T.C.
ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

THE IMPACT OF INGOS ON ECONOMIC SECURITY OF SYRIAN REFUGEE WOMEN IN JORDAN FROM (2016-2023) WITH REFEERNCE TO FEMINISIM

MASTER'S THESIS

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Department of Political Science and International Relations
Political Science and International Relations Program

JULY 2024

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THESIS EXAM REPORT

Istanbul Aydın University Institute of Graduate Studies Board of Directors Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Filiz KATMAN, Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Tuğçe KAFDAĞLI KORU, and Prof. Dr. Şakir DİNÇŞAHİN date and Ala' ALSHADFAN, student number Y2112.110027 of the Department of Political Science and International Relations, Political Science and International Relations English Thesis Master's Program The thesis of The Imapct of INGOs on Economic Security of Syrian Refugee Women in Jordan from (2016-2023) with Reference on Feminism, whose thesis defense exam was held on 14/08/202 before the jury members formed at the meeting no. 2024/13 room number B402……. .* and in the presence of us jury members, for 60 minutes in accordance with the relevant regulation, and as a result, the candidate's thesis was unanimously * accepted ** decision was made.

JURY

1st Member (Thesis Advisor)	: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Filiz KATMAN
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APPROVAL

Istanbul Aydin University Institute of Graduate Studies Board of Directors

…….. date and ……. decision no.

(*) Unanimity/Majority vote will be written in writing.
(**) Acceptance decision will be written in writing.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare with respect that the study "The impact on INGOs on the economic security of Syrian refugee women in Jordan from (2016-2023)- with reference to feminism," which I submitted as a master thesis, is written without any assistance in violation of scientific ethics and traditions in all the processes from the project phase to the conclusion of the thesis, and that the works from which I have benefited are those shown in the bibliography. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results, which are not original of this thesis (14/07/2024)

Ala Walıd Saleh ALSHADFAN

FOREWORD

My journey continues of learning and gaining new experiences, each contributing to the achievement of our goals. I'd like to say that even though my life hasn't been easy, it's worth every bit of struggle and effort. Firstly, I express my profound gratitude to God for granting me the energy, strength, and patience to successfully complete this significant phase of my life.

I am deeply thankful to my beloved family, especially my parents, for their unwavering material and spiritual support. Their constant encouragement has been a cornerstone in my pursuit of dreams.

I extend my heartfelt thanks to my esteemed advisor, Assist. Prof. Dr. Filiz Katman, whose guidance and confidence in my abilities have been invaluable throughout this process. Her dedication and unwavering support are truly commendable. Beyond her professional expertise, she is a kind-hearted individual, and I feel fortunate to have had her as my advisor.

Lastly, I wish to express my gratitude to Istanbul Aydin University for illuminating the paths of its students. The University has significantly enriched my academic journey, equipping me with the tools to face new challenges and advance my aspirations.

July 2024 Ala' Walid ALSHADFAN

THE IMPACT OF INGOS ON ECONOMIC SECURITY OF SYRIAN REFUGEE WOMEN IN JORDANFROM (2016-2023) WITH REFEERNCE TO FEMINISIM

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the impact of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) on the economic security of Syrian refugee women in Jordan from 2016 to 2023, framed within the context of feminist theory. The study systematically investigates how INGOs' programs and interventions have addressed the multifaceted economic challenges faced by Syrian refugee women, with particular attention to access to employment, vocational training, and financial support mechanisms.

Utilizing a feminist theoretical framework, this research examines the intersectionality of gender, displacement, and economic insecurity, offering a comprehensive analysis of how these factors influence the lived experiences and economic empowerment of Syrian refugee women in Jordan. The study critically assesses the effectiveness of INGO initiatives in fostering economic independence and resilience among this population, considering the broader socio-cultural, regulations, policies, and laws in Jordan, including barriers related to labor market access and social norms.

The findings aim to contribute to policy discussions and improve the design and implementation of INGO programs to better support the economic needs and rights of refugee women in Jordan. By addressing the economic needs and rights of Syrian refugee women, the study seeks to inform future strategies for promoting sustainable economic development and gender equality in refugee contexts.

Keywords: Ingos, Refugges, Femenısım, Economıc Securıty, Temporary Protectıon Regıme, Gender, Syrıan Refugee Women, Jordan.

FEMİNİZM AÇISINDAN INGOS'UN ÜRDÜN'DEKİ SURİYELİ MÜLTECİ KADINLARIN EKONOMİK GÜVENLİĞİ ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİSİ (2016-2023)

ÖZET

Bu tez, uluslararası sivil toplum kuruluşlarının (INGO'lar) 2016'dan 2023'e kadar Ürdün'deki Suriyeli mülteci kadınların ekonomik güvenliği üzerindeki etkisini feminist teori bağlamında incelemektedir. Çalışma, INGO'ların program ve müdahalelerinin, istihdama, mesleki eğitime ve mali destek mekanizmalarına erişime özellikle dikkat ederek, Suriyeli mülteci kadınların karşılaştığı çok yönlü ekonomik zorlukları nasıl ele aldığını sistematik olarak araştırıyor.

Feminist bir teorik çerçeve kullanan bu araştırma, cinsiyet, yerinden edilme ve ekonomik güvensizliğin kesişimselliğini inceliyor ve bu faktörlerin Ürdün'deki Suriyeli mülteci kadınların yaşanmış deneyimlerini ve ekonomik güçlenmelerini nasıl etkilediğine dair kapsamlı bir analiz sunuyor. Çalışma, işgücü piyasasına erişim ve sosyal normlarla ilgili engeller de dahil olmak üzere Ürdün'deki daha geniş sosyo-kültürel, düzenlemeler, politikalar ve yasaları göz önünde bulundurarak INGO girişimlerinin bu nüfus arasında ekonomik bağımsızlığı ve dayanıklılığı artırmadaki etkinliğini eleştirel bir şekilde değerlendiriyor.

Bulgular, Ürdün'deki mülteci kadınların ekonomik ihtiyaçlarını ve haklarını daha iyi desteklemek için politika tartışmalarına katkıda bulunmayı ve INGO programlarının tasarımını ve uygulamasını geliştirmeyi amaçlıyor. Çalışma, Suriyeli mülteci kadınların ekonomik ihtiyaçlarını ve haklarını ele alarak, mülteci bağlamında sürdürülebilir ekonomik kalkınmayı ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini teşvik etmeye yönelik gelecekteki stratejiler hakkında bilgi vermeyi amaçlıyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ingos, Refugges, Femenısım, Economıc Securıty, Temporary Protectıon Regıme, Gender, Syrıan Refugee Women, Jordan.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AWID **:** Association for Women's Rights in Development

CEDAW **:** Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women

INGOs **:** International Non-governmental Organizations

PDPA **:**Personal Data Protection Act

SDGs **:** Sustainable Development Goals

UK **:** United Kingdom

UN **:** United Nations

UNICEF **:** United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

UNSC **:** United Nations Security Council

UNDP **:** United Nations Development Programme

UNSG **:** United Nations Secretary-General

UNIFEM **:** United Nations Development Fund for Women

USAID **:** United States Agency for International Development

NRC **:** Norwegian Refugee Council

IRC **:** International Rescue Committee

UNHCR **:** United Nations High commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF **:** The United Nations Children fund

DRC **:** Refugee Council

CARE **:** Cooperative for assistance and relief everywhere

ACTED **:** Agency for technical cooperation and development

MSF **:** Doctors Without Borders

UNDP **:** United Nations Development Program

UNRWA **:** United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

WASH **:** Water Sanitation and Hygiene

MENA **:** Middle East and North Africa countries

NFIs **:** Non-food items

ROO **:** Rules of Origin

IDPs **:** Internally Displaced Persons

I. INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH OUTLINE

This section will discuss the study's background, significance, methodology, theoretical framework, and objectives based on Syrian women's Economical security representation in Jordan.

A. Research Statement

Ever since the Syrian crisis started in 2011, the International non-governmental organizations (INGOs) work expanded in the Middle East, especially in Jordan. This expansion caused an impact on the economic security structure of the Syrian refugee community, this change of structure and fundamental roles and rights within the community must be studied and addressed to assess the advantages and disadvantages on both the refugee community and the hosting community in Jordan and the future consequences of that impact.

Since earliest times, the idea of humanitarian community aid was suggested and developed over time through many ideas and forms. For example, in the 17th century the political economist Adam Smith (Gratton, 2011) wrote about being specialized in certain sector can increase the productivity of a person enormously. He focused on investing in developing talents and skills from people in order to use them in an organized manner or what later (20th century) grew to become main educational and development programs in INGOS. As the author Linda Gratton (Gratton, 2011) clarifies that the transition in 18th and 19th centuries for work and job types of direction from agricultural and urban to industrial and organizational which firstly appeared as factories then companies and finally non-profit organizations.

Later, in the 20th century and after World War II ended, the United Nations (UN) was created, specifically in 1945, containing more than 51 countries, to maintain international peace and international law (Anon., 2015). After that, non-governmental organizations became legit and grew into international response to provide humanitarian aid to the needy. Examples of INGOS are OXFAM,

Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), International Rescue Committee(IRC), United Nations High commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), The United Nations Children fund (UNICEF), Danish Refugee Council (DRC), PLAN INTERNATIONAL, Cooperative for assistance and relief everywhere (CARE) , Agency for technical cooperation and development (ACTED), DOCTORS WITHOUT BORDERS, United Nations Development Program (UNDP), United Nations Relief and Works Agency For Palestine Refugees in the Near East(UNRWA).

Many of the recent studies and articles during the period of 2016-2023 have highlighted the effect of the high number of refugees using Jordan as a refuge land, on Jordan economically and politically. As Jordan's geographic location is considered of high importance and being extremely delicate due to the many well-known conflicts in its neighboring countries, and natural resources attracting reason of state conflicts at its surroundings.

The main event that affected the Jordanian economic security and labor market is the large influx of Syrian refugees to Jordan when the Syrian crisis started in 2011 as the authors Belal Fallah[a], Caroline Krafft[b], and Jackline Wahba[c] state in the article "The impact of refugees on employment and wages in Jordan" (Belal Fallah, 2019). Katharina Lenner and Lewis Turner took us back to when it all started, when the effect of the Syrian influx to Jordan started showing, which is after 2014 as work permits to Syrians were authorized by the Jordanian government, and by this authorization and merge of Syrians to the labor market, out show Jordan as the main player for the humanitarian aid drifting from emergency response to development response up till this day, and of which Jordan and the humanitarian and international communities are trying to solve to sustain the economic security of Jordan. Other main event affecting Jordan's economic situations is COVID-19 in 2020, which had caused another setback in the economic growth for Jordan (Badarin, 2017).

