married at age of 15 years and the current age of their husbands is 20 years and above, ranges between 15.8% for the husbands who are currently 25-29 years and 23.5% for husbands who are currently 60 years and above.

Percentage of Jordanian females, who have married at age of 16 years and current age of their husbands is 20 years and above, ranged between 30% for husbands who are currently 55-59 years and 31.2% for husbands who are currently 50-54 years. In contrast, the percentage of the Jordanian females, who have married at age of 17 years and the current age of their husbands, is 20 years and above, ranges between 31.9% for husbands who are currently 60 years and above and 47.5% for husbands who are currently 20-24 years.

Table (33) illustrates the relative distribution of the currently married Syrian females, who are 13 years and above, and married under 18 years by age, the time of the first marriage and the current age of the husband. The data shows that the Syrian females, who have married under 18 years and the current age of their husbands is less than 18 years, reached 4.741 females. The results showed that the highest percentage (64%) of the Syrian females have married at age of 15 years and the current age of their husbands is 15 years, while the remaining percentage are married of husbands at current age less than 15 years. Further, 44.4% of the female have married at age of 16 years and the current age of their husband is 16 years, while the remaining percentage (55.6%) are married of husbands under 16 years. In addition, 29.5% of the females, who have married at age of 17 years, are married form husbands , who are 17 years, while the remaining percentage (70.5%) are married of husbands at current age less than the age of the wives.

Data shows that 89.1% of the Syrian females, who have married at age of 17 years, the current age of their husbands is 20 years and above. 82.9% and 87% of the females, who have married at age of 15 years and 16 years, the current age of their husbands is 20 years and above. In addition, 15% of the females, who have married at age of 11-13 years, the current age of their husbands is 20 years

and above. The percentage of the Syrian females, who have married at age of 11 years and the current age of their husbands is 20 years and above, ranged between 0.1% for the husbands, who are currently 25-29 years old and 0.7% for the husbands who are currently 60 years old and above.

Percentage of the Syrian women, who have married at age of 14 years and the current ages of their husbands is 20 years and above ranged between 10.9% for the husbands, who are currently 25-29 years, 30-34 years and 15.3% for husbands, who are currently 45-49 years old and 60 years and above. Percentage of the Syrian females, who have married at age of 15 years and the current age of their husbands is 20 years and above ranged between 22% for the husbands who are currently 25-29 years and 27.6% for husbands, who are currently 60 years and above. In addition, the percentage of the Syrian females, who have married at age of 16 years and the current age of their husbands is 20 years and above, ranged between 22.2% for husbands who are currently 60 years old and above and 29.6% for husbands who are currently 20-24 years old. In contrast, percentage of the Syrian females, who have married at age of 17 years and the current age of their husbands is 20 years and above, ranged between 27.8% for husbands who are currently 60 years old and above and 36.3% for husbands, who are currently 25-29 years.

Table (33) Relative distribution of currently married Syrian females, who are 13 years old and above and have married under 18 years by the age at time of first marriage and current age of husband*

Current age of husband	Age at time of first marriage							Total
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
13	0.0	5.9	94.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	34
14	0.0	13.5	16.2	70.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	148
15	0.9	1.5	8.4	25.2	64.0	0.0	0.0	866
16	0.8	0.6	2.7	12.1	39.5	44.4	0.0	1,576
17	0.3	0.3	1.7	7.4	27.8	33.1	29.5	2,117
18	0.5	0.6	2.2	8.3	21.0	31.3	36.2	2,432
19	0.3	0.2	2.4	11.4	22.3	27.2	36.3	2,543
20-24	0.4	0.5	2.0	11.0	22.4	29.6	34.2	11,923
25-29	0.1	0.4	2.0	10.9	22.0	28.4	36.3	11,200
30-34	0.4	0.8	3.2	10.9	22.6	29.1	32.9	10,265
35-39	0.3	0.7	3.1	13.7	22.3	27.7	32.3	8,432
40-44	0.2	0.5	3.9	12.6	23.4	26.5	32.9	6,071
45-49	0.2	0.8	4.5	15.3	24.0	26.2	29.0	4,583
50-54	0.5	0.7	4.7	17.6	22.1	26.5	27.9	3,510
55-59	0.4	1.2	5.7	12.3	25.7	26.4	28.3	2,278
+60	0.7	1.7	4.8	15.3	27.6	22.2	27.8	2,149
Total	0.3	0.7	3.2	12.3	23.7	28.1	31.7	70,127

Source: Department of Statistics, General Population and Housing Census 2015

* Distribution reflects the status quo in 2015

Table (34) shows the relative distribution of the currently married females of other nationalities (other than the Jordanian and Syrian Nationalities), who are at age of 13 years and above and married under 18 years according to the age at time of first marriage and the current age of the husband. The data shows that the total number of females of other nationalities, who have married under 18 years and married of husbands at current age less than 18 years reached 450 females. The results showed that the largest percentage (80.4%) of the Syrian females, who have married at age of 15 years, are married of husbands , who are 15 years, while the remaining percentage are married of husbands at current age less than 15 years. In addition, 67.7% of the females, who have married at age of 16 years, are married of husbands , who are 16 years, while the remaining percentage (32.3%) are married of husbands under 16 years. In addition, 53.1% of the females who have married at age of 17 years, are married of husbands , who are 17 years, while the remaining percentage (46.9%) are married of husbands at current ages less than ages of the females.

Table (34): Relative Distribution of currently married females of other nationalities, who are 13 years and above and married under 18 years by age at time of first marriage and current age of husband*

Current age of husband	Age at time of first marriage							Total
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
13	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0
14	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0
15	0.0	0.0	0.0	19.6	80.4	0.0	0.0	46
16	0.0	0.0	7.9	3.1	21.3	67.7	0.0	127
17	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.7	20.2	25.3	53.1	277
18	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	24.0	34.3	41.2	420
19	0.2	0.0	0.0	1.0	17.1	34.5	47.1	403
20-24	0.3	1.2	0.7	5.5	19.7	28.8	43.8	2,203
25-29	1.8	0.8	0.8	4.1	16.3	33.1	43.1	2,662
30-34	1.2	1.0	1.3	6.0	17.8	30.3	42.5	2,636
35-39	0.2	0.7	1.0	6.4	20.1	29.0	42.6	2,635
40-44	0.5	0.6	3.1	6.8	22.2	26.9	39.8	1,901
45-49	0.7	1.6	3.2	8.5	20.1	31.3	34.7	1,431
50-54	0.7	0.7	1.9	11.0	18.8	32.7	34.3	1,176
55-59	1.0	0.3	0.8	12.2	21.3	28.3	36.1	1,041
60+	0.4	2.3	4.3	9.0	19.4	29.7	34.9	1,633
Total	0.7	1.0	1.7	6.6	19.5	30.4	40.1	18,591

Source: Department of Statistics, General Population and Housing Census 2015

* Distribution reflects the status quo in 2015

The data indicates that 91.4% of females of the other nationalities, who have married at age of 17 years, have husbands, who are 20 years and above and 89% and 89.7% of the females who have married at age of 15 years and 16 years, have husbands , who are 20 years and above. Further, 96.1% of the female, who have married at age of 11-13 years, have husbands , who are 20 years and above. The percentage of females of other nationalities, who have married at age of 11 years of husbands of current age of 20 years and above, ranged between 0.2% for husbands, who are current 35-39 years old and 1.8% for husbands of current age of 25-29 years.

Percentage of females of other nationalities, who have married at age of 14 years and the current age of their husbands, is 20 years and above ranged from 4.1% for husbands, who are currently 25-29 years old and 12.2% for husbands, who are currently 55-59 years old. Percentage of females of other nationalities, who have married at age of 15 years and the current age of their husbands is 20 years ad above, ranged between 16.3% for husbands, who are 25-29 years and 22.2% for husbands at current ages of 40-44 years. Moreover, the percentage of the females of the other nationalities, who have married at age of 16 years and the current age of their husbands is 20 years and above, ranged between 26.9% for husbands , who are 40-44 years and 33.1% for husbands , who are 25-29 years. In contrast, percentage of females of other nationalities, who have married at age of 17 years and current age of their husbands is 20 years and above, ranged between 34.3% for husbands, who are currently 50-54 years old and 43.8% for husbands at current age of 20-24 years.

3.11 Nationality of the husband and wife:

Table (35) shows the distribution of the currently married females, who are 13 years and above and married less than 18 years by nationality of the husband and wife. The data refers that the vast majority or percentage of 98.1% of the Jordanian female, who are currently marriage and are at age of 13 years and above, are married of husbands of Non-Jordanian nationalities and 0.4% are married of husbands of Syrian nationality, while 1.5% are married of husbands of other nationalities. The results showed that the vast majority or percentage of 97.4% of the females, who are currently married of Syrian nationals, are married of Syrian husbands, 2.3% are married of Jordanian husbands and 0.3% are married of husbands of other nationalities. The results showed that the vast majority or percentage of 92% of the current married females of other nationalities are married of husbands of other nationalities, 7.5% are married of Jordanian husbands and 0.6% are married of Syrian husbands.

Table (35): Distribution of currently married females at age of 13 years and above have married under 18 years by nationality of the husband and wife*

Husband Nationality	Wife Nationality					
	Jordanian		Syrian		Others	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Jordanian	180,420	98.1	1,590	2.3	1,376	7.5
Syrian	711	0.4	67,369	97.4	105	0.6
Others	2,783	1.5	229	0.3	16,945	92.0
Total	183,914	100.0	69,188	100.0	18,426	100.0

Source: Department of Statistics, General Population and Housing Census 2015

* Distribution reflects the status quo in 2015

3.12 Job of Husband and Nationality of Wife:

Table (36) illustrates the currently married females, who are at age of 13 years and above, have married under 18 years by job of the husband and nationality of the wife. The data shows that 45.3% of husbands the currently married Jordanian female, who are 13 years old and above and have married under 18 years, have the permanent job and 32.9% of the husbands have no job and 10.1% have temporary job, while 5.4% have no job and seek for job.

Table (36): Distribution of females, who are 13 years and above and married under 18 years by work of the husband and nationality of the wife*

Husband Job	Wife Nationality					
	Jordanian		Syrian		Others	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Has Job	83,315	45.3	9,444	13.6	8,733	13.6
Has temporary job	18,625	10.1	14,322	20.7	2,716	20.7
Works in seasons	3,427	1.9	1,674	2.4	507	2.4
Practices irregular business	7,973	4.3	6,880	9.9	1,175	9.9
Has no job and seeks for job	9,999	5.4	12,144	17.6	840	17.6
Has no job and doesn't work	60,575	32.9	24,724	35.7	4,455	35.7
Total	183,914	100.0	69,188	100.0	18,426	100.0

Source: Department of Statistics, General Population and Housing Census 2015

* Distribution reflects the status quo in 2015

The results showed that 35.7% of husbands of currently married Syrian females, who are 13 years and above and married of ages less than 18 years, don't work and don't seek for work and 20.7% of the husbands have temporary work and 13.6% of the husbands work permanent works, while 17.6% don't work and seek for work. As for the females of other nationalities, who are currently married and at age of 13 years and above and married under 18 years; 47.4% of their husbands have permanent work and 24.2% has no permanent work and don't seek for work and 14.7% have temporary work, while 4.6% have no work, but seek for work.

3.13 Accommodation ownership type:

Table (37) show the distribution of the currently married females, who are 13 years old and above and married under 18 years by the accommodation ownership type and nationality of the husband. The data show that the majority of the currently married females, who are 13 years and above and married under 13 years or percentage of 76.7% thereof reside in accommodations owned by the family or a family member. 18.9% of the currently married Jordanian females, who are 13 years and above and married under 18 years, reside in leased and unfurnished accommodation, while 2.9% of them reside in accommodations owned by the relatives. Three quarters of the currently married Syrians, who are 13 years and above and married under 18 years or percentage of 74.8%, reside in leased and unfurnished accommodations, 12.6% reside in accommodations owned by the family or a family member and 6.4% reside in accommodations without consideration. 55.6% of the females of other nationalities, who are currently married and at age of 13 years and above, have married under 18 years in accommodations owned by the family or a family member, 34.1% in leased and unfurnished accommodations and 4.4% in furnished accommodations.

Table (37): Distribution of females at age of 13 years and above, who married under 18 years by the accommodation owner type and wife nationality*

Accommodation ownership type	Wife Nationality					
	Jordanian		Syrian		Others	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Owned by the family or a family's member	194,046	76.7	14,311	12.6	26,540	55.6
Leased, unfurnished.	47,824	18.9	84,801	74.8	16,275	34.1
Leased, furnished.	1,199	0.5	4,031	3.6	2,122	4.4
Owned by a relative	7,308	2.9	405	0.4	1,100	2.3
Consideration of work	584	0.2	802	0.7	1,094	2.3
Without consideration	1,415	0.6	7,217	6.4	484	1.0
Others	710	0.3	1,744	1.5	152	0.3
Total	253,086	100.0	113,311	100.0	47,767	100.0

Source: Department of Statistics, General Population and Housing Census 2015

* Distribution reflects the status quo in 2015

3.14 Deaths of females, who are 13-54 years:

Table (38) illustrates the relative distribution of deaths of the females, who are 13-54 years) during 24 months precedent to the General Population and Housing Census 2015, who have married by the age group at time of death and the reason for the death. The data shows that the total death of the females, who have married, and they were 13-54 years at time of death reached 186 cases, from which 80 cases died due to pregnancy, 35 cases died during the pregnancy, 44 cases died during the confinement period (42 days after the birth) and 27 cases died for other reasons. The death cases due to the pregnancy represented the largest number of the death cases in all age categories except two age groups 40-44 and 45-49.