The Syrian civil war stands as one of the most severe humanitarian crises in recent history, leading to the displacement of over 5 million refugees into neighboring countries, including Lebanon, Turkey, Iraq, and Jordan, a significant portion being individuals with education beyond the secondary level (UNHCR, 2020). While returning to education becomes a pivotal avenue for young refugees to reconstruct their lives in foreign lands, there exists a noticeable research gap with a particular emphasis on refugees, gender dynamics, and higher education.

Despite the magnitude of the crisis, scant attention has been directed towards comprehensive research on the experiences of refugees, especially young female refugees, navigating the complexities of gender norms within the context of higher education in displacement settings. The current body of literature lacks an in-depth exploration of the challenges confronted by young female Syrians in their pursuit of higher education opportunities provided for refugees in Jordan during the period from 2016 to 2023.

To address this notable gap, this thesis on "The Impact of INGOs on Economic Security of Syrian Refugee Women in Jordan from 2016-2023 with Reference to Feminism" aims to shed light on the multifaceted challenges faced by female Syrian refugees. By employing empirical qualitative research methodologies and drawing on existing scholarship related to gender, feminism, economy, and education in postcolonial and refugee contexts, this study seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding of how these women negotiate gender norms in their pursuit of economic security within the exile context in Jordan. This research is essential for filling the existing void in the literature and contributing to a more nuanced comprehension of the intersectionality of gender, displacement, and education, and different struggles in the lives of Syrian refugee women in Jordan.

"Turkey is the most affected country by the humanitarian crisis in Syria since 2011. About 8 million Syrians had to leave their homes and Turkey accepted over 3 million Syrian refugees. The Syrian refugees have social, political and economic effects. The most important economic impact of the Syrian refugees. In this study, the macroeconomic impacts of Syrian refugees in Turkey were examined. The macroeconomic indicators of the 13 provinces receiving the highest number of immigrants and the 13 provinces receiving the least number of immigrants were examined between 2011-2017. The results show that while Syrian migrants have a positive effect in industry and services sector, this effect has been negative in agriculture sector" (Sezgin, 2019).

"The influx of refugees has caused an increase in demand in all cities that has led to increases in rental prices and in the cost of living. Finding affordable accommodation has become increasingly difficult for renters. In some instances, landlords forced Turkish tenants to leave so they could rent to Syrians at higher prices. Also, the general perception in Turkish border cities is that Syrians are

stealing jobs from local people. Moreover, the financial cost of the upkeep of the refugee camps has had a strong, negative impact on the public's perception, triggering social tension or disturbances against the refugees in several local communities.

Despite these negative aspects, there are some positive effects of the Syrian presence. The living expenses Syrians pay and the cheap labor they provide cannot be ignored. Though the international community provides some humanitarian aid, much of the aid is supplied by local firms. This situation creates economic opportunities, especially in textiles and agriculture. Furthermore, among the Syrian refugees are business owners and investors, some of whom, mainly from Aleppo, have strong networks and relationships within the Middle East that have helped facilitate the distribution of Turkish products in the region" (Donelli, 2018).

"Like the vast majority of the Syrian people, women have been systematically marginalized and impoverished by the Syrian regime, which has deprived them of their political, social, economic, and legal rights. For the past five decades, the regime has worked to distort women's status, perpetuate their exclusion, impoverish them, and spread negative gender stereotypes about them – such as women being inherently vulnerable or weak. This has been done using customs and traditions, as well as economic policies and discriminatory laws. " (Hijazi, 2022).

"The war and the subsequent deterioration of Syria's social and economic conditions presented new and compounding challenges for women. Now, Syrian women had to secure the necessities of life under severe conditions and assume – in a manner entirely new to the traditional Syrian society – economic responsibilities in place of the male breadwinner, who in many cases was either absent or suffering from a physical disability due to the conflict. This was especially the case in the northwestern regions outside the Syrian regime's control. In response to this new reality in those areas, and in light of the absence of state institutions, CSOs attempted to fill the void by providing services and job opportunities, albeit with a little degree of success. Thus, these programs entrenched traditional gender roles, coming from a narrow patriarchal perspective that still views women as extensions of families and not as independent citizens with rights and entitlements that must be achieved and preserved within and outside these family systems" (Hijazi, 2022).

"Accordingly, the real problem, on the one hand, lies in not valuing the roles and the societal view of women as inferior so that they remain outside the indicators of economic growth. On the other hand, these projects did not notice the multiple roles and the increasing burdens that fell on women, as they did not consider changing the existing economic structures, but rather the inclusion of women in the labor market without addressing their conditions, and the challenges they face" (Hijazi, 2022)

B. Timeframe of the Study

The Economic Security of Syrian Refugee women in the MENA region has been affected by the major events and crises happening among its countries in the past decade. These effects were reported by many actors, local and international, in qualitative and quantitative means. Thus, this paper will be viewing different inputs and outputs of these events' effects on Jordan, since it has the highest Syrian refugee numbers and INGOs implementation in the region, especially, after the Syrian crisis in 2011, and it will reflect the impact of INGOS on these women with reference to feminism from 2016 till 2023.

Since earliest times, the idea of Humanitarian community aid was suggested and developed over time through many ideas and forms. For example, in the 17th century the political economist Adam Smith (Gratton, 2011), wrote about being specialized in certain sector can increase the productivity of a person enormously. He focused on investing in developing talents and skills from people in order to use them in an organized manner or are what later (20th century) grew to become main educational and development programs in INGOS. As the author Linda Gratton clarifies that the transition in 18th and 19th centuries for work and job types of direction from agricultural and urban to industrial and organizational which firstly appeared as factories then companies and finally non-profit organizations. (Gratton, 2011)

Later, in the 20th century and after World War two ended the united nation (UN) was created, specifically in 1945, containing more than 51 countries that are gathered to maintain international peace and international law. (Anon., 2015) After that, non-governmental organizations became legit and grew into international response to provide humanitarian aid to the needy.

C. Purpose & Importance

This thesis topic, "The Impact of INGOs on Economic Security of Syrian Refugee Women in Jordan from 2016-2023 with Reference to Feminism," addresses a crucial aspect of humanitarian aid and gender empowerment in the context of the Syrian refugee crisis. International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) play a pivotal role in aiding and support to displaced populations, including Syrian refugee women in Jordan. Understanding the influence of these organizations on the economic security of Syrian women is paramount for several reasons.

Firstly, the economic security of refugee women is vital for their overall well-being and empowerment. Economic stability enables them to meet basic needs, access education and healthcare, and make meaningful contributions to their families and communities. By examining how INGOs have impacted the economic security of Syrian refugee women, my thesis aims to highlight the effectiveness of existing interventions and identify areas for improvement.

Secondly, feminist perspectives on empowerment and autonomy emphasize the importance of addressing gender inequalities and power dynamics in humanitarian responses. Women often face unique challenges and vulnerabilities in displacement settings, including limited access to economic resources, education, and decision-making opportunities. By incorporating feminist perspectives into the analysis, my thesis seeks to explore how INGO interventions have addressed or perpetuated these inequalities and whether they have effectively promoted women's empowerment and autonomy.

Moreover, the time frame of 2016-2023 is significant as it covers a period of substantial humanitarian response to the Syrian refugee crisis. Understanding the evolution of INGO interventions over this time period, provides insights into their effectiveness, challenges encountered, and lessons learned. This knowledge is invaluable for informing future humanitarian strategies and policies aimed at supporting refugee women in Jordan and beyond.

In conclusion, my thesis topic is essential as it sheds light on the impact of INGOs on the economic security of Syrian refugee women in Jordan through a feminist lens. By examining this intersection, we can gain valuable insights into the complexities of gender dynamics in humanitarian settings and contribute to more

effective and gender-responsive interventions that promote the empowerment and autonomy of refugee women. Additionally, this research will contribute to influencing ideas and enhancing the planning of future projects for INGOs, leading to better results. NGOs rely on studies that reflect their impact, both positive and negative, in different fields to make amendments to ongoing projects, report to donors and other teams, and design new projects to improve the economic security of refugees without neglecting the host community. Therefore, this study is crucial for current economic security assessment and future proposals in this specific field, as well as to evaluate the importance of INGOs in the area.

D. Research Questıon And Importance

Understanding the economic security of Syrian refugee women in Jordan between 2016 and 2023 necessitates an examination of the influence exerted by International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs), particularly through the lens of feminist perspectives on empowerment and autonomy. The precarious situation faced by these women underscores the urgency of external assistance and support. Just as in other contexts where foreign aid played a pivotal role in shaping the future trajectory of women's rights amidst political turmoil, Syrian refugee women in Jordan similarly rely on external interventions to secure their economic well-being.

The experiences of women from various regions provide valuable insights into the complexities of navigating cultural norms, political dynamics, and external influences in the pursuit of gender equality and economic empowerment. Much like women in other conflict-affected settings, Syrian refugee women in Jordan grapple with intersecting challenges stemming from traditional gender roles, societal expectations, and legal frameworks that may limit their access to resources and opportunities.

Moreover, the role of INGOs in different contexts offers relevant parallels for understanding their potential impact on the economic security of Syrian refugee women in Jordan. These organizations have historically played a crucial role in advocating for women's rights, providing essential services, and facilitating economic empowerment initiatives. By examining the strategies employed by INGOs in various settings and their effectiveness in promoting women's economic

security, insights can be gleaned into potential approaches for supporting Syrian refugee women in Jordan.

However, it is essential to recognize the complexities inherent in such interventions. Differing political ideologies, power dynamics, and cultural contexts can shape the effectiveness of external assistance efforts. Therefore, in exploring the influence of INGOs on the economic security of Syrian refugee women in Jordan, it is imperative to adopt an understanding that incorporates feminist perspectives on empowerment and autonomy. By centering the voices and experiences of refugee women and critically analyzing the strategies and impacts of INGO interventions, this research aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of how external actors can effectively support the economic well-being of marginalized populations in crisis settings.