By considering the data, it is shown that from 100 death cases of the females who are 13-45 years and have married previously, there is three females at age of 13-19 years. The deaths due to the pregnancy formed the largest percentage of death among the young females, who were 13-19 years at time of death representing percentage of 6.3% of total deaths occurred during the pregnancy and this was concentrated in four governorates; namely, Capital, Irbid, Zarqa and Karak. This is followed by death for other reasons (accident, burning ... etc.) in percentage of 3.2% of total deaths occurred for other reasons and then the death during the delivery, as the data showed that from 100 females died during the delivery, there were three females at age of 13-19 years; i.e. in percentage of 2.9%. it is striking that there is no deaths in the females who are 13-19 years during 42 days of the delivery (confinement period).

Table (38): relative distribution of the female deaths, who are (13-54 years) during 24 months precedent to the General Population and Housing Census 2015, who have married by the age group at time of death and the reason for the death.

Age category at time of death	Reason for death				Total
	Pregnancy	During birth	Within 42 days of birth	Others	
13-19	6.3	2.9	0.0	3.7	3.2
20-24	15.0	17.1	9.1	29.6	13.6
25-29	28.8	22.9	11.4	11.1	17.6
30-34	13.8	25.7	15.9	33.3	16.3
35-39	23.8	22.9	31.8	11.1	19.9
40-44	3.8	5.7	15.9	3.7	5.9
45-49	1.3	2.9	6.8	7.4	3.2
50-54	7.5	0.0	9.1	0.0	4.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	80	35	44	27	186

Source: Department of Statistics, General Population and Housing Census 2015

Chapter Four

Results of qualitative study of child marriage

With purpose to identify the reasons for phenomenon of marriage of the child girls, the prevailing culture and the consequential impacts of such marriage, 11 focus discussion groups have been held in the capital Amman, Irbid, Zarqa and Mafraq and the category of the females who have married at young age included the Syrians and Jordanians. In addition, the female educators, female guides, female leaders, civil society and mothers and childhood doctors. In all focus discussion groups, the homogeneity of the target groups has been committed, the information confidentiality have been committed and the participants were respected. There is no right opinion and wrong opinion and the participation of everyone is very important issue.

Table (39): Distribution of discussion groups by the targeted category, number of participants and place of holding the discussion seminar:

Session No.	Governorate	Targeted Category	Participants No.	Place of holding the discussion seminar
1	Irbid	Jordanian women married under (18) years.	8	Association for Protection of Family and Childhood
2	Irbid	Syrian women married under (18) years.	10	Association for Protection of Family and Childhood
3	Irbid	Female guides and educators	11	Dhat Al Nitaqain Government School in Irbid
4	Amman	Civil community	8	Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation
5	Amman	Female guides and educators	8	Secondary Nozha II Girls School - UNRWA
6	Amman	Mothers have girls married before 18 years old	9	Secondary Nozha II Girls School - UNRWA
7	Amman	Syrian women married under (18) years.	8	Family Health Care Institute - Noor Al - Hussein
8	Amman	Female doctors and nurses of motherhood and childhood.	8	Family Health Care Institute - Noor Al - Hussein
9	Amman	Local community leaderships	8	Family Health Care Institute - Noor Al - Hussein
10	Zarqa	Female doctors and nurses of motherhood and childhood.	6	Aisha Health Insurance Institute – UNRWA Clinic.
11	Mafreq - Za'tari camp	Female doctors and nurses of motherhood and childhood.	7	Family Health Care Institute - Noor Al - Hussein

The field researchers have been trained on managing the focus discussion groups by Visiting researcher from the University of Ottawa, specialized in gender and reproductive health.

The seminars have been held in cooperation with Association for Protection of Family and Childhood, Dhat Al Nitaqain Government School in Irbid, Schools of UNRWA)United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees(in the Nozha area and the Hussein camp, the Noor al-Hussein Family Health Institute in Sweileh, the Za'tari camp, Aisha health center and UNRWA clinic in Zarqa.

The determinants of this qualitative study include that not further number of the males has participated in the focus discussion groups, as three decision makers only have participated in the groups of the civil community.

4.1 General description of participants in the discussion group seminars from cases of child marriage:

(35) Syrian and Jordanian women have participated in four homogeneous discussion groups and these women have married before age of 18 years. The percentage of the women married at age of (16) years and at age of (15) years reached (37.1%) and (31.4%) successively. In addition, there are cases of the Syrians, who have married at age of (13 and 14) years in percentage of 11.4%, while the average of their current age is less than (35) years and the percentage of the married women at time of holding the focus discussion seminars reached to (80%), while (20%) were divorced. The participants considered themselves largely committed and religious in percentage of (48.6%).

The highest percentage of the participants (45.7%) evaluated their financial situation that it is sufficient for the basic needs only including the food, purchase and accommodation. They showed that (31.4%) of the income isn't sufficient even for the basic needs. (14.3%) of the participants showed that the family suffer from the huge debts and the monthly income of the family ranges between 300-500 JD in percentage of (51.4%) and less than 300 JD in percentage of (45.7%).

4.2 Opinions and trends toward child marriage:

4.2.1 prevailing culture on the age suitable for marriage

The study sample isn't different in considering that the marriage of the boys and girls under (18) years is a early marriage and all groups agreed that the age proper for the girls marriage is determined on condition that they shall terminate academic stage reached by her; i.e. finalizing the secondary stage according to the groups of the Jordanian women and the Syrian and Palestinian female refugees, who have married before age of eighteen years old. As for the educated category of group of the local community, and the female educators and guides, you find that the marriage age of the girl is related to finalizing the first university stage or during the university study years (20-22) years; however, the age suitable for the youth is determined, provided that they shall be capable to work and earn a living. The replies ranged between (22-

30) years, although the groups agree that the marriage less than (18) years isn't suitable for the girls.

“Less than the secondary school is deemed early”, “if she completed the secondary school, she can marry and if less than the second school it is deemed early”. “this means that she could marry after age of 20 years” – focus discussion groups.

“The proper age for the girls is linked to the level of education of the girl; consequently, the age of the girl from 22 years and above is suitable after completion of the bachelors degree by the girl, because it became basic requirement for the girl and the same is applicable for the men, as the suitable age is 22 years and above” – some focus discussion groups.

All male and female people subject matter of the research find that there is marriage for girls less than (18) years in the Jordanian Community, but it is considered as spreading phenomenon according to some of them. Members of the civil community find that the Syrian refugees is the main reason for increase in percentage of marriage of the Jordanian underage girls and the marriage of the underage girls is a phenomenon in the Syrian community and not the Jordanian Community. As for groups participating from Al Hussein camp, and Al Nozha area; most of the women participated in the discussion seminars think that the marriage of the underage girls is a phenomenon spread in the families residing in the Palestinian camps and they are not affected by the Syrian refugees.

“It isn't phenomenon in Jordan like us in Syria”. “part of customs and traditions of marriage of the girl, because if she wants to study, the school are far from the countryside in Syria” - Syrian Group in the Society for Family and Childhood Protection – Irbid.

There is no early marriage as a phenomenon in the Jordanian community, but there is exotic culture represented in the refugees of the Syrian society to Jordan. The early marriage is a very clear phenomenon in the Syrian community, even after the refugees”. “The early marriage is phenomenon as thinking only in the Jordanian community, but as figures there is no phenomenon”. Group of Civil Community in Noor Al-Hussein-Sweileh”.

“Currently, there is shift in Jordan, as the behaviors and trends of the family have changed and they marry in early age like the Syrian girls ...” youth guide – Health center - Zaatari camp

In relation to the temporal and social change in child marriage according to point of view of the study sample; the groups disagreed whether there is reduction or increase in the current time in the percentage of the married women under 18 years. In comparison with the last year,

most educators find that the marriage of the students became limited and when comparing between the current situation and twenty years ago, few female students are engaged in the primary school stage, but some female educators find that the percentage of the engaged girls reduced, but it is remarkable that the trends of the girls aren't different regarding the idea of the engagement and marriage and positive trends have emerged among the engaged girls.

The female students themselves are interested in this regard Like the female students at age of 16-17 years old and I speak that this doesn't occur in the school only, but around those surrounding the family. I know a girl that joined the tenth grade, but she has no desire to complete and she want to marry. She says to her mother that she wants to marry ...". Previously, there were 7 engaged girls in the stage, but now the number of the engaged girls is low. As I said, my colleague said that the girls themselves desire to be married, but previously they married, because they were burden on their families in terms of the education and poverty. The mother was saying that she want to get her daughters married and let them go. I work in this school 22 years ago; previously, there were in the school 7, 5 or 3 engaged girls and no there could be 1 or 2 engaged girls at most in the grade not as before. However, the girls are open minded and they desires to be engaged. Previously, the family of the girls was forcing them to marry or to be engaged and they were polite; however, the girl now isn't obedient and they say that we permit her to be engaged to the boy she wants; otherwise, she will escape with him. Group of female educators and guides - Al Nozha School, Irbid.

The group of the Jordanian females, who have married before reaching the age of (18) years old, find that the environment is the main element that determine the marriage of the girl or completion of her education, as they find that camps, valleys and rural areas are the most areas, where the girls are being married early, and the girls have no choices other than the marriage. Whenever, these conditions are changed to the best, the marriage age will be increased. In addition, some females find that the number of underage married girls didn't change by change of the time, but the divorce cases have changed. As for the group of the Syrian women, who have married under 18 years, they see that the marriage of the underage girls in Syrian is specially governed by the customs and traditions and not the temporal change.

The divorce increased, but the marriage is still the same .. the divorce cases increased, because the youth is ridiculous. He became acquainted with a woman and then he becomes admired with another one. Once he marries such girl and she gives birth, her appearance changes and she neglects herself, he desires to have another one to concern with him. The reason also may be referred to the children, they don't concentrate, as if she is going to play. Group of women in Al Nozha School – UNRWA.

Summary:

According to the above mentioned, the women, who have married before age of eighteen and from all nationality, have agreed that the girl shall complete her secondary education before the marriage. This means that she reaches to the age of eighteen automatically. In addition, the educated category of the women find that the marriage shall be postponed after termination of the university study; i.e. reaching to the age of twenty two at lease. This could be invested in the following:

- Allowing those, who have married before age of eighteen, to give their advice and to talk about their experience to the community's members and to participate in creating the awareness and changing the prevailing culture.
- Concerning with involving the effective women from the local community in the purposeful media campaigns to change the community convictions and consequently, reducing the phenomenon of child marriage.

4.2.2 Reasons and trends of child marriage:

The male and female participants in the focus discussion groups agreed that the marriage of the underage girls occurs in the Jordanian and Syrian Families and the Palestinian and Syrian refugees camps for the following initial reasons: the poverty, which is the most important reason, the disposal of the financial responsibility of the girl; especially under the multiplicity of the girls in the family is one of the most reasons that lead to the early marriage of the girls followed by the priority – by the group – and the disposal of the so-called responsibility of “girl honor protection”.

The poverty causes the people to get their girls married and dispose of them. Some women from various groups.

When the person has 5-6 girls in the house and they have The menstrual period at the same time, aren't they need (women requirements) and how could the person procure such requirements. Woman, Al Nozha Girls School – UNRWA.

Most female participants, who have married before reaching the age of eighteen, showed that the most important reasons for marriage of the girls, after the puberty age, is to dispose of the responsibility of “girls honor protection” especially if this is accompanied with continued failure and academic failure in the school. In such medium and poor families, the parents find that the marriage is a good opportunity to incur the material and moral responsibility of the husband and the husband's family.

“we talk that the girls are burden not only on their father, but also everyone including my husband, father, uncle, cousin, and brother and all of them think in the same method. When he get the girl married, he thereby disposes of the concern of the girl and transfers it to her husband. This is fact that I disposes of the expense of one girl out of the 6 girls by getting them married and disposing of them” Syrian woman - Noor Al Hussein Foundation - Sweileh

“The multiplicity of the girls in the house is one of reasons for the early marriage. When the person has one girl only, he sees her grows up; however, he incurs their concern if one or two girls, but if they are more than 5-6 girls, he feels he burden. The girl stays in the house and need expenses. Woman, Al Nozha Girls School – UNRWA.

“Actually, they have disposed of her and transferred her burden to another person, so that they waive her responsibility to another person and consequently they dispose of her expenses and requirements” Jordanian Woman - Society for the Protection of the Family and Childhood – Irbid.

In addition, the people could not be able to bear a girl in the house, if they are afraid of her. This means that the girl stays in house of her husband, even if she isn't satisfied and this is better than staying in house of her family, not afraid from the deviation, because they don't go out of the house alone” . Syrian Woman - Noor Al Hussein Foundation - Sweileh

Sample of Syrian groups showed that the concept of protection of the girl's honor is directly correlated to the refugees and unstable status of most Syrian families.

I said to you that all of us intends to go back to Syria and we are afraid to accompany our girls with us due to the conditions occurring in Syria. We wanted to get them married here, cover them and leave them here. Originally, we have given them to our relatives and we didn't give them to a strange person, in order not to be concerned about them. They are my relatives and I we don't desire to go back, we will not get them married, but their father forced me in this regard. He was intending and insisting to go back to Syria and I'm afraid to go back with the daughters. Therefore, I have chosen the simplest ways that to get those married and not to allow them to go back with me for concern about the rape – God Forbid – or others or losing them on road. These were my concerns and the best issue is the easiest one and the easiest issue for me was their husbands. Syrian Woman - Noor Al Hussein Foundation - Sweileh

Further, some females, who have married before 18 years old and those who get their daughters married in early ages, see that the remarkable maturity of the girl's body is one of the reasons that force the family to get their girls married in early age (15-16 years). In addition, all

women participating in these groups confirmed that the jealousy among relatives is strongly demonstrated in the child marriage.

“Her body structure shows that she is old, at age of marriage and remarkable.” Syrian Woman - Society for the Protection of Family and Childhood – Irbid.

By daughter is very beautiful and her mother in law continued to visit us for 40 days for fair that she could lose my daughter or anyone other than her son takes her. She was 15 years and then the young person came and they sit down together for 10 minutes. In the engagement day, I made her hair and she became amazing. Woman gets her girls married in early age – Al Nozha Girls School - UNRWA

Once the daughter of the neighbors is engaged or girl in the family is engaged, we become concerned about our girls that they loss the opportunity” Group of mothers at Al Nozha Girls School – UNRWA.

“They say to the girl that if you refused, we will go to find a girl better than you, and if he applied to your cousin, she will accept him”- Jordanian Woman married under age of 18 years and she is currently divorced - Society for the Protection of the Family and Childhood – Irbid.

Moreover, the discussion seminars showed that the customs and traditions are important and decisive in getting the underage girls married in the Syrian Community, while this isn't mentioned directly in groups of the Jordanian community and the Palestinian camps. The Syrian female refugees agreed that the customs and traditions prevailing in the Syrian families – whether in Syria or refugees areas – play important role in marriage of the girls under eighteen years and even they think that this leads to losing the opportunity of marriage at young ages and she will be unmarried and the young men will turn away from her later. Some Syrian participants said that these traditions and customs began to change due to effect of the fact of the Jordanian Community; i.e. delaying the marriage of the girls until the secondary school education is terminated (18 years) and above due to the impact of the culture of the civil community. However, some participants in groups of civil community said that the traditions and customs of some Jordanian families are changed and affected by the Syrian refugees and the child marriage of the Jordanian family – especially in Irbid and Mafraq – is imitation of traditions of the Syrians.

“In our community, when the girl reaches to the age of 20-22 years, she considers herself spinster and her opportunity in the marriage became 2-3%. When the girl is 25 years at most, she is spinster and thus she is ended”.” We feel that he became old and she have to marry. This

belief is incorrect without any reasons”. “The girl became old and she has to marry”. This is what we have accustomed thereto and these may be traditions”. Group of Syrian women married under (18) years - Noor Al Hussein Foundation – Sweileh.

When we came to Jordan, and reviewed Jordan and their situation in the marriage, we changed our thinking in the marriage and be met old persons, who still have age and open minded and this issue isn't new for them”. Syrian Woman, Noor Al Hussein Foundation – Sweileh

Groups of social community, educators and guides showed that in addition to the mentioned conditions, the socialization, female friends, media and fictional series - especially Turkish and Hindi ones – impact on the awareness of the female adolescents and their vision to the idea of the engagement, love and marriage. Some participants from the civil community and the educational institution find that the girls – especially those who have no desire in the education – are encouraged to enjoy the experience of love and to make emotional relationships; therefore, they expect that the engagement and marriage is less than responsibilities of study and school, whatsoever the pressures and responsibilities of the engagement and marriage.

“One time, we distributed questionnaire about the early marriage and the excuse of most families as for the marriage of their girls was the poverty and concern about the female to become old and stay with them. The people participating in this project were convincing you that what you say as if you came from other planet, because your speech isn't factual. In the questionnaire we made for the marriage; the 60% of the engaged sample refused to come and make the interview and those who came and made the interview were girls tried the engagement and marriage and failed or divorced and she has given birth and has one child or has been engaged and failed. Consequently, she has a bad impression about the early marriage; these girls, for example, accepted to talk with us, but the other girls didn't allow us to talk with them about such topics”. Social worker at the Nozha Girls' School – UNRWA.

In addition, the desire to protect the girl, especially the girl with doubtful behavior”.” Sometimes, the family cause her to exit the school, because her behaviors aren't good; i.e. the friend of the your (in slang language) ... “In such case, the family cause her to exit the school directly and this is my experience during the education and the family tries to return her for two and three times and if the girl resumes the same doubtful behavior, there is no option other than causing her to exit the school, stay at home or to be engaged or married. This means that they do not need the schools in such cases”. Islamic Education teacher at the Nozha Girls' School – UNRWA.

In opinion of groups about the experience of the boys' marriage under eighteen years; the study sample agreed that the males don't marry under 18 years, but at age of 20-21 years. The

reasons and conditions that incite the boys to marry at such age include the emotional and physical need excluding any other reasons. A Syrian woman and other Jordanian woman stated their experience in marriage of their sons and the reasons and result are completely similar. The young man has married, because he was admired of a certain girl and upon his request, the mother allows him to marry such girl. According to their experience, once the young man marries and after a short period, he regrets and escapes from the responsibility; especially, if she became pregnant and begotten a child.

“everyone should listen to me to learn, my son, who has completed the secondary school and is 21 years old, came to me and expressed his desire to marry. I said to him that I can’t request girl for you, and you still doesn’t work and can’t afford the marriage expenses. His older brother called me and said do you accept that he makes sin. He woke me up and he engaged the girl and brought her to our house. She was less than 18 years and after some months, he said to me I know why you have responded to me ; he loves her by he desires to marry another one. The young man has power and we have protected him, just to discharge his power. When his wife became pregnant and begot a girl, he thought in affording the responsibility and became afraid. He regretted.” Jordanian woman - Nozha Girls’ School – UNRWA.

My son married at age of 22 years, who forced us to allow him to marry. He completed the secondary school and didn’t succeed. We own a shop and he know where could he go. He isn’t interested in the school. He began to work in the beginning, but his father wasn’t giving him salary and then gave him salary. Thereafter, he purchased a car and became 21 years and can earn money. Accordingly, why couldn’t him search for a beautiful woman and he said she is a beautiful, engage for me. We engaged the girl for him, but we weren’t admired with her. He searched for another girl and forced us to engage her for him. He desires to engage this girl and the others and we have engaged a girl for him and he has married her. He is now 29 years old and has 3 children; sometimes, I feel that he was hurry and regretful or if the days were returned, he was not married, because he didn’t think that there will be children, responsibility, expense and woman.

His other brother is currently 27 years old and he didn’t marry. Sometimes, the same is applicable for the girl and the boy based upon his desire; this means that he forced you to allow him to marry” – Jordanian woman in Society for the Protection of the Family and Childhood – Irbid.

All groups of focus discussion agreed that the most important characteristics that should be fulfilled by the young man applying to engage the underage girl is that he should have work or profession and consequently he can meet the basic needs of the marital house. In addition, they agreed that the academic certificate isn’t condition required for accepting the fiancé. In addition, the separate accommodation isn’t condition that requires much thinking on part of the girl’s family. In addition, the groups agreed that the age of the fiancé should be approaching the

age of the girl or he is older than her with few years; for example, the age of the fiancé ranges between (21-25) years. The opinions are different regarding the kinship relation between the engaged couple, as most of the female participants showed that it isn't conditioned that there should be kinship relation and if such relation is available, the kinship of the father is more than the mother.

The fiancé is usually 20-21 years". "Simple difference between them, I have never seen old fiancé".

One of the most important points raised in the discussion of the Jordanian and Syrian female groups is burdening the underage wife (15 – less than 17) the responsibility of changing the "negligent or careless young man". Consequently, all members of the husband family including the mother, father, older brothers and even the wife's family incur the responsibility of changing to the better for undisciplined son" to the wife, who is the new member in the husband's family.

His older brother sit down with my daughter and said to her; now your role is decreased"
Woman married at age of 15 years – Nozha Girls School - UNRWA.

Like my divorcee, they said that he was making car drifting and my brothers said that this issue is ordinary. In the future, when he marries, he will stop such act and you will go out with him, but he didn't change and continued in making the car drifting. Jordanian woman in Society for the Protection of the Family and Childhood – Irbid.

Summary:

The results of this study isn't different from most Arab Studies, in terms of reasons of child marriage and the poverty is the most prominent and clearest reason as well as the other elements; including, the project of the girl's honor considering the same as defect that should be covered, the influence of the girls by their female colleagues and the jealousy from those, who have married early as well as the influence of the customs and traditions; especially, for the Syrian women as well as the socialization, influence of the mass media and emotional series.

It is remarkable that the groups affect and are affected by each other; consequently, the connivances of the Syrian families, who have mixed with the Jordanians, have changed regarding the girl marriage and the important of postponement for after the secondary stage. In contrast, the Jordanians have been affected by the Syrians especially in Irbid and region adjacent to the Syrian border negatively through inclination to the child marriage following the example of the Syrians.

Thereupon, the general awareness of the community lacks to the logic, because it find that the underage girl should change the behavior of her husband, who is older than her in age; as if

she is expert or specialized and neglects that she is teenager and requires care and behavior guidance.

The reference to the marriage by the young men at age of 20 and 21 years with incentive of the emotional and physical need, which is removed rapidly and the young man regrets and abandons his responsibility toward the wife and the coming children for claim of the interest. In addition, it is necessary to search for means that reduce the marriage of the young men before the age, practical and material empowerment at least. This reduces the phenomenon of child marriage considering that there is difference in the age between the young man and the girl as well as the adverse results caused by the underage girls and those results caused by him.

The material and cultural empowerment of the families in all ways is the most proper way to reduce the reasons that increases this phenomenon , and even to eliminate the risks thereof in order to achieve healthy community and families participate in the development wheel not hinder the same.

4.2.3 Procedures applicable to child marriage:

All female participants in the discussion seminars that the girl under 18 years are asked about their opinion in the engagement and the applicant young man. Most of them showed that the girls accept the engagement and marriage without force on part of the family, but such acceptance is usually the result of the indirect pressure means on part of the family's members; especially the father. The girl is convinced by the mother through praising the applicant to the engagement and his family and exaggerating the talk about his characteristics and the importance of not losing such opportunity. However, the female participants said that forcing the girl to marry occurs in certain cases and under specific conditions.

“They take her opinion and convince her with what they want”. “The girl can't reject and can't say no for respect of her father”. This means that they convince her that he will bring to and will give you ...”. Groups of focus discussion groups for women married under 18 years.

The Jordanian family that want to get their underage girls marry adopts some strategies and procedures, if the girl does not reach to the legal age that allow her marriage. According to the discussion groups, some female participants talk about their various experiences in the marriage of their girls, while other female participants refused to talk due to lack of knowledge of the procedures or because they have actually forgotten, what has occurred actually. Majority of female participants agreed that the family of the girl and the family of the fiancé agreed between each other through reading “Al-Fatihah” and informing the relatives and the neighbors, until the girl reaches to the age of 15 years and the marriage is made by concluding the marriage contract at the court and the marriage party is then made directly after some days only. Some female

participants said that the families were going to Syria and concluding the marriage contracts there, because the procedures in Syria permit the marriage under 15 years.

As for the participation of the married female participants in the court before the judge; most of them have no information about the procedures there followed at such time. Some female participants stated that the judge sees the fiancée and decides according to the physical maturity. In addition, other women mentioned her experience that the father insisted on the judge to agree due to his poor financial condition and there are large numbers of girls in the family, who need to marry in order to mitigate the financial burden.

“The judge sees the girl and does not believe that she is 15 years old ... due to the size and maturity and she can give birth directly” Woman marry her girls under 18 years – Nozha Girls School - UNRWA.

As for the Syrian family and due to the tradition and customs that encourage the early marriage, most female participants showed that “Al-Fatihah” is read by the marriage official and then the marriage contract is registered in the court later, even if the period between concluding the marriage contract and registering the marriage event is long. A female participant said that the marriage event hasn’t been registered, unless after giving birth of the children and consequently they faced troubles upon extracting the official family documents.

“In Syria, the contract is concluded by a sheikh and the marriage is thereafter recorded. There is no penalties, if we make this” Syrian Woman, Noor Al Hussein Foundation – Sweileh.

“After the first birth, the marriage is recorded in Syria and it is necessary to procure the rights, receive family book; i.e. I inform the people, who doesn’t know how to register their children, because they have had children, while their marriage is still unregistered at the court” - Syrian Woman, Society for the Protection of the Family and Childhood – Irbid.

In Jordan, some Syrian participants believe that there is exception on part of the Ministry of Interior for the Syrian woman to allow her to marry at age less than her Jordanian peers.