1. Main Research Question:

How have International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) influenced the economic security of Syrian refugee women in Jordan between 2016 and 2023, considering feminist perspectives on empowerment and autonomy?

E. Research Methodology

This paper will have qualitative research method based on resources reflecting the changes in the economic security of Syrian refugee women after 2016 in Jordan. So, it will see the years count, refugees' population, and nationalities in a few countries. In addition to the main economic security aspects of Syrian refugee women, challenges, accomplishments after 2016 with regards to feminist approaches.

With over 10 years of experience in the humanitarian field, particularly in economic empowerment and project management, my professional background has significantly informed the methodology of this research. My roles, including Economic Justice Acting Manager at Oxfam, along with my work in climate justice and women's empowerment, provided critical insights into the economic challenges faced by vulnerable communities, particularly women. This experience shaped my approach to data collection and analysis, where I utilized qualitative research methods, including direct observations of INGO interventions and their impact on the economic security of Syrian refugee women in Jordan. My hands-on experience

with stakeholders, from local communities to international organizations, allowed me to bridge academic theories with practical application, ensuring the research is grounded in both scholarly and field-based knowledge.

The Qualitative research techniques used are:

- Historical Analysis
- Case Studies
- Observations

Several International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) are active in Jordan, focusing on various sectors including humanitarian aid, economic empowerment, education, health, and refugee support. Here is a list of some of the key INGOs operating in Jordan:

International Rescue Committee (IRC) – Focuses on health services, economic recovery, and education for refugees and vulnerable Jordanians.

Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) – Provides shelter, legal assistance, education, and livelihood programs for refugees.

Oxfam – Works on economic justice, water and sanitation, and women's empowerment programs, especially in response to the Syrian refugee crisis.

CARE International – Offers assistance in the form of cash, livelihood support, and gender-based violence programs to refugees and host communities.

Danish Refugee Council (DRC) – Focuses on protection, livelihoods, and community empowerment for refugees and vulnerable Jordanians.

Save the Children – Provides child protection, education, and health services for children and their families.

Relief International – Delivers healthcare, education, and livelihood support to refugees and underserved communities.

Mercy Corps – Engages in economic development, water conservation, and conflict mitigation, focusing on both refugees and host communities.

Action Against Hunger (ACF) – Specializes in nutrition, food security, and water and sanitation projects.

Plan International – Supports children's rights and girls' empowerment through education, health, and protection initiatives.

United Mission for Relief and Development (UMR) – Works on health, education, economic development, and emergency response for refugees and marginalized communities.

World Vision – Focuses on child protection, education, and health initiatives for both refugees and vulnerable Jordanians.

Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) – Provides medical services, including specialized care for war-wounded patients and those with chronic diseases.

These INGOs collaborate with the Jordanian government, UN agencies, and local organizations to provide vital support for both refugees and host communities in Jordan.

I have examined studies from most of the mentioned above INGOs in Jordan and have reflected on my observations during my work experience with some of these INGOs. Examples of INGOs I worked with: OXFAM, NRC, Save the Children, and World Vision.

F. Literature Review

Since earliest times, the idea of Humanitarian community aid was suggested and developed over time through many ideas and forms. For example, in the 17th century the political economist Adam Smith (Gratton, 2011), wrote about being specialized in certain sector can increase the productivity of a person enormously. He focused on investing in developing talents and skills from people in order to use them in an organized manner or are what later (20th century) grew to become main educational and development programs in INGOS. As the author Linda Gratton clarifies that the transition in 18th and 19th centuries for work and job types of direction from agricultural and urban to industrial and organizational which firstly appeared as factories then companies and finally non-profit organizations. (Gratton, 2011)

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"Liberal feminism is a fairly frequent intellectual trait of the 18th and 19th centuries of western thinking, the movement is associated with the pioneers like Francis Bacon, Descarte Rene, and John Locke" is included (Hicks, 2004),” provides more meaning to its ideas. In addition, the statement of purpose is explicitly mentioned in the introduction. This chapter examines the research on women's political engagement and international community action from various countries throughout the world. Also, the chapter will review the essence of liberal feminism theory, women's movements, representation in politics, involvement in decision-making, and political influence on women's advancements.

Feminism can be perceived as a version of individualism that emphasizes achieving equality for women by holding themselves accountable for their decisions and actions (Brookes, 2008). According to (Grenfell, 2001), According to liberal feminist theory, the fundamental causes of gender inequality are women's and girls' restricted access to civil rights and the allocation of social resources like employment and education. The liberal feminist perspective acknowledges the presence of gender-related distinctions in society, but as can be seen from the two definitions above, it is up to the persons affected to alter their situation (Grenfell, 2001).

Theoretically, Liberal feminism holds that the fact that men and women are the same in common humanities supersedes procreative differences between men and women. Women and men must be treated equally under the law if they are not different. Equal opportunities for work and education must be available to women, as well as equal rights. The US Constitution's unratified Equal Rights Amendment is a

result of liberal feminism in the nation. The United States of America or any other state cannot deny or limit legal rights and equality based on gender. The activists are concerned with moving women to positions of leadership in the professions, the government, and cultural organizations. They are also worried about the obvious sources of gender discrimination in the hiring process and unequal earnings.

G. Order Of the Study

This study will look at how Syrian refugee women's economic security in Jordan political representation from 2016 up till 2023 considering the international community's intervention in the Middle East region. It is divided into five chapters, which are as follows:

First chapter: (Introduction) in this chapter, the outline, research statement, importance of the topic, literature review, research methodology, and theoretical framework will be discussed, which will form the basis for the rest of the research.

Chapter two: (Conceptual and theoretical framework) in this chapter will cover identifying the following headlines: refugee, temporary protection regime, INGOs, economic security, and feminism.

Chapter three: (Historical Framework) in this chapter is going to analyze the humanitarian aid overview in Jordan from 2016 to 2023, and will reflect the historical, location, economic situation, and feminism roles in Jordan.

Chapter Four: (The impact of INGOs in Jordan) in this chapter will showcase the impact of INGOs on the economic security of Syrian refugee women in Jordan with reference to feminism. It will analyze and reflect on the question of the research.

Chapter five: (conclusion) in this chapter will summarize all of the results obtained in the preceding chapters and will outline future research, recommendations, as well as limitations

H. Theoretical Framework

Political developments are known as feminist movements developments battle against orientation-based orders of strength and subjection in the public arena,

legislative issues, and different circles of force. They are recognized by a gendered power investigation of the double-dealing of ladies (Beckwith, 2000). Feminist movements developments are consequently a grouping of ladies' developments. Ladies' authority, ladies' concerns, and women's activist developments are not frequently what persuade political drives consolidating ladies. The job of ladies in political developments is a minor yet growingly critical subject of examination in political theory.

The main goals of various feminisms are gender equality and women's rights. For instance, one feminist critique contends that women may suffer from collective autonomy. Shachar and Nussbaum are mostly concerned when a certain group influences family law. In these situations, it is obvious that women's equality and autonomy are damaged. Regardless of who instigated the divorce, women are frequently granted less money when one happens (men can initiate divorces, but women cannot always do so). Sons are frequently the beneficiaries of inheritance rules, giving them more opportunities in life because they are richer than their sisters. When family law requires both men and women to get married in a religious ceremony, it further erodes both genders' sovereignty. Although feminists differ on the degree to which women's rights should be protected, the problem with this feminist critique is that it is state-centered and suggests that the state should always defend individual rights regardless of circumstances. Even while in theory individual rights should always be protected, arguments for diversity and multiculturalism should be attentive to the varied cultures and circumstances to which they apply. The feminist critique of multiculturalism suffers from a serious fault in that it fails to make a distinction between oppressed and non-oppressed populations (Spinner-Halev, 2001).

Liberal feminism, often known as mainstream feminism, is a significant subset of feminism that prioritizes attaining gender equality via legal change and legislation within a liberal democratic framework. It dates back to the 19th century's first wave of feminism. Generally, feminism has experienced four different waves. The first wave occurred in the United States and Britain in the mid-19th century, and it demanded legal rights for women. The second wave is thought to have begun in 1963. Contrary to the stereotype of women in the 1950s, this shows that caring for others, getting married, and doing housework does not make women whole.

The personal is political is what symbolized the second wave. An important aspect of the third wave, which started in the 1990, when discussions about workplace harassment occurred about how being the victim of sexual harassment which insinuated that the third wave of feminism is still developing, many claim that only the first three waves of feminism have taken place. However, others contend that the third wave gave rise to a fourth wave in the 2010s. The key characteristics of the fourth wave are its media involvement and online social change campaigns. This shows that it supports feminism online, particularly on social media, by promoting campaigns against body shaming and rape culture. Although the fourth wave supports the third's characteristics, it is suggested that it strengthens women's empowerment. Finally, the fifth wave is the most controversial, as its existence and key characteristics are hotly debated. According to proponents, the wave began in 2015, when fake news, cyberattacks, and online harassment took hold. It is said to be a wake-up call for more organized feminism and activism focused on concrete action in feminist groups. (UN Women, 2020).

Moreover, one liberal feminist upholds this ideal, the function of the state, and their commitment to women's liberation. Liberal feminism is likewise divided by a debate over how freedom should be understood. Accepting freedom from any kind of force is what it means to be free. Current classical liberalism is taken into consideration by (Gaus, et al., 2018) among modern-day liberal classical feminism. Other liberals describe freedom as having the personal liberty to live the life of one's choosing and as having the political autonomy to control one's own circumstances.

A subset of classical-liberal feminism is equity feminism. It states that the political purpose of feminism is to simply preserve women's rights from coercive state interference and to have the state recognize and uphold those rights. defending women's rights, for instance, against rape during marriage or street groping. Furthermore, it demonstrates that the state respects women's rights and protects them from forceful intervention (Sommers, 1994). The other suggests that feminists should oppose laws that directly restrict women's freedom, like those that limit their work opportunities, and that they should back laws that particularly protect women, such those that give them preferential treatment (Taylor, 1992).

The fundamental principles of the right to equality and the prohibition of discrimination, which serve as the cornerstones of gender equality and women's

political participation and representation in politics and decision-making, are found in the United Nations Charter. We must "reaffirm dedication to human rights, in the respect for human dignity, and the equal rights of men and women," the Preamble states (UN Preamble, 1945).