As for rights of the underage girls in the dowry and the suitable marital accommodation and what is provided by the fiancé’s family according to the customs and tradition including the “trousseau”, “marriage party” and others. The opinions about the family conditions are different; some Jordanian participants said that the family that contain large number of the girls reduces the dowry and the requirements to ensure keeping “the good reputation” in facilitating the marriage of their girls and to ensure the marriage of the other girls. Some female participants said that the underage girls receive all their rights like the other girls, while some Syrian

female participants showed that there are traditions and conditions of some Syrian family in participation in supplying their girls and the grandchild upon childbirth.

As for the marital accommodation, the opinions are divided in all discussion seminars; some participants founded it necessary to provide house independent from the husband's family and the other opinion showed that there is no objection to reside with the husband's family due to the inability to afford the responsibility of independent house.

“According to another point of view, if he has girls, how could he get his girls married, if the people knows that the dowry of his married girl is high and thus the fiancé are afraid from engaging the other girls. Therefore, the father determines reasonable dowry to be able to get the other married and he couldn't determine high dowry, because there are other girls in the house”.
Jordanian Woman, Society for the Protection of the Family and Childhood – Irbid

Summary:

In spite of concern about taking opinion of the fiancée, but there is influence on part of the family; especially, the father, toward acceptance of the marriage under 18 years. In addition, the procedures applicable in reading “ Al-Fatihah” of the girl under 15 years, postponing the marriage contract, until she becomes 15 years, the emotional influence on the judges to accept the marriage of the girls under the legal age stipulated in the Jordanian Law, approval of the marriage by the judge depending upon his estimation of the girl's maturity based upon her physical structure and not approving her age recorded in the certificate of birth; all of these issues participate in keeping the problem as it is and the matter is worsened when the Syrians resort to concluding the marriage contracts in the Syrian Country, where the procedures facilitate such marriage.

The economic element, poverty and multiple girls in the poor family participate in inciting the emotional element and facilitating the child marriage under permissive law that does not criminalize the child marriage and does not confirm the standards stipulated in the law.

The activation of the articles of the law that determine the age of marriage in Jordan for all segments as well as the media elements and reducing the poverty significantly participate in reducing the phenomenon and limiting the impacts thereof.

4.3 Expectations, and social, physiological and health impacts of the child marriage:

4.3.1 Expectations of underage girls about marriage:

All Jordanian participants and Syrian and Palestinian refugees showed that they had no real

expectations about the marriage, and they were seeing the husband represented in the “white suite”, “gifts”, “walks” and “romantic love” as shown in the series. Majority of female participants showed that they expected that the marriage responsibility is limited and the husband is the decision maker and the only controller. Most of the female participants said that they feel regret for their husbands, because there is no understanding with the husband and the husband’s family, the failure of afford the big responsibilities and the failure to bring the children up. Some female participants stated that they managed to adapt with all these difficulties and they aren’t regretful. Further, some participant showed that they desire to go back in time and complete their education, work and then marriage.

I hope that I have stayed with my family, you feel that there is no understanding and his thinking is different. This means that the paradise of my family instead of the husband who can’t afford the responsibility. She wants to wake up in the working and think about what should she cook ... what should she do and the banquet she should prepare” Jordanian Woman, Society for the Protection of Family and Childhood – Ibid.

The expectation of the girl at such time is to be beautiful and well-groomed, because such person has admired of her and she will remain to wear, he will go with her for walk and he will say to her I love you and the life will be rosy”. Group of Jordanian and Syrian women.

Maybe there is somebody responsible for her, not her father, mother and brother, and asks her to where you are going and from where you are coming. As long as her husband loves her, she can go out, come, sleep and wake up whenever she wants” - Jordanian Woman, Society for the Protection of the Family and Childhood – Ibid.

If I’m not satisfied currently with my marriage, I would not married, unless I have completed the university, work and make may thinks and then marry.” Jordanian Woman, Society for the Protection of the Family and Childhood – Ibid.

In relation to expectations of the private marital status; most of the female participants stated that they had no information on the marital status and the related reproductive health issues. In addition, they showed that the married aunt, friend and sister is always the source of the information, while the educators and guides said that the engaged girls receive incorrect information about the private martial relationship from the internet and the female friends.

When I married, I wasn’t familiar with anything about private martial relationship. My husband called my mother on the same day in dawn, scold her, and said to her as long as your girl is like this, why have you married her. From such day, I felt that he isn’t patient with me and he know

everything and wants to try everything with such girl regardless her physiological element” Jordanian woman, Society for the Protection of the Family and Childhood – Irbid.

The experiences of the female participants for their capability to adapt with the marriage and the requirements thereof is different. They stated that they aren't able to adapt with the husband, children and the environment of husband's family, but the marriage should continue, especially for the children and inability to return to the house of the father or the brother. However, some female participants showed that they managed to address the problems and overcome the same by taking the decision to complete the education and work.

Frankly, till now I don't love my husband, the children only. If I see him sick, I sympathize with him and is affected for him, but there is no love we see in the series”. Syrian Woman, Noor Al Hussein Foundation, Sweileh

Summary:

It is shown that there is clear leakage in concept of the marriage and affording the responsibility and the capability to bring the children up as well as the awareness of the private marital relationship and the reproductive health with the adverse impact of the wrong information taken from internet or female friends. According to point of view of the researcher, this requires:

- The complete information shall be presented by the specialists and the healthy, educational and physiological educated persons through all media and social channels.
- Holding courses and intensifying the current ones that target the segments of the youth about to marry in order to enable them from the sound information, suitable skills and the positive dealing with the idea of taking the marriage decision and the methods of continuity thereof in correct way.
- Incubating the separated families, facilitating the work and study for the separated girls, or destitute girls to reduce the effects of child marriage.

4.3.2 Social, physiological and health impacts of the child marriage:

The focus discussion seminars show that the girls who marry before the age of 18 are exposed to social and psychological pressures, and they are often subject to assaulting, and scolding by the husband, the husband's family and her sisters, but this violence is not related to the age factor of the girl. There is acceptance of various forms of violence on part of the surrounding environment of these girls. Majority of the female participants said that they work in services of the societies and family protection, but they don't resort to the same for fear of the “gap” that can occur between them and the husband in event of external interference such as family protection, and the commitment that is required from the husband.

Yes, we may be assaulted. I resorted to my family for one time only and they didn't assist me and were against me. All of them were against me and said that my husband did nothing. I was concerned and angry and finally I was the person who in default. Consequently, I became accustomed and this became ordinary” - Syrian woman, Noor Al-Hussein Foundation- Sweileh

He assaulted me many times in front of my brothers and now he can assault me in the street” Syrian woman, Noor Al-Hussein Foundation- Sweileh

“if she came to the hospital and tried to tell a lie by saying that she has slipped off, we immediately know that somebody assaulted her. The girl will not say that the person who has assaulted her is her husband. When I went to Princess Basma Hospital, I told them that I have slipped off the stairs, they said that your body and faith shows that you have been assaulted. On such day, they called the family protection for my husband and he has been imprisoned for three days and wrote undertaking not to assault me again, but he assaulted me again. Sometimes, the girl is afraid from resorting to the centers, for fair of the gap between her and her husband.” Jordanian woman, Noor Al-Hussein Foundation- Sweileh

Majority of female participants agreed that the rate of divorce of underage girls is high, due to the inability of girls to adapt to the marital life, especially in the context of extended family housing, the intervention of all family members in the couple's life and the exposure to violence for the simplest reasons. All of them said that the main reasons for the divorce are the inability of the young husband to afford the responsibilities of marriage, especially in the presence of children, in addition to starting to establish other relationships.

I have married early, but I have separated at age of 18 years old and have baby. In addition, I have given birth at my family and stayed there for long period. He was assaulting me and I wasn't familiar with the situation. He was the only daughter of my family and I was wanting him (her divorce). My family didn't want him, but I wanted him” – Jordanian woman, Noor Al-Hussein Foundation- Sweileh

As for the education and depriving the girl from completing her study, it was clear from the discussion groups that there are three elements from depriving the underage wives from the education; lack of desire of the girl herself to complete the education, the rejection of the husband that her wife go out for school or the girls are prevented from returning to regular school by the school management. Most teachers said that there could not be law prevents the underage wife from joining the school, but according to the custom, the girl is derived from the school under excuse that she will impair her female colleagues with the information she have about the marriage and relation with the husband.

Legally, since Ministry of Education, the girl is permitted to attend school, while she is pregnant, even in our schools, but we prefer that she does not return and if she return, there will be an agreement. We are afraid from the married girl, because one the girl is engaged, the whole class is damaged, especially when she is young girl and if her fiancé caught her hand, she tells everything for her female colleagues” – teachers of Al Nozha School and Dhat Al Nitaqain in Nazha and Irbid

In relation to the health and physiological impacts, the discussion seminars of the workers at the health centers including the doctors, physiologists, nurses showed that the underage wives face many physiological and healthy problems. The doctors showed that the body of the girls at age of (15-17) isn't mature biologically and the reproductive system isn't complete yet. In addition, the girls have no sufficient data on the maturity and monthly period and even have wrong information about the marriage and the sexual health. The underage wives are subject to physical problems including acute infections and cracks in the vagina and the damage of the girl is worsened; especially if the marriage is followed by pregnancy directly, because the reproductive system isn't complete and the uterine and uterine muscles aren't completely mature. The doctors showed that the girls suffer from anemia, frequent miscarriage, adhesions of the womb due to the abortions and premature and difficult births, due to the pelvic bone tightness and imperfection, resulting in cesarean sections.

The social problems handled by the doctors is the insistence of the family on the pregnancy directly after the marriage and this causes health problems represented in bags on the ovaries, ovulation stimuli, or even implantation when she reaches to 17 years. Consequently, she is subject to unbearable pain in the abdomen and high temperatures because of the large size of the ovaries. The doctors confirmed that the ovary may be normal and does not require any external interventions, but pregnancy may be delayed because of the young age of the girl.

Most girls become pregnant within four months after the marriage and if her pregnancy delayed, they began to remedy her. They could reach to the stage of In vitro fertilization and the family are also ready to marry another girl for their son and don't be patient with the girl. “Doctor, health center – Zarqa.

Moreover, the groups of workers at the health centers showed that the underage wives have no awareness of the importance of using the family planning methods and spacing between the pregnancy times, leading to quick pregnancy after the birth. The girls, their husbands and their families refuse to use such means under justification that the damages thereof exceed their benefits as well as the family's ignorance of the health needs of the child from the breastfeeding and vaccinations.

There is great fear of using family planning methods and refusal of using the same due to the common wrong ideas about the family planning, such as the infertility, obesity, headaches ...”
Midwife in the health center - Za'tari camp

A girl came to me and asked me to remove the loop. One month later she came and she was pregnant and requested me to get rid of the pregnancy. I said to her you have asked me to remove the loop, she said it wasn't me but my mother-in-law . She asked me to remove the loop and I don't want pregnancy. “doctor in group of Noor Al-Hussein - Sweileh

They think to make family planning after the fourth or fifth child” Doctor in the health center
- Zarqa

Female physiologists considered that the underage girls are subject to physiological shock from the first marriage day and inability to adapt later, due to consequences and responsibilities of the marriage and family. They could suffer from violence or cases of depression and the early divorce may occur. This increases the physiological and social pressures, so that she becomes a divorcee, while she didn't reach to the legal age yet.

If I knew that the marriage will be like this, I would not marry. Until now, I studied at the university and completed. Now I work and the people come to me and express their desire to marry me, but I say that I don't want to marry due to the issue I have witnessed. Jordanian woman married and divorced under 18 years - Society for the Protection of the Family and Childhood - Irbid

Summary:

The discussions showed that there are various problems caused by the child marriage:

- Various social problem, continued physiological pressures, assaulting, failure to resort to the associations and family protection, although the girls are familiar with the same for fear of increasing the gap in the family relations.
- High divorce percentages caused by the weak adaptation with the life within the extended family and everyone intervenes in life of the young spouses as well as the escape of the husbands from the responsibility after begetting the children and establishing external relations.
- The married underage girls refrain from the education, due to lack of their desire, rejection of the husband or difficulty to return to the regular schools.
- Biological programs caused by the incomplete reproductive system of the girls before eighteen years and various health problems.
- Psychological shocks since the first marriage day leads to failure to adapt later.
- Unfamiliarity with importance of family planning.

The researcher finds it necessary to perform and conduct the field and detailed survey studies for the social, health and physical impacts and presenting the same to the decision maker in order to be included in the strategic plan and to take the same as ground upon choosing the executive strategies. This includes the reduction of the phenomenon as a precautionary measure firstly and remedying the impacts of this phenomenon to ensure the lowest percentages of the problems and adverse impacts that are reflected on concept of sustainable development of the homeland.

4.4 Recommendations to address the problem of child marriage:

The analysis of the focus discussion groups showed that all targeted categories, included in the research, aren't in the same level of awareness and knowledge and consequently providing the services, programs, and policies that reduce the the child marriage. For example, group of educators and guides at Dhat Al Nitaqain in Irbid and the discussion group of the Jordanian Women in Al Nozha School have no knowledge of the program and policies as well as the law related to child marriage.