Women's political representation and involvement are essential building blocks for democracy and sustainable development, besides being basic human rights. Women have the right to participate and speak for themselves in institutions and processes that make decisions that affect their lives.

II. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A. Refugees

Who is a 'Refugee'?

Refugees are individuals compelled to flee their home country and seek safety elsewhere due to persecution based on their identity, beliefs, or statements, or due to armed conflict, violence, or severe public disorder (Economist, 2021). Unable to return home, they often escape with nothing more than the clothes on their backs, leaving behind homes, possessions, jobs, and loved ones. Many have endured human rights violations, sustained injuries during their flight, or witnessed the death or assault of family members and friends.

Refugees come from various parts of the world, with significant populations originating from countries like Syria, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Myanmar, and Venezuela, where ongoing conflicts and crises have uprooted millions. They seek refuge in countries such as Turkey, Colombia, Pakistan, Uganda, and Germany, which host the largest numbers of refugees. The international community, through various organizations and initiatives, provides essential assistance, including food, shelter, healthcare, and education, to support refugees in rebuilding their lives (UNHCR, 2024).

Currently, there are 35.3 million refugees worldwide. The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) is responsible for protecting 29.4 million of these refugees. An additional 5.9 million displaced Palestinians receive support from the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), established in 1949.

Despite these efforts, the global refugee crisis remains a significant challenge, with millions living in protracted situations and facing uncertain futures. International cooperation and solidarity are crucial in addressing the root causes of displacement, offering durable solutions, and ensuring the protection and dignity of refugees around the world.

International refugee instruments do not differentiate between male and female refugees but often maintain gender biases. Although women and girls constitute more than half of the world's refugees, the international community has done little to address their specific needs. This paper explores the criteria for obtaining refugee status, the main challenges women face, and discrimination as a protection issue. While the 'social groups' argument under the 1951 Convention can include many women as refugees, it does not tackle the core issue of sex-based discrimination or address violence specifically targeted at women. Such violence is widespread in most societies, and women refugees, due to their displacement, are particularly vulnerable to rape, abduction, sexual harassment, physical violence, and coercion into providing sexual favors for documentation or relief goods.

Effective solutions must not discriminate against women or overlook their roles in communities. Protection from physical violence and sexual abuse is crucial, but success depends on comprehensive policies and national contexts. Involving refugee women in analysis and program implementation is essential for their adequate protection and the development of lasting solution (Martin, 2004)

B. Temporary protection regime

What is temporary protection, and who does it cover?

Temporary protection can be an effective tool for ensuring fast access to protection and services without overwhelming asylum systems. Temporary protection is especially well-suited as an emergency response in situations involving a mass influx of people. However, it should not be used to discourage or prevent people from seeking asylum. It is important to note that temporary protection is not a replacement for existing international obligations, particularly the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol, or regional refugee instruments. This is especially true when prima facie or more favorable protection is available and suitable. Additionally, temporary protection should not serve as a substitute for the proper management of mixed flows (UNHCR, 2023).

The Syrian refugee crisis has garnered significant Western attention, primarily due to the relatively small number of refugees reaching Europe. However, this represents just a small portion of the broader issue: only about 15 percent of

Syria’s 5.8 million refugees have attempted to enter Europe, and the Syrian refugee surge is just one of many global displacement crises.

The major challenge of mass displacement is its geographical concentration. Nearly 60 percent of the world’s refugees are hosted by only ten countries, each adjacent to a conflict zone. In the case of Syria, countries like Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey bear the brunt of this burden.

Temporary protection is not suitable if the stay becomes prolonged. Any temporary protection arrangement must, at a minimum, meet basic needs and minimum standards of treatment that reflect international refugee and human rights law obligations. It must also ensure protection from expulsion, refoulement, and other protection risks. Moreover, temporary protection should not be structured in a way that encourages premature return (UNHCR, 2023).

As of autumn 2016, Turkey hosts an estimated 3 million Syrians, with only 10% living in 26 government-led temporary shelter centers, also known as camps (IOM, 2017). The majority are dispersed across the country, requiring diverse services such as accommodation, education, and healthcare, which place significant pressure on various actors at different levels. Local governments, non-governmental organizations, and international organizations have become key partners in delivering public services alongside government agencies. Turkey faced a sudden humanitarian crisis due to its open border policy, but Turkish authorities are supported by numerous national and international civil society organizations focused on meeting refugees' needs in Turkey.

From 2016 to 2023, temporary protection for Syrian refugee women in Jordan has been a critical aspect of the country's humanitarian response to the ongoing Syrian conflict. Jordan, hosting a significant number of Syrian refugees, has implemented various measures to provide protection and support for these vulnerable women, addressing their unique needs and challenges.

Temporary protection for Syrian refugees in Jordan is guided by the Jordanian government's collaboration with international organizations, such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). While Jordan is not a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention, it has nonetheless extended significant support to Syrian refugees, including women, through temporary protection

mechanisms. This framework ensures that Syrian women receive protection from expulsion and refoulement, along with access to basic services such as healthcare, education, and legal assistance.

Syrian refugee women in Jordan have benefitted from programs aimed at improving their access to essential services. Healthcare services, including reproductive health and psychosocial support, have been prioritized to address the specific needs of women. Education programs have also been crucial, with initiatives to integrate Syrian girls into the Jordanian school system and provide vocational training for women to enhance their economic self-reliance.

From 2016 to 2023, there has been a concerted effort to improve the economic empowerment of Syrian refugee women in Jordan. Various programs have been launched to provide skills training, job placements, and small business support. These initiatives aim to help women become more self-sufficient and reduce their dependency on aid. Despite challenges, such as legal restrictions on employment for refugees, progress has been made in enabling women to participate in the local economy.

A significant focus has been placed on protecting Syrian refugee women from gender-based violence (GBV). Numerous safe spaces and support centers have been established, providing services such as counseling, legal aid, and emergency assistance. Awareness campaigns and community-based programs have also been implemented to combat GBV and support survivors.

Efforts to facilitate social integration and community support for Syrian refugee women have included initiatives to foster social cohesion between refugees and host communities. Community centers and social programs have provided platforms for interaction, cultural exchange, and mutual support, helping to reduce tensions and build solidarity.

Despite these efforts, Syrian refugee women in Jordan continue to face significant challenges. Limited resources, legal barriers, and social stigmas often hinder their access to services and opportunities. Moving forward, it is crucial to strengthen the legal protection framework, increase funding for targeted programs, and enhance coordination between government agencies, international organizations, and local NGOs to better support Syrian refugee women in Jordan.

C. INGOs

INGOs, is a term that means International non-governmental organizations, which are organizations established to aid, help, and development to the people in need in crisis areas such as, war crisis, environmental crisis, economic crisis, and areas of conflict. INGOs, are built on non-profit basis, they comply to the international law, and they have their own independent standard and policies which are called code of conducts, standard operational procedures, and they all follow the humanitarian principals of; Humanity, impartiality, neutrality, and independence, and follow implementation through the sphere book for Humanitarian interventions in the globe.

INGOs provide Humanitarian aid to disadvantaged people around the world, they function on fund-based projects in coordination with the government of the country they are working at. Mainly, there are several well-known international non-governmental organizations which are authorized and have functioned in relatively 40 to 70 countries around the world. They have many projects depending on the required needs of the people they are providing support to. For example, they could distribute food items and non-food items (NFIs) to disadvantages people, Cash or vouchers, shelters, educational institutions, Water sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) services, community engagement and job opportunities, economic and gender empowerment, etc. Disadvantaged people can be named Refugees in some cases, which are the main category of the disadvantaged people I will focus on and discuss their situation. precisely, when it comes to their economic security in the countries of the MENA region.

D. Economic Security

"The ICRC defines **economic security** as the ability of individuals, households or communities to cover their essential needs sustainably and with dignity. This can vary according to an individual's physical needs, the environment and prevailing cultural standards. Food, basic shelter, clothing and hygiene qualify as essential needs, as does the related expenditure; the essential assets needed to earn a living, and the costs associated with health care and education also qualify." (ICRC, 2015)

Economic security, defined as the condition in which individuals have stable income or other resources to support a standard of living now and in the foreseeable future, has emerged as a primary concern and challenge for women across various countries, including Jordan. Women interviewed in Lebanon reported that 79% were unable to meet their basic needs, while in Iraq, 82% cited economic insecurity as their primary concern.

In Jordan, although only qualitative interviews were conducted, women echoed these concerns. They relied on negative coping mechanisms such as informally borrowing money from family, neighbors, or shops, and using food-based strategies like relying on less nutritious food or restricting food intake for themselves or their households. Limited financial resources often led some families to withdraw their children, usually boys, from school to save money and contribute to household income.

Overall, economic security for Syrian refugee women in Jordan remains a multifaceted issue influenced by legal, social, and economic barriers. Efforts to improve their situation require comprehensive strategies that address these barriers, provide education and skills training, and create more inclusive labor market opportunities. Collaboration between international organizations, the Jordanian government, and local NGOs is essential to support these women in achieving economic stability and enhancing their roles within their families and communities

E. Feminism

1. Historical overview

Feminist theory or feminism is a theoretical, philosophical theory (Chodorow, n.d.)that claimed to pursue gender equality and justice to women in all life aspects such as work, social life, fundamental rights and political rights. It’s claimed to provide women with their basic rights and the right to have a voice that is heard and equally paid for as for males.

Feminist movement had 3 waves and its under discussion that the fourth wave have started and is currently going. The first wave discussed the right of voting and property owning. The second wave took part in the right of equal pay and reproductive freedom. The third wave defined feminism and took part in women

empowerment. The fourth and current discussion is about women of color rights and of different races and nationalities like the middle east.

As an example of the fourth and current wave, is what's happening currently in Iran as the women protest keep raised after Mahsa Amini brutal death by the Iranian police because she wasn't wearing the Islamic hijab. As one of their main aspects and requests is the freedom of women to wear and live as they want as an equal to a man. Unfortunately, this isn't granted to women fully till our current day.

There are so many examples of the unjust situations, laws, constitutions that women must still follow till this day. But hopefully, and as the feminist theories keep evolving, they will have better regulations and hopefully one day they will have their full rights in all countries.

Marxism theory is a social, Political, and economical approach that was invented and named after its inventor Karl Marx. The beauty of the Marxist theory against capitalism and its pursuit of justice in labor rights, feminism, economy, political system, and social relations.

Unfortunately. Marxism failed as a political approach indicates that critical theories aren't always correct, practical, and implementable in all aspects. Marxism was successful as an economic approach. As it helped in enhancing labor rights through discussing and changing the working hours of labor in the labor law. (Cain, 2001)

The Marxist feminist approach is founded on the idea that women should reject the capitalist model of reproduction. Throughout history, Marxist theory has achieved some success in its views and objectives. However, it remains an extreme approach in many respects, presenting numerous downsides and causing confusion for those who adopt it (Desai, 2014).

"According to Marxist feminists, women's liberation can only be achieved by dismantling the capitalist systems in which they contend much of women's labor is uncompensated." (Anon., 2004)

Liberalism was a very prominent trend of thought in Western philosophy in the 18th and 19th centuries. John Locke, Francis Bacon, and Descarte Rene were among the movement's founders (Hicks, 2004). These pioneers believed that the main issues in traditional religious thought were supernatural and had been replaced

by new references that emphasized the power of female rationality (Hicks, 2004). The new model is built around logic. Through references to the foundational elements of the institutions in the sense of reasoning, the ideas shift from mystical sources and religious authority.

Liberal feminism is a feminist strategy for identifying allusions to individualism and liberty goals and is a sort of individualistic feminism that emphasizes women's capacity to uphold their equality via their decisions and actions. According to liberal feminists, society has the mistaken notion that women are fundamentally less clever and physically capable than men. "A system of limitations imposed by law and custom that prevents women from entering and succeeding in the so-called public sphere is the foundation of female subordination." They promote gender equality by enacting practical political and legal changes (Tong, 1989).

Women in politics and decision-making is ensured by adopting new ideologies on women's political rights worldwide. Progress in humans is changing into a distinct movement that is progressively becoming the individual turn of the center of attention, as demonstrated by instances from Webster, who advocated for people to promote practicing their goals and aspirations for the principles of independence and self-reliance (Webster, 2003).

Liberal feminism therefore draws upon the idea of natural rights created by thinkers like Thomas Hobbes and John Locke. Depending on how they interpret the basics of the general support for programs in free markets, civil rights, free speech, freedom of the press, democratic societies, secular governance, and international cooperation, liberals have a broad range of viewpoints (Hicks, 2004).

Liberalism extends in application to politics, religion, and economics (Montesquieu, 2001). For instance, Voltaire, who is regarded as one of the most astute thinkers to launch the polemic attacks against religious intolerance and lengthy histories of persecution, believed that liberalism encompassed religion (Hicks, 2004).

People had the right to exercise their civil liberties regarding financial matters and the promotion of programs that enabled liberals to benefit from recognizing the legitimacy of women's activities and liberal feminism. Liberal feminism is utilized globally to empower women in political contexts through involvement in politics and decision-making. Nations that support this approach are free to intervene.

2. Women’s political participation

As women become more visible than ever in strategies to increase their participation in the political sector and the practice of democracy, women's participation in politics has exploded in many parts of the world (Harpin, 1999). Democracy focuses on integrating women into existing democratic structures, particularly within formal political organizations. The term "engendering democracy" can be understood in various ways, all of which involve modifying political structures to genuinely incorporate democratic principles.

Efforts to increase women's political involvement are particularly important as the United Nations Development Goals emphasize a specified proportion of women in politics to empower women. To enhance the representation of women in political decision-making, it is essential to actively promote women into political office and implement policies that ensure gender equality (Kopstein, et al., 2014). For instance, the quota-supporting arguments were effective in foreseeing the 2005 elections for the temporary national parliament in Iraq, when 25% of the quota criteria were exceeded and 86 women won out of 275 members, or 31% of the chamber (UN Women, 2020).

The growing feminization of parliaments as well as significant modifications to the ways in which political parties and governments are run have been promoted in nations with legislatures where more than 15% of the elected officials are women. Some office women are gaining and preserving space for women, but others are not always speaking up for policy stances (UN Women, 2020).

The assumption of democracy becomes more inclusive, as women tend to have an advantage in shaping their interest in political skills and the ties of responsibility in party affiliation. The poor perception of women based on the traditional respect for men determines the current representation of the political interests and aptitudes that influence women in decision-making (Kostelka, et al., 2019).

In many countries, there is an imbalance between male and female politicians (Loukakis & Portos, 2019). Representation is hampered by racial tensions or minority engagement in the design of special electoral districts that limit group member competition for direct appointments to reserved seats in the legislature

(Isaksson, et al., 2014).

The purpose of reservations is to acknowledge the independence of specific political organizations and to give them a voice in the political process. Concerns have been expressed about women's political involvement in politics (Hay, 2013).

On the social scale, feminists are perceived by women as having personal political environments that are accurate in establishing the state but fail to recognize women's rights against intrusions. For instance, in some nations, husbands have more legal rights over the bodies and property of their wives (Sommers, 1994).

Attempts to remove discrimination against women are based on the beliefs that women are inferior to men and vice versa (Young, 2004), according to a UN resolution on women's political participation. The UN accords are essential for reducing barriers that keep women out of politics (UN Women, 2020).

Regardless of the way that ladies make up portion of the total populace, they experience serious bias while practicing their privileges to full support and significant obstructions while attempting to get close enough to key, influential places at the dynamic levels. Taken on in 1995, the Beijing Statement and Stage for Activity expects to give an arrangement to tending to orientation differences in political direction at all degrees of force (UN Women, 2020).

Some significant qualitative and quantitative advancements in increasing women's engagement and representative forms have been made in recent decades, notably at the level of parliament, despite degrees of development being small and diverse in different regions of the world. As of 2020, only 53 countries have at least 30% women in their parliaments, compared with a global average of 25% women (IPU Pauline, 2020)

Political movements known as feminist movements fight gender-based political, social, and other power systems through "a gendered power appraisal of women's oppression." (Beckwith, 2000). Women's activist developments consequently involve a subgroup of ladies' developments. Ladies take part in non-women's activist political drives that are not driven by ladies and are not essentially centered around ladies' concerns.

Recent discussions in civil society and the UN have been significantly influenced by the worldwide movement for women's rights. Gender mainstreaming,

women's empowerment, and women's human rights have become crucial elements of intergovernmental UN negotiations and accords thanks to the lobbying efforts of women's rights networks, especially during the several UN conferences of the 1990s. Tinker claimed that to promote women's issues internationally and promote networking, UN conferences were essential. The numerous activities that accompanied the four worldwide women's conferences helped to unite women of various nations and ideologies and to legitimize women's issues (Fraser & Tinker, 2004).

This interaction's outcomes have received acclaim. Joanna Kerr, executive director of the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID), claims that feminists a century ago could not have imagined the triumphs that so many of us take for granted today. Considering the celebration of feminism's accomplishments in the 22nd century (Kerr, et al., 2004). At the same time, others who are close to the process criticize how little time and effort women put into UN processes. Anastasia Posadskaya-Vanderbeck, a pioneer in women's rights and the director of the Open Society Institute, has some reservations. If we keep focusing on the UN, its institutions, and its organizations.

As a result of injustice, Progressive movements for social justice are developed out of injustice and/or unmet social, political, economic, or cultural demands. They describe themselves as "a formally organized organization of voters pursuing a shared political agenda of group action to influence change (Brown, et al., 2012).

III. HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK HUMANITARIAN AID OVERVIEW IN JORDAN FROM 2016-2023

A. Location and historical overview of Jordan

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (Jordan) is a middle eastern country, it's an Arab country with a current population of 10 million people. Jordan is part of what is called by many International nongovernmental organizations (non-sate actors) the MENA region. Located in western Asia, and well known for its geographical location as is one of the most strategic locations in the area, as it as a crossroads for Asia, Africa, and Europe. Jordan shares borders with Saudi Arabia (KSA), Iraq, Syria, and the occupied territories of Palestine. Also, it has a direct entrance to the southern area of Egypt (Sania) through the gulf of Aqaba. The Capital of Jordan is Amman, which is located at the center west of Jordan. Amman is considered the political, economic, and cultural center of the kingdom.

Jordan has a population of 10 million people. This population is mainly constructed of Jordanians, Palestinians, Iraqi's, and Syrians. "Jordan has been repeatedly referred to as an "oasis of stability" in the turbulent region of the middle east" (Anon., n.d.). As so, it took in many refugees from nearby countries starting from 1948 with the Palestinian refugees, up till the Syrian crisis started in 2011.

Thus, Jordan now has an account of 2.1 million Palestinian,1.4 million Syrian refugees, and a few thousands of Christian Iraqis and Iraqis in general out of its 10 million total population. Maybe we can say, that out of the three refugee nationalities that are currently living in Jordan, the Syrian crisis, and the Syrian refugees in specific have caused a tremendous strain on Jordans' Economy, infrastructure, and resources. Due to the high number of Refugees intake in Jordan, it is considered a high attraction country to Humanitarian aid, by that it means the very high existence percentage of International non-governmental organizations. (y Caroline Krafft, 2018).

Although, the Syrian crisis started in 2011, and the Syrian Refugee flow to Jordan had started then, but the tangible effect of the Syrian refugees' flow to Jordan started to show after 2014, the high aids and donations were able to cover or balance for the living expenses of the Syrian refugees in Jordan, so the actual effect of this flow wasn't present or vivid. Plus, up till the end of 2014, Syrian refugees were banned from leaving their camps, whether they were located or registered in Zaatrai Refugee Camp in Mafraq, or in Azraq Camp in Zaraq. Of course, there are other areas where minority number of Syrian refugees were placed in Jordan, but the highest majorities were placed in Zaatari and Azraq camps till this current day. But the main difference is that refugees were completely prohibited from leaving the camp borders till late 2014. After that, the government has allowed work and leave permits to Syrian refugees, so a door was opened before Syrians to mix with the local market and Jordanian citizens, by so, the Syrian refugees existence in Jordan started to take place in and from the Jordanian economy and labor opportunities.