However, the category of the civil community, doctors, midwives and psychologists are most knowledgeable and application of the awareness program to reduce the child marriage. This also implied confirmation on the important role of the health centers in dealing with pregnancy of the underage girls and the accompanied physiological and health problems. The majority of the health centers find that although there are programs and activities represented in sessions of raising the awareness healthy and physiologically for the spouses, but the interest in these programs is weak and they also find that the interest and convenience is weak even in using the modern means in family planning.

The following are the most proponent points agreed upon in the discussion groups of the civil community and health centers as proposals for addressing the problem of **child** marriage in the civil community:

- The discussion groups of the Jordanian and Syrian group have agreed that the education and school play important role in subject of awareness about the child marriage.
- Improving the access to the targeted category by spreading the awareness; specially, among the men, because they take the decisions inside the family (Group of Zarqa Health Center).
- Improving the access to the reproductive health of the men (group of the health center in Zaatari camp).
- Knowing the aspects of default in intervention to protect the girls, addressing the case of **child** marriage seriously and conducting scientific researches (Group of Civil Community in Noor Al - Hussein Foundation).
- Increasing the lessons and science seminars in the mosques and churches, because during the last period, they neglected the community affairs; especially, the mosques and churches are deemed moral power for any person more than any power due to the Jordanian social structure (Group of Civil Community in Noor Al - Hussein Foundation).
- Giving the underage wife or the underage divorcee grants or financial aids or giving them any developmental opportunities, so that the girl can build her future, activate her role; otherwise, the community will punish her by the marginalization and rejection. In addition, these aids will assist the husbands to ensure the house needs; leading to improvement in the marital life.

(Group of Health Center in Zaatari Camp).

- Concerning with the interventions and programs that handle the culture of the Jordanian community. (Group of Civil Community in Society for the Protection of the Family and Childhood).
- The following proposals could be concluded based upon results of the discussion groups shown in table (40):

Table (40): Recommendations based upon conclusions of discussion groups

Group's Notes	Proposed Solution
Supporting the postponement of the marriage after eighteen years old.	Intensive national campaigns to procure the social support to delay the marriage after age of eighteen years. Recommending with raising the age of obligatory education to the general secondary stage and thus raising rates of age of marriage for the girls.
Failure to determine the size of the problem and underestimating the severity thereof.	Showing the facts and highlighting the problem through the media and social channels and means.
The phenomenon is more apparent in the rural environments and poor population complexes.	The campaigns concentrate on the intended assemblies (camps, villages, rural areas, Syrian assemblies)
Considering the poverty as one of the most important reasons for child marriage.	Fighting the poverty and supporting the individual and collective production projects, and presenting the facilities for the investors who are sons of the poor communities pursuant to conclusive scientific researches.
Considering that the girl is “burden” and her husband is “coverage”.	Ensuring that the woman is empowered before it marry and including in the awareness campaigns programs that aim at changing the negative vision to the girl and considering her participant in the development wheel and economic, social and education welfare.
Adverse impact of the emotional series shown on the channels, which recommends the early marriage.	Interesting dramatic productions, indirectly showing damage to the child marriage, and alienating the young girls from it.
Many of the young people believe that the marriage of the young girls is better and implies various benefits (adverse cultural awareness).	Targeting the mentioned youth using all means, amending their convictions toward the multiple material, healthy and social negatives and consequences of child marriage and postponing their marriage to after the empowerment. In addition, the age matching should be necessity between the spouses.
The judges resort to the child marriage based upon their estimation of sexual maturity of the girls.	Confirming the commitment to the age of eighteen years.
Ignorance of the marital relationship, reproductive health and joint responsibilities for spouses.	Educational, media, health and religious education.

Chapter Five

Summary of results & recommendations

5.1 Summary of Results

Study concluded that child marriage may happen due to hard economic conditions or deeply rooted social customs. Operational research & collective interviews with different targeted categories prevailed that marriage for girls less than 18 years is not so much to be spreading phenomenon in Jordanian society. Although research sample trends to refuse the marriage under age of 18, there are factors & reasons enforce them to marry their daughters. Poverty, sweeping away monetary commitment towards girl & protecting girl's honor are some of main reasons leading to child marriage. At the same time another reasons took place between most of Syrian families back to customs & traditions & protecting girl's honor due to refugees. These results are in line with UNICEF international reports & most of previous reviewed studies. Quantitative research is agreed with statistical data that there is a few numbers of males who marry underage girls. Youth under 20 years marry for emotional & sexual needs no more reasons.

Reports of Supreme Judge Department about marriage registration prevailed increase in No. of females married less than (18) years within 2011-2015. No. of marriages in this category of females increased from (8,093) marriages in 2011 to (10,834) marriages in 2014 & to (10,866) marriages in 2015, (34.3%) increase 2011-2015.

General population & housing census 2015 confirmed the relative increase in child marriage. Reports showed increase in girls married less than 18 years in Jordan percentage increased from 13.7% 2010 to 15% 2013. Percentage continued to increase on 2014 & 2015 to be 16.2% & 18.1% respectively. Highest no. was in Mafraq governorate 24.5% then Zarqa governorate 18.8% then Irbid governorate 17.7% in same time rest 9 governorates did not exceed national level to be between 13.3% in Amman & 5.6% in At-Tafilah.

General population census prevailed number of Jordanian females married under 18 years ranged between 9.5% on 2011 & 11.6% on 2015. In contrast, Syrian women living in Jordanian territories, are most married under 18 years ranged between 33.2% on 2010 & 43.7% on 2015.

Highest percentage of Jordanian women marriages under 18 years in Amman was 28.6% in Al-Quwaysimah district. Child marriage in Aīn al-Basha district was the highest percentage in Al-Balqa governorate ranged between 51.1% on 2012 & 56.2% on 2013. Highest Child marriage percentages were in Zarqa & Russeifa district to be ranged between 40% on 2013 and 45.2% on 2010 in Zarqa while in Russeifa district the percentages were: 37.6% on 2010 & 2014 and 43.4% on 2013. Highest Child marriage percentages were registered in Irbid & Ar-Ramtha, as it was ranged between 31.2% on 2012 & 33.9% on 2011 in Irbid district, versus 26.6% on 2015 & 32.8% on 2011 in Ar-Ramtha district.

Data prevailed that the highest percentage of child marriage Syrian women in first marriage in Amman within period 2010-2015 were in Amman and Marka district, as registered in Amman 17.7% on 2015 & 22.3% on 2011, while In Marka judge department registered marriages were 23.5% on 2011 & 25.9% on 2014.

Child marriage percentages in Ain Basha district were the highest in Balqa 43.9% on 2010 & 61.2% on 2011. Child marriage percentages in Zarqa & Al Azraq were the highest in Zarqa governorate to be 32.4% on 2013 & 43.8% on 2011. Registered marriages of Syrian women in Irbid & Ramtha were the highest; 44.2% on 2010 & 28.7% on 2011 in Irbid versus 19.6% on 2012 & 25.6% on 2010 in Ar-Ramtha. Highest percentage. of marriage registration of Syrian women was in Al-Badiah Ash-Shamaliyah Al-Gharbiyah; between 62.7% on 2012 & 69.4% on 2015.

Statistical data & operational research indicated that early marriage deprives girls of completing education, improving skills & finding job vacancies. According to data (66.7%) of married less than 18 years Jordanian females finished primary or preparatory schools, 18.9% finished secondary school & (5.4%) were illiterates. Majority of married less than 18 years Syrian females finished primary, preparatory or foundational school (69.3%), finished secondary school (5.3%) & got educational certificate of proficiency & bachelor (.1%) & (.2%) successively, illiterates (9.8%) & literates (15.2).

Study prevailed that vast majority of Jordanian & Syrian women do not work & do not look for work due to lack of education & social customs & traditions.

Results found that Jordanian females usually marry from Jordanian males (98.1%). Vast majority of married Syrian females whose age 13 years & older are married from Syrian males, (2.3%) married from Jordanian males & (.3%) married from other nationalities. 92% of females from other nationalities whose age 13 years & older are married from males from other nationalities, (7.5%) married from Jordanians & (.6%) married from Syrians.

Our study does not comply with previous studies about husband characteristics especially on age. Statistical data & operational research prevailed that fiancé usually is close in age to minor girl or few years older.

It's prevailed that one of most important characteristics of fiancé is to have a job, which means that he is able to spend money. It's unanimous that education & relative relationship are not required. Study prevailed that 25.3% of Jordanian females are married from males with secondary schools certificates, 19.1% married from males with bachelor degree & 8.4% married from illiterates. In same time majority of Syrian females 21.2% are married from males with preparatory school certificate, 20.3% married from males with primary school certificate, 18.6% married from males with foundational education & 17.3% married from illiterates. Majority of Syrian females 22.3% are married from males with preparatory school certificate, then 16.4% married from illiterates & 15% married from males with secondary school certificate.

Although having job is condition for fiancé in quantitative search, studies prevailed that husband may not work. quantitative data prevailed that 45.3% of husbands married less than 18 years of Jordanian females whose age 13 & older have regular jobs, 32.9% do not have work , 10.1% have temporary jobs & look for work. In same time 35.7% of husbands married less than 18 years of Syrian females whose age 13 & older do not work & do not look for work, 20.7% have temporary jobs, 13.6% have regular jobs, 17.6% do not have work & look for. Study also prevailed that 47.4% of husbands married less than 18 years of foreign females whose age 13 & older have regular jobs, 24.2% do not have work & do not look for, 14.7% have temporary jobs, 4.6% do not have work but look for.

Quantitative research prevailed that families have a ways to push girls to accept marriage & convince her with fiancé, as there no marriage enforce cases except in narrow scale. Child marriage procedures followed by Jordanian families are similar: “reciting al-Faatihah”, informing neighbors & relative till girl become 15 years old, then marriage by doing marriage contract in court, wedding party immediately after few days. Family usually use different ways to convince judge with doing marriage contract for example sample in quantitative research: father besieged judge to approve, as father is poor, has a lot of daughters & needs to marry them to relieve him of financial burden.

Quantitative research prevailed also that there’s somewhat regret for early marriage; differences between girl’s expectations before marriage she preferred of her education. Results also prevailed that young girls had no information about martial relationship& related issues of reproductive health.

Quantitative research results were similar to results of previous studies about s[psychological & healthy effects of early marriage, as it’s prevailed that minor girls are more subject to social & psychological stress, violence, inability to adapt & continue in healthy martial relationship, which cause early divorce, but in general statistical data indicated that divorce percentage in Jordan is low & vast majority of females married in period 2010:2015 are still marriage & only low percentage 6% are divorced, widow or separated. Highest number of divorced is between foreign females less than 18 years old.

One of the main problems appeared in qualities research is related to healthy effects of minor’s pregnancy. These results comply with previous studies about healthy & physiological effects. One of these problems: painful inflammation, vagina fissuration, anemia, repeated abortion, cervical adhesion because of repeated abortion, early & obstructed labor. Statistical data indicated also more than half Jordanian females married less than 18 years, 69.4% of Syrian females & 75.2% of foreign females do not have health insurance. Mortality due to pregnancy is the highest percentage of young female (13-19 years old) on time of death were 6.3% of the total death that occurred during pregnancy. No mortality of 13-19 year women within 42 days after birth.

Regarding policies & programs related to male & female child marriage in Jordan, study did not find any evaluation for programs done for this matter. Even in programs of international organization implements in Jordan & refugees camp, not evidence that there are obvious policies & strategies, so having programs & projects directly solve child marriage issue whether male or female. This result was supported by office research & deep interviews done for the aim of this study. However there are some limited activities in different places in Jordan such as irregular awareness campaign, encourage social & student leads to implement initiative to participate in efforts towards this important social case.

There are a lot of policies & programs aiming social type, social equity between genders, violence based on social type & reproductive health. These programs are implements by all governmental or international associations or civil society. Child marriage got its importance because of suspicion of relation between it & many negative healthy effects on young mothers & their children, consequently it's committed to reproductive health programs via supporting youth to build their skills & empowering workers in reproductive health fields & helping violence cases based on social type to offer high quality services for targeted categories & child marriages are considered one of them. This is in line with Quantitative research results that there's family control services, but girls do not use because of fear about its effects, not having the right to decide, need of having a lot of children as social tradition before starting to use them.