In 2015 and 2016, Jordan's economic growth has faced difficulties in growth, which is due weak mining and querying sector, especially in relevance to the continuing rise in the potash prices, which were caused by the closure of export routes with Syria and Iraq due to the Syrian crisis. The insecurity caused by terrorist attacks in Syria and Iraq caused a decrease in tourism. As "unemployment reached an historical high of 15.3% in 2016." (Anon., 2017)

Luckily, a recovery in the Jordanian economy is expected in the upcoming couple of years, which is predicted to reach up to an average of 2.6% over 2017-2019. (Anon., 2017) As Jordan is aiming to improve the touristic sector and investments in construction. Unfortunately, this increase and improvement in the economic security in Jordan had seen light for a up till 2020 then the COVID-19 crisis happened and demolished the increase rapidly. But the Jordanian regime in maintaining a security driven approach in managing the Covid-19 pandemic which was based on disciplinary security apparatus focused on police, army surveillance, was praised globally for its high security and achievement. One of the main achievements of Jordan's pandemic management is the approval of those who were against the government prior to the pandemic. (Badarin, 2017)

Overall, regardless of the high pressure imposed on the Jordanian economy due to the increase presence of Syrian refugees in Jordan and the conflicts in

neighboring countries. Jordan has sustained a firm and stable action politically and socially towards economic security challenges.

B. Refugee and humanitarian aid overview in Jordan

Ten years after the onset of the Syrian war crisis, the extent of death, destruction, and human suffering is staggering. The conflict persists, leaving the country divided geographically, politically, ethnically, and by sect. Moreover, over half of Syria's prewar population has been forcibly displaced, with over 6.8 million refugees and approximately 6.7 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) of Jordan's 672,952 registered Syrian refugees, 19.5 percent reside in camps (131,300), predominantly in Zaatari Camp (81,000) and Azraq Camp (43,934). The remaining 542,000 are mostly located in Jordan's urban areas, with significant concentrations in Amman, Irbid, and Al Mafraq.

Jordan continues to face significant economic challenges. Since 2011, the country's GDP and employment growth have averaged just 2.4 percent annually, insufficient to absorb its youthful workforce. As of early 2021, unemployment stood at 25 percent, with youth unemployment at a record 48.1 percent. The central government debt exceeded 106 percent of GDP by late 2020, rising by 10 percentage points in just one year. This difficult economic landscape complicates the task of accommodating large refugee populations.

Approximately 80 percent of Syrian refugees in Jordan live below the poverty line, and 60 percent of families are in extreme poverty. In contrast, only 15 percent of Jordanians live below the poverty line, though this too has increased due to the pandemic. The pandemic has severely impacted sectors where refugees are predominantly employed, such as tourism, construction, trade, and customer services. As a result, 68 percent of refugees reported significant income losses. Many Syrians are heavily indebted, with 55 percent of debts incurred for basic needs. Consequently, numerous gains made by refugees have been reversed, with food security indicators regressing to 2014 levels. According to the UNHCR, only 2 percent of refugee households can meet their essential food needs without resorting to negative coping strategies, such as reducing meals, pulling children out of school, early marriage, and begging (UNHCR, 2020).

The Syrian conflict has resulted in profound human and economic suffering, both within Syria and in host countries like Jordan. The international community must continue to support these refugees and address the underlying issues to prevent further deterioration of their living conditions and prospects.

C. Jordan and economy after 2016

Jordan's economic growth is anticipated to remain steady in 2016 by 2.3%, with an improvement projected in the medium term, reaching 3.1% by 2018. This growth is still not enough. The outlook hinges on the assumption that there will be no further deterioration in security conditions within and around Jordan. The primary fiscal balance is forecasted to turn into a surplus in 2017, which will be accompanied by a reversal in the previously increasing gross debt-to-GDP ratio (Outlook, 2016).

External account pressures are anticipated to ease starting in 2017, driven by an increase in exports and investment resulting from diversification efforts and the opportunities provided by the EU’s relaxation of Rules of Origin (ROO) and energy supply diversification plans. The stabilization of remittances and travel receipts is also expected to contribute to this easing. Despite the forecast of higher oil prices and the consequent increase in energy imports, the current account deficit is projected to narrow from 2017 onwards.

Jordan's economy has been significantly affected by the challenging regional environment, resulting in adverse spillover effects on domestic economic conditions. Ongoing conflicts in Iraq and Syria have continued to impact trade, tourism, and investor confidence. While the plunge in oil prices has supported domestic demand, it has also adversely impacted external demand. As a result, tourism revenue declined in 2015 due to regional political instability and the strong dollar deterring visitors, leading to decreased services earnings. In this context, real GDP growth posted at 2.5% in 2015, marking the sixth consecutive year of low economic growth and further widening the cyclical output gap. Additionally, the average unemployment rate rose to 13.1% in 2015, up from 11.9% in 2014, reflecting the struggling economy. (department, 2016)

From 2019 to 2020, Jordan faced significant economic challenges, exacerbated by the global COVID-19 pandemic. The economy grew at a modest rate

of 2% in 2019, continuing the trend of subdued growth. Structural issues such as high public debt and youth unemployment persisted. However, the pandemic led to widespread disruptions, particularly in key sectors like tourism, retail, and hospitality. Consequently, GDP contracted by approximately 1.6% in 2020, marking the first economic contraction since 1990. Unemployment soared to unprecedented levels, with youth unemployment exceeding 50%.

In response, the Jordanian government, supported by international organizations like the IMF and the World Bank, introduced measures to mitigate the economic impact. These included monetary easing, fiscal stimulus packages, and social protection programs aimed at supporting vulnerable populations. The Central Bank of Jordan reduced interest rates and provided liquidity to the banking sector to ensure the continued flow of credit (department, 2016). Direct cash transfers, subsidies, and food assistance programs were rolled out to support low-income families. Despite these efforts, challenges remained, particularly in sustaining long-term economic recovery and addressing pre-existing structural issues.

The period from 2015 to 2020 was marked by significant economic challenges for Jordan, compounded by regional conflicts and the COVID-19 pandemic. Despite various governmental and international interventions aimed at stabilizing the economy, the path to sustained growth remains fraught with difficulties. Moving forward, Jordan's ability to navigate these challenges and leverage international support will be critical in achieving sustainable economic growth and stability.

However, the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic in early 2020 exacerbated the economic difficulties. The pandemic led to widespread disruptions in economic activities, particularly in key sectors such as tourism, retail, and hospitality, which are vital to Jordan's economy. As a result, GDP contracted by approximately 1.6% in 2020, marking the first economic contraction in Jordan since 1990. The unemployment rate soared to unprecedented levels, with youth unemployment reaching over 50%, exacerbating social and economic vulnerabilities.

In response to the pandemic-induced economic crisis, the Jordanian government, supported by international organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank, introduced a series of measures to mitigate the impact. These included monetary easing, fiscal stimulus packages, and social protection programs aimed at

supporting the most vulnerable populations, including Syrian refugees. The Central Bank of Jordan reduced interest rates and provided liquidity to the banking sector to ensure the continued flow of credit to businesses and households.

The government also rolled out direct cash transfers, subsidies, and food assistance programs to support low-income families and those affected by the economic downturn. Additionally, efforts were made to support small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), which form the backbone of the Jordanian economy, through targeted financial assistance and relief measures. These interventions helped cushion the economic blow, but challenges remained, particularly in terms of sustaining long-term economic recovery and addressing pre-existing structural issues.

International support played a crucial role in Jordan's efforts to stabilize its economy during this period. The IMF extended financial assistance through its Extended Fund Facility, and the World Bank provided emergency support aimed at bolstering Jordan's health sector and mitigating the socioeconomic impacts of the pandemic. Aid from countries in the region and beyond also contributed to Jordan's economic resilience.

Looking ahead, the economic outlook for Jordan hinges on several factors, including the global economic recovery, progress in vaccination efforts, and the country's ability to implement structural reforms. While the economy is expected to recover gradually, reaching a growth rate of around 2.5% in 2021, achieving sustained and inclusive growth will require continued efforts to enhance the business environment, reduce public debt, and create employment opportunities, particularly for the youth and marginalized communities.

D. Feminism in Jordan

1. Feminism

Jordanian feminism is a social movement seeking change and challenging stereotypical gender-based social relations. Jordanian women's movements are collective efforts with specific goals and demands, although they have not yet reached an organizational level. These movements address gender issues and the conflicting roles and social oppression faced by Jordanian women. Jordanian

feminists aim for structural social and cultural reform, emphasizing the need for more specialists to advocate for women's rights in social, political, and moral aspects (Jarrar, 2019).

The Jordanian feminist movement has been influenced by key theories from global women's movements and Arab feminism. These feminist theories have had a radical impact on Jordanian society's cultural and social thought. One theory focuses on the biological differences between men and women, advocating for the appreciation of these differences rather than seeing them as weaknesses. As for the individual feminist movement, which emphasizes women's independence and freedom, challenging Arab traditions that oppose their rights. The radical feminist movement also significantly influenced Jordan, advocating for freedom and social change due to the unique Arab and Jordanian cultural and social norms (Jarrar, 2019).

Women in Jordan, have faced multiple forms of discrimination and exploitation, struggling to achieve social, economic, and political rights. Despite advancements, women in Jordan still suffer from low participation in development. Political participation of Jordanian women faces many obstacles, and international reports indicate significant inequality between men and women in opportunities. For example, women’s participation in economic activity remains low, with education being the largest determinant.

Women's political and legal rights in Jordan have seen progress, with women gaining the right to vote and run for parliamentary elections in 1974 and municipal councils in 1982. The quota system in parliamentary elections has increased women's representation in the House of Representatives. However, women’s participation in political parties remains low, and their representation in trade unions and voluntary organizations is better. Despite these advancements, Jordan's dominant culture remains traditional and conservative, characterized by a patriarchal system supported by social, family, religious, economic, educational, and political institutions.

Jordanian feminists have recognized the importance of gender studies, founding centers and specializations at universities to promote women's rights. The government has also adopted legislation for women's rights, such as the National Council for Family Affairs and the National Commission for Women. Jordanian women’s societies work hard on mainstreaming gender equality through educational

planning and infrastructure development to ensure full and equal participation of women. However, more collaboration with international societies and effective monitoring and evaluation systems are needed to measure the achievements of national institutions related to gender objectives.

Influenced by global and Arab feminist theories, seeks to change stereotypical gender-based social relations. Despite significant efforts and some achievements, challenges remain in political and economic participation and social development. Continued collaboration, advocacy, and structural reforms are necessary to achieve gender equality and improve the status of women in Jordan.

Globally, women's representation in positions of power and decision-making remains disproportionately low compared to men. As women occupy less than 35% of leadership roles in most countries, despite comprising more than half of the world's population. A study by Yang (1998) highlighted this disparity, noting that in highly developed countries like the United States, only 3% of top managerial positions are held by women, even though women constitute 40% of the workforce (Zubaid, 2011). This inequality is also pronounced in Arab societies, where women hold significantly fewer managerial positions.

Although there has been rapid growth in the economic activities undertaken by Arab women, their overall participation in the labor market remains among the lowest in the world. In Arab regions, women make up only 29% of the total labor force, compared to 39% in similar income countries. North African Arab countries like Morocco and Tunisia have higher rates of female labor participation, while Jordan in behind in comparison to other Arab countries.

In 2003, data on Jordanian human resources revealed that 50.4% of female students were enrolled in higher education, with females comprising 49.4% of students across all educational levels. The illiteracy rate among females over the age of 15 had dropped to 15.2% (Zubaid, 2011). However, women's participation in the real economic sector was a mere 6.7%, and the unemployment rate among women stood at 19.3%. Despite this, women constituted 44.8% of the civil service workforce, indicating a significant presence in government employment (Zubaid, 2011).

The underrepresentation of women in leadership and economic activities in

Jordan mirrors a broader global trend but is exacerbated by specific cultural and societal barriers within the Arab world. While educational attainment among Jordanian women is relatively high, this does not translate into equivalent economic participation or leadership opportunities.

To address these needs and differences, several strategies can be implemented. First, there is a need to create policies that encourage and support women's entry into the workforce and their advancement to leadership positions. This includes offering mentorship programs, ensuring equal pay, and providing childcare support. Second, societal attitudes towards women in the workforce must change, with efforts to promote gender equality through education and media campaigns. Finally, legislation should be strengthened to protect women's rights and promote their participation in all sectors of the economy.

Women's participation in leadership and economic activities in Jordan and the wider Arab world remains significantly low compared to their male counterparts. While educational achievements among women are commendable, they do not yet reflect in economic and leadership roles due to persistent cultural and societal barriers. Addressing these issues requires a multifaceted approach involving policy changes, societal attitude shifts, and stronger legislative support to ensure that women can fully contribute to and benefit from economic and social development.

2. Gender

Gender refers to the roles and responsibilities of men and women that are shaped by societal, cultural, and familial influences. It encompasses expectations about characteristics, aptitudes, and behaviors associated with femininity and masculinity. These gender roles and expectations are learned and can change over time, varying within and between cultures. The concept of gender is crucial in social analysis as it highlights how women's subordination and men's domination are socially constructed, implying that such inequalities are not biologically predetermined and can be altered.

Gender analysis examines the differences in experiences, knowledge, talents, and needs of men and women. This understanding is essential for developing policies, programs, and projects that address these distinct needs effectively. Gender equality ensures that both women and men have equal opportunities to realize their

full human rights and contribute to economic, social, cultural, and political development. Gender equity involves the fair treatment of both sexes, often requiring measures to compensate for historical and social disadvantages.

Women empowerment is about women gaining control over their lives by setting their own agendas, acquiring skills, building self-confidence, solving problems, and developing self-reliance. The Women in Development (WID) approach aims to integrate women into the existing development process, often through women-specific activities, typically making them more efficient producers and increasing their income. In contrast, the Gender and Development (GAD) approach addresses unequal gender relations that hinder equitable development and full participation of women. This approach is driven by gender analysis. Strategic gender interests focus on fundamental issues related to women's subordination and gender inequities. Gender mainstreaming integrates gender concerns into development agendas to achieve gender equality and enhance their relevance.

Jordan, a country with deep-rooted cultural and traditional values, exhibits complex gender dynamics influenced by its patriarchal social structure. Gender roles in Jordan are significantly shaped by family, cultural, and religious norms, which traditionally emphasize distinct roles and responsibilities for men and women. Men are typically seen as the primary breadwinners and heads of households, while women are often expected to focus on domestic duties and caregiving roles. However, these traditional roles are gradually evolving, influenced by education, economic necessity, and global gender equality movements. In Jordan, women's access to education has improved considerably over the years.

As of recent statistics, female students constitute a substantial percentage of those enrolled in higher education, surpassing their male counterparts in many cases. For instance, in 2003, the proportion of female students in higher educational institutions was 50.4%, reflecting a significant step towards gender parity in education (Jarrar, 2019). Despite these advancements, women’s participation in the workforce remains low.

Women's economic activity is constrained by various factors, including social expectations, limited job opportunities, and workplace discrimination. The economic participation rate for women is significantly lower than that of men, with a revised rate of economic activity for women at 11.7% compared to 65.5% for men (Jarrar,

2019). Additionally, the unemployment rate among women is higher, indicating systemic barriers to their full economic engagement.

Politically, Jordanian women have made strides but still face significant challenges. Women's political participation has seen some improvements, especially with the introduction of quotas for women in parliamentary elections. The first woman was appointed as a minister in 1979, and since then, women have increasingly held positions in government, police and public administration.

However, their representation remains limited, and women often struggle to achieve the same level of influence as their male counterparts. Socially, Jordanian women continue to grapple with issues of gender-based violence and discrimination. Efforts by various women's organizations and activists have brought attention to these issues, advocating for legal reforms and better protection for women's rights. The government and civil society organizations have implemented several initiatives to address domestic violence and promote gender equality, such as the National Strategy for Jordanian Families and various youth programs aimed at reducing early marriages and violence against women.

Jordan has made notable efforts to promote gender equality through legal reforms and policy initiatives. The country has ratified several international conventions aimed at eliminating discrimination against women, including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). National institutions such as the Jordanian National Commission for Women and the National Council for Family Affairs play pivotal roles in advocating for women's rights and integrating gender perspectives into national legislation and policies. Despite these efforts, challenges remain.

Traditional and conservative values, along with patriarchal norms, continue to influence public perceptions and attitudes towards gender roles. This cultural backdrop poses a significant barrier to achieving full gender equality in Jordan. To advance gender equality in Jordan, a multi-faceted approach is necessary.

Continued efforts to promote women's education and economic participation are crucial. Legal and policy reforms should be strengthened and effectively implemented to protect women's rights and promote their full participation in all spheres of life. Additionally, increasing public awareness and challenging traditional

gender norms through education and advocacy can contribute to changing societal attitudes and reducing gender-based discrimination. Collaborative efforts between the government, civil society, and international organizations can create a supportive environment for gender equality and empower Jordanian women to reach their full potential.

IV. THE IMPACT OF INGOS ON THE ECONOMIC SECURITY OF SYRIAN REFUGEE WOMEN IN JORDAN WITH REFERENCE TO FEMINISM

A. Economic security of Syrian women in Jordan

The economic security of Syrian refugee women in Jordan is a critical issue, particularly in the context of host communities and refugee camps such as Zaatari and Azraq. These women face unique challenges that affect their ability to achieve financial stability and self-reliance, shaped by their displacement, social norms, limited access to resources, and various legal and social barriers. While UNHCR-registered refugees living in camps typically have access to basic assistance and services, including legal aid, those living outside the camps are only entitled to government-subsidized healthcare and schooling. They face significant obstacles to labor market entry due to rising prices, oversubscribed public services, and restrictions on the types of jobs and sectors open to foreign nationals.

In host communities, Syrian refugee women often struggle with employment opportunities. Although Jordan has made efforts to integrate refugees into the labor market, bureaucratic barriers, limited job availability, and competition with local workers create significant hurdles.

Many Syrian women are employed in informal sectors where jobs are low-paying, unstable, and lack legal protections. This situation is due to their educational background; only a small proportion of Syrian refugees have higher education, and women generally have slightly less education than men. The low levels of education and English proficiency among refugees further constrain their economic opportunities, particularly in the digital and gig economy. This is compounded by cultural norms and household responsibilities that restrict women's ability to seek and maintain employment. Despite these challenges, some initiatives have aimed to improve their situation, such as skills training, entrepreneurship programs, and efforts by organizations like UN Women and the International Labour Organization

(ILO) to enhance access to decent work.

In the refugee camps of Zaatari and Azraq, economic opportunities are even more constrained. These camps provide immediate relief and basic needs but lack long-term economic prospects. Employment opportunities within camp boundaries are limited, with most jobs tied to camp services such as teaching, healthcare, or administrative roles with NGOs. These positions are insufficient to meet the demand, and many women rely on humanitarian aid to meet basic needs.

The restrictive camp environment, combined with safety concerns and social norms, often prevents women from engaging fully in economic activities. Livelihood programs within the camps aim to offer some economic relief through vocational training and small business grants, but their scale and impact are limited. Moreover, 86% of refugees in host communities live below the poverty line, with over half of these refugees being female. Less than half of school-aged children are currently enrolled in public schools, despite Jordan providing free education to refugees. This lack of education and the high prevalence of informal work, which affects at least 44% of the Jordanian workforce, contribute to the economic insecurity faced by Syrian refugee women (Abigail Hunt, 2017).

The proportion of women holding work permits and levels of employment varied across the countries. In Lebanon, only 1% of female Syrian refugees reported having a work permit, with 13% of women currently working. In the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, 78% of women had Kurdish residency permits allowing legal employment, though only 4% reported having full-time, part-time, or temporary work. In Jordan, UN data indicates that only 4% of work permits issued to refugees have been granted to women, and none of the women interviewed possessed a valid work permit (Anon., n.d.). While formal employment was rare, many women worked informally by cleaning houses, mending clothes, watching or tutoring children, and cooking when needed by neighbors or friends. This cross-country data highlights that while access to work permits facilitates employment opportunities, they alone are insufficient to ensure women's inclusion in the labor force.

In Jordan, many women expressed a desire to work more and contribute to household income but faced significant difficulties in finding employment. Women reported being unable to find work or secure jobs in the same fields they were employed in while in Syria. Additionally, the legal and social barriers, including

restrictions on job types and sectors for foreign nationals and discrimination, pushed most refugees into the informal economy. This situation is further compounded by educational disparities and language barriers, as only a small percentage of refugees have higher education and proficiency in English, limiting their opportunities in the formal job market, particularly in digital and gig economy roles.