5.2 Recommendations:

- A policy, strategy or national plan should be created based upon the previously ratified strategies (childhood, population, family and woman), which should be especially concerned with the child marriage.
- Creating environment helps the social change through the awareness for all segments of the community; especially, the educational institution about the importance of the education in life of the girls and postponing the age of marriage, until the girls complete the secondary stage at least.
- Preparing specialized program for the Sharia Judges to determine the special cases in which the judge permits the marriage of the girl that completed (15) years from her age.
- Ensuring the right of education as for all underage, married and pregnant girls through the unofficial education strategies, literacy classes, or any options and procedures to be developed.
- Supporting the public education programs and the media means that raise the level of awareness regarding the results and adverse consequences of child marriage and the human rights related to the girls and women in order to change the trends, positions and enhance the duties of the parents, guardians and community to protect the weak girls.
- Supporting the civil community institutions including the financial support and ensuring that they have all skills and capacities necessary to acquire the support of the community in order

- to put an end for child marriage.
- Supporting initiatives of the social support that target the males inside the community; especially, the boys, youth and parents.
 - Presenting the financial support and occupational training for families of the girls at risk of the early marriage in order to improve the economic opportunities, and the means of subsistence and livelihood of these families, as this may help to provide adequate guarantees that marriage does not appear to be the only option available to poor families.
 - Supporting the workers in the health sector in order to spread messages calling for the reduction of child marriage, because of the importance of their role in monitoring the health and psychological risks to the lives of young girls.
 - Supporting the institutions that implement the reproductive health programs to develop and implement policies on child marriage.
 - Ensuring that information is available to underage women; to benefit from reproductive health services, and to have access to family planning services, information as well as access to specialists' services and health care rendered in this regard.
 - Improving opportunities of access to child and maternal health services, including prenatal care, child immunization programs, and nutrition; especially for underage spouses/mothers who often lack access to such services.
 - Combating all forms of violence practiced against girls and women - especially the sexual violence and sexual abuse - through policies, and programs focusing on prevention, treatment, counseling and legal protection.
 - Improving the data and monitoring systems through the introduction of mechanisms that help to periodically monitor policies and programs related to the child marriage to help assessing the progress.
 - Conducting further comparative studies on the expectations of marriage in Jordanian society and its effects.
 - Cancel the exception and considering the age of 18 years of marriage is binding for both sexes.
 - In cooperation with the Department of Chief Justice, following up the development of Shari'a courts data to be more comprehensive of available variables, and classifying the by age group whenever possible.

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Annexes

Annex (1): Questionnaire of female participants in the qualitative research (early married and their current age is less than 18 years)

Dear my sister participant;

Higher Council for Population studies the child marriage in Jordan to find out the causes of this phenomenon and its effects on girls. We are grateful to you for answering these questions, which will only be used for study purposes, and there is no need to register the name on this questionnaire.

1. Interview:
2. Nationality:
3. Place of residence: Governorate: Region:
4. What is your current age? What is the current age of your husband?:
5. Your first marriage:
6. Marital status:
 - a. Married
 - b. Widow
 - c. Divorced.
7. If the girl is divorced, what are the reasons for divorce?
8. What is your level of education:
9. Number of your children:
10. What is the level of education of your father?
11. What is the level of education of your mother?
12. Number of family members of your father at the time of your marriage:
13. Income of your father's family at the time of your marriage:
 - a. Does not meet the basic needs of food, drink and treatment
 - b. Meets only basic needs.
 - c. Meet basic needs with possibility to save.
 - d. Many debts.
14. Have you had difficulty with the Shari'a Court in concluding the marriage contract, due to your age?
 - (1) Yes
 - (2) No.

If the answer is "Yes", please, clarify.

Annex (2): Guide of Focus Discussion Groups

Guide of Interview held with the girls under 18 years old and their current ages is less than 18 years

First axis: views and trends towards the child marriage (30 minutes):

a. The prevailing culture about early marriage:

- In your opinion, what is the appropriate age for the marriage of girls and boys in the Jordanian society?
- In your opinion, is there a phenomenon of early marriage (under 18 years) in the Jordanian society? Is it really a problem?
- Does early marriage be given to girls or boys?
- What is the age, at which marriage of girls can be considered an early marriage? What is the age, at which marriage of boys can be considered an early marriage?
- Do you have information about the legal age of marriage for girls and boys?

b. What are the incentives of the early marriage? (Orphanhood, poor educational attainment, relationship between parents, divorce or separation, social culture, family economic status, etc.).

Second axis: procedures and behavior of girl's family in the child marriage:

- In your opinion, has the girl under (18) years usually opinion in her marriage?
- If the girl refused, what is the reaction of the family?
- What does a family do when the girl's age is less than the legal age? What are the applicable procedures and behaviors?
- What are the marriage procedures usually followed for girls less than (18) years?
- Is there difference in the treatment for the peers, if married at the legal age? (Dowry, place of residence, wedding ceremony, and concluding the marriage contract at the court), is there engagement period precedent to the marriage?
- A relationship between the fiancé and the engaged girl, and the age difference between them.

Third axis: Expected Effects of Minors' Marriage (30 min)

a. Positives and negatives of child marriage

- In your opinion, are there positives for marriage of girls under 18 years? Mention.
- In your opinion, are there any negatives for marriage of girls under 18 years? Mention.
- Have you had health problems after marriage? Mention.

- Have you had complications in childbirth? Mention.
- Have you had problems in dealing with your husband? Mention.
- How could you describe your mental state?
- Have you encountered a negative social vision?
- On part of the husband's family, wife's family or the neighbors? Mention.
- Have you been forced to marry by your family? Record the facts.
- Are you satisfied with your relationship with your husband?

b. Child marriage, reproductive and psychological health, and health services for girls

- Are you familiar with family planning methods?
- Do you use family planning methods?
- Are the reproductive health services available?
- Do you have problems in securing these means?
- Have you received information about the health culture, marital relationship or any psychological preparations for marriage? What is the source of this information?
- Have you had problems during pregnancy and childbirth?
- What are your expectations about the marriage? What is the source of expectations?
- In your opinion, were your expectations realistic? Why?
- How did you deal with your different expectations about marriage? How did you adapt to the accomplished fact?
- In cases of violence, to whom you resort? Do you know those cases?

Fourth axis: child marriage and girls' education:

- How are the fiancée being handled at school by teachers, female students, and management?
- Do girls stay at school after marriage? Why?

Fifth axis: Addressing the problem of early marriage and improving information and services (15 minutes)

- Are you familiar with programs of protection of girls in general? What is the source thereof, if any?
- Are you familiar with the laws and programs for early marriage? What is the source thereof, if any?
- What do you propose to improve your access to education and work?
- In your opinion, what could be done to improve the related programs?
- What is the role of: school, family, society, judges, health centers, and clergy in reducing the child marriage?
- Based upon your experience do you encourage early marriage?
- Yes.... why?
- No.... what are the alternatives?

Annex (3): Guide of Focus Discussion Groups

Guide of Interview with families experienced the marriage of one of its girls under (18) years

First axis: Opinions and Trends: Child Marriage (30 min)

a. The prevailing culture about child marriage

- In your opinion, what is the appropriate age for marriage of girls in the Jordanian society?
- In your opinion, is there a phenomenon of child marriage (under 18 years) in the Jordanian society? Is it really a problem?
- In your opinion, is there a phenomenon of child marriages (under 15 years) in the Jordanian society?
- What is the age, at which girls' marriage can be considered an early marriage?
- Do you have information about the legal age of marriage for girls? Do you see suitable? Why?

b. Temporal and community change in child marriage:

- In your opinion, have the trends and behaviors of the family towards the age suitable for marriage of their daughters has changed?
- Let's compare, for example, between the 1990s and now, has there been any change in community regarding the girl's marriage? Have the number of married women (under 18 years) increased, decreased or remained the same?
- Let's compare this issue during the last five years?

c. Reasons for child marriage:

- In your opinion, what are the common conditions/characteristics of the families that married their daughters under age of (18) years?
- In your opinion, are there certain characteristics/conditions for girls who are married under 18 years (mature body, poor educational attainment, suspicion of behavior, illegitimate relationship, very beautiful, etc.)?
- Is marriage of relatives deemed reason for child marriage?
- In your opinion, what are the characteristics of the efficient fiancé?

d. Family procedures and behavior in early marriage:

- In your opinion, has the girl under (18) years usually opinion in her marriage?
- If the girl refused, what is the reaction of the family?
- What do you do when a girl's age is less than the legal age? What are the applicable

procedures and behaviors?

- What about the teething certificate, is it acceptable at Shari'a court?
- What are the procedures applicable at Department of the Chief Justice when approving a marriage permit?
- What are the documents requested by Department of the Chief Justice to approve the marriage permit?
- What are the usually applicable procedures of marriage of girls under 18 years? Does the marriage official comes to the house, or they go to the court?
- Does the family face difficulty with the Shari'a court upon concluding the marriage contract of the girl under 18 years? What are these difficulties, if any, and how does the family overcome them?
- Is there difference in the treatment for the peers, if married at the legal age? (Dowry, place of residence, wedding ceremony, and concluding the marriage contract at the court)

Second axis: Expected Effects of Child Marriages (30 min):

- The positives and negatives of child marriage.
- Are there positives for girls' marriage under 18 years? Mention? Do you have evidences?
- Are there negatives for girls' marriage under 18 years? Mention? Do you have evidences?
- Is the child marriage is subject to divorce? Do you have evidences?

Third axis: Addressing the problem of child marriage and improving information and services (15 minutes)

- Are you familiar with programs of protection of girls in general? What is the source thereof, if any?
- Are you familiar with the laws and programs for early marriage? What is the source thereof, if any?
- How could the early married girls' access to education and development opportunities be improved? even after marriage?
- In your opinion, what could be done to improve programs, laws, and regulations to reduce the phenomenon of child marriage? What is the role of: school, family, community, judges, health centers and clergy?

Annex (4): Guide of Focus Discussion Groups
Guide of discussion with female school principals, teachers and guides at schools

First Axis: Opinions and Trends Minors' Marriage (30 min)

a. Prevailing culture about child marriage:

- According to your information, what is the appropriate age for girls' marriage in the Jordanian society?
- Do you have information about the legal age of girls' marriage? Do you see suitable? Why?

b. Temporal and social change in early marriage:

- In your opinion, have the trends and behaviors of the family towards the age suitable for marriage of their daughters has changed?
- Let's compare, for example, between the 1990s and now, has there been any change in community regarding the girl's marriage? Have the number of married women (under 18 years) increased, decreased or remained the same?
- Let's compare this issue during the last five years?

c. Reasons Child Marriage (sufficient importance and time should be allocated for this axis at the session):

- By exercising your work, how much is the phenomenon of female dropouts from the basic stage? What are the reasons for the dropout of female students from the basic stage? Do all female dropouts tend to the marriage?
- By exercising your work, who is the first decision maker regarding the girl's exit of the school, the girl herself, or the parents?
- By exercising your work, have you witnessed marriage cases for girls under 18 years? how much is the phenomenon in the school?
- By exercising your work, what are the families that allow their girls to marry under (18) years in terms of (parents' level of education, family size, work of father and mother, general economic status of the family, inability to afford tuition, parental relationship (divorce, Separation, death of a parent, or family problems)?
- By exercising your work, who are girls under 18 years that are tending to marriage (mature body, level of educational attainment, ability to continue the study; i.e. their ability to understand, suspicion of behavior, illegitimate relationship, very beautiful, their relationship with their female colleagues and their relationship with the school teaching staff)? Recording full statements from female participants in the meeting, and the subject

is given sufficient time.

- In your opinion, what are the characteristics of the fiancé? To whom does the family usually marry their daughters?

Second axis: Expected Effects of Early Marriage (30 min)

a. Positives and negatives of early marriage:

- In your opinion, are there positives for marriage of girls under 18 years? Mention.
- In your opinion, are there any negatives for marriage of girls under 18 years? Mention.

b. Child marriage and education:

- How are the fiancée being handled at school by teachers, female students, and management?
- In your opinion, what is the impact of the fiancée on their female colleagues at school? Is the early marriage is actually promoted among them?
- Do girls stay at school after marriage? Why?
- The figures indicate that girls continue their studies after marriage? In your opinion, is this true?
- What are services available at the school for the married girls, if any?

c. Cases of child marriage and mental health of girls

- In your opinion, do girls receive health information about the marital relationship and any psychological preparations for marriage? How? Why?
- In your opinion, what are the expectations of girls about to marry?
- In your opinion, are their expectations real? Why?
- How do girls deal with their different expectations about marriage? How do they adapt to the accomplished fact?

Third axis: Addressing the problem of child marriage and improving information and services (sufficient importance and time should be allocated for this axis at the session):

- In your opinion, how can you predict at the school level of cases that are ready to drop out of school? What are the possible means? What are school programs you propose to reduce girls' dropout?
- What is the current role of the school (class nursemaid, teacher, school principal) when the girl leaves school?
- What do you need to strengthen the current role of the school in reducing the drop out of

school?

- In your opinion, how can girls' access to education and development opportunities be improved, even after marriage?
- In your opinion, what can be done to propose or improve current programs, policies and laws to reduce girls' early marriage?
- In your opinion, what is the role of: family, society, judges, health centers, and clergy to reduce the phenomenon?
- In your opinion, what is the role of the school to reduce this phenomenon?
- A. Role of teachers B. Social Guide C. Curricula.

Annex (5): Guide of Focus Discussion Groups

Guide of interview with medical and health team (Women, motherhood and childhood, psychological)

First axis: opinions and trends towards the marriage of minors (30 minutes)

a. Prevailing culture about early marriage

- According to your medical information, what is the suitable age for the marriage of girls and boys in the Jordanian society? Are there studies determine this age?
- Through your work, is there early marriage (under 18 years) in the Jordanian society? Is it really a problem? What are the most prominent manifestations of this problem based upon your everyday practice?
- In your opinion, is there phenomenon of early marriage (under 15 years) in the Jordanian society?
- What is the age, at which the girl marriage can be considered early marriage? What is the age, at which the boy marriage can be considered an early marriage?
- Do you have information about the legal age of marriage for girls and boys? Do you see it suitable?

b. Temporary and social change in early marriage

- In your opinion, have the trends and behaviors of the family towards the age suitable for marriage of their daughters has changed?
- Let's compare, for example, between the 1990s and now, has there been any change in community regarding the girl's marriage? Have the number of married women (under 18 years) increased, decreased or remained the same?

Second axis: Expected Effects of child Marriages (30 min)

a. Positives and negatives of early marriage

- In your opinion, are there negatives for marriage of girls under (18) years in terms of health and psychological status? Mention?
- By practicing your work, have you experienced health damages faced by the early married girls after marriage and before pregnancy? Statements of doctors in this field and the frequency of types of health damage should be recorded in writing.
- Have you experienced health damages faced by the early married girls after pregnancy? Statements of doctors in this field and the frequency of types of health damage should be

recorded in writing.

- Have you experienced health damages faced by the early married girls during the childbirth? Statements of doctors in this field and the frequency of types of health damage should be recorded in writing.
- Have you experienced health damages faced by the early married girls after the childbirth? Statements of doctors in this field and the frequency of types of health damage should be recorded in writing.
- Have you experienced physiological damages faced by the early married girls before and after the marriage? Statements of doctors in this field and the frequency of types of physiological damage should be recorded in writing.
- Have you experienced problems with the birth of (children) of girls who are married early? What are these problems?
- Have you experienced cases of violence faced by the early married girls?

b. Child marriage and reproductive and psychological health services for early married girls:

- In your opinion, do the girls receive information about the sexual culture and private marital relationship before marriage? What is the source of information?
- How do girls deal with their different expectations about marriage? How do they adapt to the accomplished fact?

c. Early marriage and reproductive health (some questions can take more time with those related to the health sector)

- Does the fiancée have a sexual culture? Are there psychological preparations and medical information about the marital relationship?
- What problems can an early married girl face in the private marital relationship?
- Are reproductive health services available (contraception, examinations, awareness, ... etc.)? (Specify location).
- In cases of violence, to whom does the girl usually resort?
- Do you note that the early married girls have knowledge about the reproductive health (family planning methods, examinations, awareness,... etc.)? What is the level of this knowledge? How could they receive such knowledge?
- Have you noted the interest of the early married girls in the family planning methods? How could they receive the same? How could you assess this interest?

Third axis: Addressing the problem of child marriage and improving information and services (15 minutes)

- How can girls' access to health services and development opportunities be improved, even after marriage?
- In your opinion, what can be done in order to reduce the phenomenon of early marriage? What is the role of health centers in this area? How can it be developed in this area?

Annex (6): Relative and numbers distribution of cases of marriage for females at ages of 13 years and above, who have marriage under 18 years by the district and the year of marriage 2010-2015

Governorate/district	Year of marriage						Total	
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	%	Number
Capital	3,361	2,959	3,053	3,249	3,222	3,004	100	18848
Amman	20.7	22.1	19.2	20.1	21.3	19.4	20.5	3861
Marka	27.2	25.8	27.2	26.2	25.3	27.0	26.5	4988
Qweismeh	20.8	19.7	22.3	23.9	23.4	20.9	21.9	4123
Al Jamea	12.9	12.9	12.5	9.0	8.8	10.3	11.0	2080
Wadi Sir	6.6	5.9	5.3	6.4	6.1	4.8	5.9	1109
Sahab	5.4	6.9	6.5	7.7	7.4	9.0	7.1	1338
Giza	2.2	2.5	2.1	2.4	2.6	3.0	2.5	468
Umm al-Rasas	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1	20
Al-Muwaqqar	1.4	1.4	1.1	1.4	1.7	2.2	1.5	288
Rojm Al Shami	0.5	0.6	1.0	0.7	1.6	0.9	0.9	167
Naour	1.2	1.4	2.0	1.5	1.4	1.7	1.5	292
Um Al-Basateen	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.3	50
Hasban	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.1	0.2	0.5	0.3	64
Balqa	341	340	315	414	358	329	100.0	2097
Salt	9.7	10.9	14.6	6.8	7.5	8.8	9.5	200
Al Arad	0.9	2.4	2.2	1.2	0.0	0.3	1.1	24
Era & Yarka	4.4	3.2	1.9	1.9	2.2	2.1	2.6	55
Ira and Hiraka	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.6	2.4	0.6	12
South Shouna	17.3	12.1	14.9	15.2	15.9	14.3	15.0	314
Deir Ala	10.3	14.7	14.9	15.9	17.0	12.2	14.3	299
Ain Al-Basha	53.7	55.0	49.2	54.8	53.4	55.6	53.7	1126
Maous and Fheis	3.5	1.5	2.2	4.1	3.4	4.3	3.2	67
Al Zaraqa	1595	1549	1669	1610	1792	1508	100.0	9723
Al Zaraqa	40.9	39.5	37.0	35.7	41.5	36.3	38.5	3746
Périn district	2.7	4.0	2.6	4.2	3.6	2.6	3.3	320
Al Dhalil	3.9	5.8	8.1	6.3	8.1	10.1	7.1	686
Al Zaraqa	7.1	7.4	6.9	9.4	6.6	7.1	7.4	720
Rsaifeh	38.5	36.8	38.6	39.2	33.9	38.1	37.5	3642
Hashemiya	6.8	6.5	6.8	5.2	6.3	5.9	6.3	609
Madaba	134	104	148	126	149	115	100.0	776
Madaba	82.1	80.8	83.1	80.2	81.2	81.7	81.6	633

Governorate/district	Year of marriage						Total	
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	%	Number
Jarenah	3.0	1.0	4.1	1.6	2.0	1.7	2.3	18
Maen	4.5	3.8	6.8	4.8	2.7	7.0	4.9	38
Faisaliah	1.5	1.9	1.4	2.4	1.3	0.9	1.5	12
Deeban	5.2	2.9	0.7	5.6	4.0	2.6	3.5	27
Al Areed	0.0	2.9	0.7	0.0	2.0	1.7	1.2	9
Molaih	3.7	6.7	3.4	5.6	6.7	4.3	5.0	39
Irbid	2076	1896	1999	2176	2428	1980	100.0	12555
Irbid	40.9	43.1	39.0	39.6	41.4	41.3	40.9	5,131
Ramtha	27.7	26.8	24.2	25.6	25.9	23.8	25.7	3,227
Koura	5.2	5.1	5.5	6.8	8.2	5.7	6.2	774
Bani Kenana	4.0	5.0	5.4	5.1	4.6	5.3	4.9	614
Northern Valley	5.0	5.1	6.4	4.8	5.4	5.1	5.3	664
Bani Ubaid	10.6	8.6	12.9	12.0	8.0	11.6	10.6	1,327
Mazar Shamali	2.8	2.0	3.0	2.2	2.1	2.9	2.5	313
Taybah	2.5	2.4	2.1	2.2	1.8	2.5	2.2	280
Al-Wasateyah	1.1	2.0	1.7	1.6	2.6	1.8	1.8	225
Mafrq	809	720	832	1171	1285	1061	100.0	5878
Mafrq	16.7	15.1	16.2	15.5	14.6	13.8	15.2	894
Balmaa	7.0	7.9	6.1	4.5	3.7	6.2	5.6	331
Arhab	2.2	2.6	2.4	1.9	2.6	1.8	2.2	132
Mansheya	2.5	0.8	2.0	1.4	1.6	0.8	1.5	88
Salhiya	4.2	3.6	4.0	2.1	4.2	4.7	3.8	222
Sobha	1.5	1.8	2.2	1.8	1.6	1.4	1.7	100
Um Al Jamal	3.1	4.6	2.6	3.2	3.5	1.8	3.1	181
Monastery of the Cave	0.4	1.1	1.0	0.2	0.8	1.0	0.7	42
Um Al Kateem	1.6	1.3	1.6	1.5	0.9	1.0	1.3	74
North West Badia	49.2	48.2	48.1	55.3	56.0	55.6	52.8	3,102
Sama Al Sarhan	2.1	4.7	3.1	3.7	2.6	3.8	3.3	194
Hosha	2.3	2.6	2.9	3.6	3.0	2.5	2.9	169
Khalidiya	4.8	4.3	6.4	3.2	4.3	4.6	4.5	265
Al-Ruwaished	2.3	1.3	1.4	2.1	0.7	0.9	1.4	84
Jerash	161	181	212	207	268	188	100.0	1217
Jerash	85.1	90.6	86.3	84.1	82.8	88.8	74.8	1,047
Al-Mastaba	10.6	4.4	7.1	7.7	12.7	7.4	15.5	104
Parma	4.3	5.0	6.6	8.2	4.5	3.7	9.7	66
Ajloun	106	104	105	131	135	136	100.0	717

Governorate/district	Year of marriage						Total	
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	%	Number
Ajloun	32.1	36.5	29.5	48.1	39.3	39.7	38.1	273
Sakhras	37.7	28.8	36.2	22.9	30.4	27.9	30.3	217
Arjan	5.7	9.6	12.4	9.9	3.7	9.6	8.4	60
Kfrnga	24.5	25.0	21.9	19.1	26.7	22.8	23.3	167
Karak	127	150	167	156	151	119	100.0	870
Karak	26.0	32.7	28.7	30.1	23.8	23.5	27.7	241
Mazar Janoubi	26.8	20.7	25.7	30.8	25.8	34.5	27.1	236
Moab	7.9	8.7	0.0	2.6	4.6	0.0	3.9	34
Al -Qasr	0.0	4.7	7.2	9.0	4.6	5.0	5.3	46
Al Mojeb	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.0	2.6	2.5	1.1	10
Gore Safi	18.1	14.0	13.8	12.2	11.9	11.8	13.6	118
Gore farm	13.4	6.7	15.0	9.0	14.6	12.6	11.8	103
Aay	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.6	1.3	0.0	0.7	6
Fakoua'	6.3	2.7	3.0	0.0	4.0	5.0	3.3	29
Qatraneh	0.8	9.3	4.2	5.8	6.6	5.0	5.4	47
Tafileh	26	17	41	45	42	46	100.0	217
Tafileh	50.0	70.6	56.1	48.9	50.0	69.6	56.7	123
Basera	30.8	23.5	34.1	44.4	35.7	21.7	32.7	71
Al Hasa	19.2	5.9	9.8	6.7	14.3	8.7	10.6	23
Maan	62	45	70	89	108	60	100.0	434
Maan	9.1	8.7	9.4	14.9	14.9	55.0	13.5	25
Ayel	1.7	0.0	2.2	0.9	2.6	3.3	1.6	26
Jafar	1.7	2.2	2.2	1.5	0.9	3.3	1.7	23
Marigha	0.8	0.9	2.2	0.9	2.0	3.3	1.5	12
Azrah	1.7	0.4	0.9	0.0	0.9	1.7	0.8	68
Petra	5.8	1.7	2.2	3.3	6.1	18.3	4.5	44
Shobak	2.9	2.6	2.2	1.8	3.2	11.7	2.9	30
Husseiniya	2.1	3.1	0.6	3.3	0.9	3.3	2.0	25
Aqaba	113	116	162	159	138	100	100.0	788
Aqaba	85.8	92.2	77.2	75.5	74.6	77.0	79.8	629
Wadi Araba	8.0	1.7	6.8	10.7	8.0	11.0	7.7	61
Al-Qweira	2.7	4.3	14.8	13.2	16.7	10.0	10.9	76
Al-Daisa	3.5	1.7	1.2	0.6	0.7	2.0	1.5	10

Annex (7): Relative distribution of cases of marriage of Jordanian females , who are 13 years and above at age of 18 years by district and year of marriage 2010-2015

Governorate/district	Year of marriage						Total
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	
Capital	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Amman	20.7	21.4	19.4	20.2	19.6	18.8	20.1
Marka	28.8	28.2	28.1	26.9	27.1	28.1	27.9
Qweismeh	26.9	27.6	29.5	31.9	28.3	27.5	28.6
Al Jamea	5.2	4.6	4.6	3.1	4.4	4.7	4.4
Wadi Sir	4.2	4.0	3.2	3.3	3.9	4.0	3.8
Sahab	6.2	6.4	7.1	5.7	7.7	7.7	6.8
Giza	3.0	2.7	2.1	3.0	2.7	2.2	2.6
Umm al-Rasas	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.2
Al-Muwaqqar	1.3	1.1	1.5	1.3	1.5	1.6	1.4
Rojm Al Shami	0.7	1.0	1.3	1.3	1.9	1.4	1.3
Naour	1.4	1.1	1.9	2.4	2.3	2.7	1.9
Um Al-Basateen	0.8	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.4
Hasban	0.5	0.8	0.9	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.5
Balqa	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Salt	7.9	6.1	7.5	5.0	6.6	6.0	6.5
Al Arad	1.3	1.3	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.6
Era & Yarka	3.1	3.5	2.6	2.3	1.5	2.0	2.5
Ira and Hiraka	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.7	1.0	0.4
South Shouna	19.7	14.4	17.6	15.8	17.0	16.5	16.8
Deir Ala	9.2	19.7	19.4	20.0	18.5	16.5	17.3
Ain Al-Basha	55.5	53.7	51.1	56.2	54.2	56.0	54.4
Maous and Fheis	3.1	0.9	0.9	0.8	1.5	1.5	1.4
Al Zaraqa	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Al Zaraqa	45.2	41.9	40.7	40.0	44.2	40.2	42.1
Périn district	4.9	7.2	5.0	6.6	5.4	4.8	5.7
Al Dhalil	3.1	3.4	4.3	3.9	4.3	4.8	4.0
Al Zaraqa	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.5
Rsaifeh	37.6	40.0	40.1	43.4	37.6	42.1	40.1
Hashemiya	8.7	7.0	9.0	5.6	8.1	7.6	7.7
Madaba	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Madaba	77.3	77.4	74.0	73.3	70.8	80.7	75.5
Jarenah	6.1	1.6	3.9	3.3	3.4	2.4	3.4

Governorate/district	Year of marriage						Total
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	
Maen	9.1	6.5	13.0	10.0	4.5	9.6	8.7
Faisaliah	0.0	3.2	2.6	1.7	2.2	1.2	1.8
Deeban	4.5	1.6	1.3	5.0	6.7	3.6	3.9
Al Areed	0.0	1.6	1.3	0.0	3.4	0.0	1.1
Molaih	3.0	8.1	3.9	6.7	9.0	2.4	5.5
Irbid	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Irbid	33.6	33.9	31.2	33.5	33.3	33.6	33.2
Ramtha	31.1	32.8	29.4	30.4	29.3	26.6	29.9
Koura	6.0	4.8	5.1	6.9	7.7	6.5	6.2
Bani Kenana	6.2	7.0	5.7	5.1	6.1	6.7	6.1
Northern Valley	11.5	10.4	12.9	10.1	11.2	11.7	11.3
Bani Ubaid	5.5	4.4	7.3	7.2	6.3	6.9	6.3
Mazar Shamali	3.1	2.2	3.1	2.6	1.7	3.7	2.7
Taybah	2.4	3.1	3.6	3.0	2.3	2.6	2.8
Al-Wasateyah	0.7	1.3	1.7	1.1	2.0	1.7	1.4
Mafrq	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mafrq	17.1	14.8	13.1	13.2	15.3	15.9	14.9
Balmaa	20.8	23.2	20.1	16.8	15.3	21.2	19.4
Arhab	4.6	6.4	5.0	5.0	4.8	4.9	5.1
Mansheya	0.9	0.0	2.5	1.8	1.6	0.9	1.3
Salhiya	12.0	10.8	9.5	8.6	11.7	12.8	11.0
Sobha	2.8	2.0	3.0	1.8	2.8	3.1	2.6
Um Al Jamal	4.2	6.4	7.0	6.4	8.9	4.9	6.3
Monastery of the Cave	0.5	2.0	3.0	0.9	3.2	3.1	2.1
Um Al Kateem	4.2	3.4	4.5	5.0	3.6	3.1	4.0
North West Badia	12.0	8.9	6.5	6.8	12.5	6.6	9.0
Sama Al Sarhan	1.4	5.9	5.5	5.9	4.0	7.1	5.0
Hosha	2.3	3.9	7.0	11.8	4.8	4.0	5.6
Khalidiya	8.3	8.9	9.0	8.6	10.1	9.7	9.1
Al-Ruwaished	8.8	3.4	4.0	7.3	1.2	2.7	4.5
Jerash	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Jerash	77.0	80.5	71.3	73.1	70.9	79.3	74.8
Al-Mastaba	16.0	8.5	14.9	13.9	20.9	15.2	15.5
Parma	7.0	11.0	13.9	13.0	8.1	5.4	9.7
Ajloun	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Governorate/district	Year of marriage						Total
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	
Ajloun	31.7	55.0	31.9	54.4	38.5	46.9	44.0
Sakhrayh	23.3	11.7	14.9	13.9	23.1	14.8	17.0
Arjan	5.0	8.3	19.1	8.9	6.4	13.6	9.9
Kfrnga	40.0	25.0	34.0	22.8	32.1	24.7	29.1
Karak	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Karak	26.3	24.2	26.7	21.9	24.4	21.5	24.3
Mazar Janoubi	18.8	16.7	16.3	26.0	10.5	24.1	18.5
Moab	3.8	3.0	0.0	5.5	2.3	0.0	2.3
Al -Qasr	0.0	7.6	7.0	4.1	8.1	7.6	5.7
Al Mojeb	1.3	1.5	1.2	0.0	4.7	3.8	2.1
Gore Safi	28.8	28.8	16.3	17.8	16.3	11.4	19.6
Gore farm	17.5	9.1	26.7	19.2	24.4	19.0	19.8
Aay	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	2.3	0.0	0.6
Fakoua'	2.5	6.1	2.3	0.0	3.5	5.1	3.2
Qatraneh	1.3	3.0	3.5	4.1	3.5	7.6	3.8
Tafileh	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Tafileh	50.0	66.7	54.3	51.3	48.5	61.3	54.3
Basera	27.3	26.7	34.3	41.0	39.4	32.3	34.9
Al Hasa	22.7	6.7	11.4	7.7	12.1	6.5	10.9
Maan	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Maan	35.6	46.4	46.2	46.2	54.4	46.7	46.2
Ayel	4.4	0.0	12.8	4.6	5.3	6.7	5.7
Jafar	8.9	17.9	17.9	7.7	5.3	6.7	9.8
Marigha	4.4	0.0	7.7	4.6	8.8	6.7	5.7
Azrah	8.9	3.6	7.7	0.0	5.3	3.3	4.5
Petra	22.2	7.1	2.6	13.8	15.8	16.7	13.6
Shobak	4.4	0.0	0.0	6.2	0.0	6.7	3.0
Husseiniya	11.1	25.0	5.1	16.9	5.3	6.7	11.4
Aqaba	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Aqaba	89.6	95.4	82.1	86.2	88.0	85.0	87.3
Wadi Araba	3.0	0.0	3.2	2.3	3.3	1.7	2.4
Al-Qweira	4.5	1.5	12.6	10.3	7.6	10.0	8.2
Al-Daisa	3.0	3.1	2.1	1.1	1.1	3.3	2.1

Annex (8): Relative distribution of cases of marriage of Syrian females at age of 13 years and above at age of 18 years by district and year of marriage 2010-2015






Governorate/district	Year of Marriage						Total
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	
Capital	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.100
Amman	19.1	22.3	19.1	18.3	20.2	17.7	19.4
Marka	25.2	23.5	25.6	25.0	25.9	24.2	24.9
Qweismeh	15.8	12.2	11.5	13.2	16.6	14.0	14.0
Al Jamea	20.2	20.3	20.6	14.6	13.3	16.9	17.5
Wadi Sir	10.0	9.0	9.7	10.9	9.0	6.4	9.1
Sahab	4.5	7.3	6.7	11.5	7.9	11.6	8.3
Giza	1.8	2.7	2.2	2.6	2.7	3.8	2.7
Umm al-Rasas	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Al-Muwaqqar	1.4	0.0	1.2	2.1	2.6	3.5	1.8
Rojm Al Shami	0.3	0.3	1.1	0.3	1.2	0.6	0.6
Naour	0.9	2.4	2.0	0.9	0.6	1.3	1.3
Um Al-Basateen	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.2
Hasban	0.3	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Balqa	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Salt	21.1	18.4	38.8	12.5	13.2	14.3	18.4
Al Arad	0.0	5.1	0.0	4.5	0.0	0.0	1.9
Era & Yarka	14.0	3.1	0.0	1.8	0.0	2.5	3.1
Ira and Hiraka	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	1.2
South Shouna	7.0	7.1	9.0	18.8	10.3	8.4	10.6
Deir Ala	8.8	2.0	0.0	8.0	16.2	5.9	6.5
Ain Al-Basha	43.9	61.2	49.3	44.6	51.5	56.3	51.8
Maous and Fheis	5.3	3.1	3.0	9.8	8.8	7.6	6.5
Al Zaraqa	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Al Zaraqa	42.1	43.8	40.6	32.4	40.6	33.7	38.9
Périn district	0.6	0.8	0.0	2.2	2.4	0.6	1.2
Al Dhalil	7.3	12.8	15.7	13.2	16.0	20.4	14.3
Al Zaraqa	20.5	23.2	22.8	28.9	17.3	19.5	21.8
Rsaifeh	22.2	11.2	14.6	16.3	17.8	21.2	17.4
Hashemiya	7.3	8.2	6.3	7.1	5.9	4.7	6.5
Madaba	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Madaba	85.0	83.3	91.5	85.2	96.6	83.9	88.2
Jarenah	0.0	0.0	5.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0

Governorate/district	Year of Marriage						Total
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	
Maen	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Faisaliah	3.3	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.0	0.0	1.3
Deeban	6.7	5.6	0.0	6.6	0.0	0.0	3.3
Al Areed	0.0	5.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.5	1.3
Molaih	5.0	5.6	3.4	4.9	3.4	9.7	4.9
Irbid	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Irbid	44.2	48.7	43.4	44.7	46.2	45.8	45.5
Ramtha	26.5	23.4	19.6	22.0	24.2	22.5	23.1
Koura	4.9	5.0	6.2	7.1	8.6	5.3	6.2
Bani Kenana	2.4	3.3	5.4	5.4	3.5	4.5	4.1
Northern Valley	0.0	1.0	1.4	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.6
Bani Ubaid	15.0	12.5	18.2	14.9	9.7	14.6	14.0
Mazar Shamali	2.8	1.9	3.1	1.9	2.7	2.5	2.5
Taybah	2.7	1.5	1.0	1.6	1.4	2.5	1.8
Al-Wasateyah	1.4	2.6	1.7	2.1	3.1	1.8	2.1
Mafrq	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mafrq	16.2	14.9	17.2	15.2	14.3	12.9	14.9
Balmaa	1.4	2.0	1.8	1.7	0.9	2.2	1.6
Arhab	1.4	1.2	1.6	1.2	2.1	1.0	1.5
Mansheya	3.2	1.2	1.9	1.3	1.6	0.8	1.6
Salhiya	1.4	0.8	2.3	0.7	2.4	2.5	1.7
Sobha	1.1	1.8	1.9	1.2	1.4	1.0	1.3
Um Al Jamal	2.1	4.0	1.3	2.2	2.2	1.0	2.0
Monastery of the Cave	0.4	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.5	0.3
Um Al Kateem	0.7	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.2	0.5	0.5
North West Badia	65.1	64.2	62.7	68.1	66.9	69.4	66.5
Sama Al Sarhan	2.5	4.4	2.4	3.3	2.3	2.9	2.9
Hosha	2.5	2.2	1.6	1.7	2.6	2.1	2.1
Khalidiya	2.1	2.0	3.6	1.7	2.3	2.9	2.4
Al-Ruwaished	0.0	0.4	0.6	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.5
Jerash	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Jerash	93.8	95.8	100.0	97.2	94.5	92.9	95.9
Al-Mastaba	6.2	4.2	0.0	2.8	5.5	0.0	3.1
Parma	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.1	1.0
Ajloun	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Ajloun	32.6	11.4	27.6	38.5	40.4	32.7	31.0

Governorate/district	Year of Marriage						Total
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	
Sakhrah	56.5	52.2	53.4	36.5	40.4	44.9	47.1
Arjan	6.5	11.4	6.9	11.5	0.0	4.1	6.5
Kfrnga	4.2	25.0	12.1	13.5	19.2	18.3	15.4
Karak	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Karak	28.2	40.5	39.7	35.6	27.8	23.7	33.9
Mazar Janoubi	38.5	20.3	50.0	39.7	46.3	57.9	40.2
Moab	17.9	14.9	0.0	0.0	9.3	0.0	6.8
Al -Qasr	0.0	2.7	0.0	8.2	0.0	0.0	2.4
Al Mojob	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Gore Safi	0.0	2.7	5.2	8.2	7.4	13.2	6.0
Gore farm	0.0	2.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6
Aay	15.4	0.0	5.2	0.0	5.6	5.3	4.2
Fakoua'	0.0	16.2	0.0	8.2	3.7	0.0	6.0
Qatraneh	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Tafileh	50.0	100.0	50.0	100.0	55.6	80.0	67.7
Tafileh	50.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	22.2	0.0	19.4
Basera	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	22.2	20.0	12.9
Al Hasa	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Maan	35.3	46.7	42.9	78.9	39.2	63.3	49.4
Maan	11.8	0.0	7.1	0.0	11.8	0.0	6.3
Ayel	0.0	13.3	14.3	0.0	3.9	0.0	5.0
Jafar	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Marigha	23.5	13.3	10.7	10.5	23.5	20.0	18.1
Azrah	29.4	26.7	25.0	10.5	21.6	16.7	21.3
Petra	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Shobak	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Husseiniya	69.0	72.7	42.9	45.5	29.4	52.0	49.7
Aqaba	24.1	9.1	22.9	31.8	23.5	40.0	25.9
Aqaba	0.0	18.2	34.3	22.7	47.1	8.0	23.3
Wadi Araba	6.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1



Amman - Madena Monawara Street
Faeg Haddaden Street, Building No. 13
Tel: 00962 6 5560741
Fax: 00962 6 5519210
P.O.Box 5118 Amman 11183 Jordan
www.hpc.org.jo

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