In Jordan, the theme of change since the start of the Syria crisis was also evident in many interviews. Some women reported taking on more responsibilities within their households, venturing into the community more, or even starting businesses. Despite these shifts, many women indicated ongoing challenges in finding stable and suitable work, both within and outside the home. The change in roles often came with increased stress and pressure, particularly as they balanced household duties with the need to generate income in a challenging economic environment. Nonetheless, some women embraced these changes as opportunities for empowerment and greater involvement in community life, though this varied widely among different age groups and individual circumstances.

Both in host communities and camps, Syrian refugee women in Jordan face significant obstacles to achieving economic security. Efforts to address these issues must focus on removing barriers to employment, providing targeted support for women's economic initiatives, and ensuring that refugee women have access to the necessary resources and opportunities to build sustainable livelihoods. Collaboration between international organizations, the Jordanian government, and local NGOs is essential to creating a more inclusive and supportive environment for these women, enabling them to contribute meaningfully to their communities and improve their economic prospects.

B. The impact of Syrians on Jordan Labor Market

Prior to 2016, most Syrian refugees in Jordan were unable to acquire work permits. As a result, many households struggled to make ends meet with the cash assistance and food coupon programs offered by humanitarian organizations. To cope, many refugees worked without permits in the informal private sector, despite the risks involved. If caught, they could be sent from host communities to formal camps or even deported back to Syria (y Caroline Krafft, 2018).

In early 2016, the Jordanian government and the European Union (EU) reached a bilateral agreement known as the Jordan Compact. This agreement stipulated that Jordan would create a work permit program for Syrian refugees in exchange for improved trade terms and increased aid commitments from EU states. With the support of a sponsor, Syrian refugees could apply for official permission to participate in wage labor at the sponsor's business. The longer-term goal of the permit scheme was to enroll 200,000 Syrian refugees (Krafft, 2019). To register for a work permit, a refugee must have UNHCR documentation, and a service card provided by the Ministry of Interior. Permits must be renewed annually and only allow work in certain sectors, mainly agriculture, construction, and manufacturing, which already had large or dominant migrant worker groups prior to allowing refugees access (Karasapan, 2022).

The introduction of work permits aimed to regulate the labor market and integrate Syrian refugees into the economy. In 2016, 55% of Jordanian men were employed, compared to 38% of Syrian refugee men. Men from other nationalities, primarily migrant workers, had an employment rate of 63%. Among women, only 11% of Jordanian women, 3% of Syrian refugee women, and 4% of women of other nationalities were working. Unemployment rates were higher among Syrian refugee men (17%) compared to Jordanian men (13%) and much lower among men of other nationalities (6%) (y Caroline Krafft, 2018).

Among employed Syrian refugees, the most common type of work was informal private regular wage work, with 53% of employed Syrian refugee men reporting such jobs in 2016. The next most common status was irregular wage work (28%). Informal and irregular wage work provides little economic security and no social protection benefits. In contrast, relatively few Jordanian men engaged in irregular (6%) or informal (13%) work. Men of other nationalities had similar work patterns to Syrian refugees, with 53% in informal private regular wage work and 12% in irregular wage work (Karasapan, 2022). Only 9% of Syrian refugee men were engaged in private formal wage work, compared to 23% of Jordanian men and 18% of men of other nationalities. Jordanian men were primarily engaged in public sector wage work (42%), which Syrians cannot access. This segmentation indicates that Jordanians and non-Jordanians occupy different parts of the labor market, with Syrians competing more with other migrant workers than with Jordanians. Jordanians

competing in the same sectors as Syrian refugees and other nationalities are likely to be the poorest and least educated (Krafft, 2019).

Despite the availability of up to 200,000 work permits, uptake among Syrian refugees has been low. In 2016, among the employed Syrian refugees, 43% had a work permit. Of those in the formal sector, 73% had permits, while 40% of those in the informal sector had permits. This corresponds to approximately 92,000 Syrian refugees working in the informal sector, with 37,000 having permits, and about 11,000 working in the formal sector, with 8,000 having permits, totaling roughly 44,000 permit holders (Krafft, 2019). Reasons for low permit uptake include concerns about costs and the requirement to be tied to a single employer, which could potentially worsen working conditions instead of improving them.

The economic landscape in Jordan poses significant challenges for both Jordanian citizens and Syrian refugees. Jordan's GDP and employment growth have averaged only 2.4% annually since 2011, which has not kept pace with its growing workforce. As of early 2021, the unemployment rate in Jordan stood at 25%, with youth unemployment reaching a record high of 48.1%. The central government debt exceeded 106% of GDP by late 2020, rising by 10 percentage points in just one year. This difficult economic environment makes it challenging for the country to accommodate large numbers of refugees and provide them with adequate employment opportunities.

The COVID-19 pandemic has exacerbated the economic hardships faced by Syrian refugees in Jordan. Sectors where refugees are predominantly employed, such as tourism, construction, trade, and customer services, were severely impacted by the pandemic and subsequent lockdowns. As a result, 68% of refugees reported significant income losses. Many Syrian refugees are heavily indebted, with 55% of debts incurred for basic needs. The pandemic has reversed many of the gains made by refugees, with food security indicators regressing to 2014 levels. According to UNHCR, only 2% of refugee households can meet their essential food needs without resorting to negative coping strategies, such as reducing meals, pulling children out of school, early marriage, and begging.

The Jordan Compact aimed to provide economic opportunities and stability for Syrian refugees through work permits, but various challenges have limited its effectiveness. These challenges include bureaucratic hurdles, the costs associated

with obtaining permits, and the requirement to be tied to a single employer. Additionally, the sectors open to Syrian refugees are often low-paying and offer little job security or social protection benefits. This situation leaves many refugees in precarious employment conditions, struggling to make ends meet.

To improve the economic integration and security of Syrian refugees in Jordan, it is crucial to address these challenges comprehensively. This may involve streamlining the work permit application process, expanding the sectors in which refugees can work, and ensuring that permits offer more flexibility in terms of changing employers. Furthermore, enhancing coordination between the Jordanian government, international organizations, and humanitarian agencies can help create more sustainable and inclusive economic opportunities for refugees.

While the Jordan Compact and the work permit program represent significant steps toward integrating Syrian refugees into Jordan's economy, much work remains to be done. Addressing the structural and bureaucratic challenges that hinder refugees' access to formal employment is essential. By doing so, Jordan can better support the economic needs of both its citizens and the refugee population, fostering a more inclusive and resilient labor market. (y Caroline Krafft, 2018).

C. The impact of feminism on Syrian refugees in Jordan

The Syrian refugee crisis has displaced millions, with a significant number seeking refuge in neighboring Jordan. For the nearly half of Syrian refugees who are women and girls, the risks encountered in displacement are heightened by gender discrimination and inequalities. Amidst these challenges, feminist movements and organizations have played a crucial role in addressing the specific needs of Syrian refugee women (women, 2018) . Access to basic services, including education and health, is a key commitment within the Jordan Compact and Brussels Conferences, aimed at providing accessible and quality services for both Syrian refugee communities and host communities. This sub-chapter explores the multifaceted impact of feminism on Syrian refugee women in Jordan, examining how feminist initiatives have promoted empowerment, education, economic participation, mental health, legal awareness, and community leadership.

In a study consists of 39 qualitative in-depth interviews conducted in January

2018 by UN Women showing the changing nature of gender dynamics, women's roles and responsibilities in displacement, their experiences of and access to humanitarian aid, and experiences of violence of Syrian refugee women in Jordan living in urban and rural host communities in Amman, Mafraq, and Irbid (women, 2018) . The women who participated in this study cited a lack of financial resources in the country as their primary concern.

For Syrian refugee women, conservative gender roles have kept many women and girls from participating equitably in the public sphere, a notion that is directly challenged by the need for Syrian refugee women in Jordan to provide for their families. Women discussed the limited options available to them to deal with these shortages. For some, these options included illegally moving away from refugee camps, where work opportunities were limited, to find better work, or taking jobs that they would not have otherwise taken.

Some women chose to eat poorly or significantly less to ensure food for their families, while others chose to borrow money from shops, family, or neighbors. For those that were able to access humanitarian aid (cash, NFIS, Vouchers, or visa), it was cited as insufficient. Many women reported not completely understanding the aid system, including where to apply for and access such aid. Women expressed a general distrust in the humanitarian aid system, and the sentiment that they would be better off if they were able to work and provide for their families themselves rather than be dependent on aid. In addition to general confusion and distrust, a few women reported hearing of incidents where service providers had propositioned female heads of household (K. Alnuaimi PhD, 2017), offering them additional aid.

Feminist initiatives played a vital role in raising awareness among Syrian refugee women about their rights and potential. Women empowerment programs have focused on educating women about gender equality and their inherent rights, challenging traditional gender roles that often confine women to domestic spheres. These initiatives provide platforms for women to voice their experiences, share stories, and build solidarity. As a result, many Syrian refugee women have developed a stronger sense of agency, enabling them to make informed decisions about their lives and advocate for themselves and their families (women, n.d.). Empowerment has also come through various capacity-building workshops that teach women leadership skills, negotiation techniques, and self-advocacy. These programs are

critical in fostering a sense of self-worth and confidence among the participants, as their aim is to build a sustainable set of skills for women to be able to use in their daily life and for future work opportunities.

Education is a key area where feminist organizations have made a significant impact. The Ministry of Education and partners are making joint efforts to improve access to quality inclusive education for all children, including refugee children in Jordan, as outlined in the Education Strategic Plan 2018-2022. Many feminist initiatives focus on providing educational opportunities and vocational training programs tailored to the needs of Syrian refugee women. These programs range from basic literacy classes, life skills, to advanced vocational training in fields such as healthcare, technology, tailoring, agriculture, and entrepreneurship. Despite these efforts, the existence of services does not always translate into access for Syrian refugees in Jordan. Educational programs not only enhance women's knowledge and skills but also open doors to employment opportunities. By gaining access to education, Syrian refugee women are better equipped to support themselves and their families, breaking the cycle of poverty and dependency.

Economic security and independence are crucial for the empowerment of Syrian refugee women. Feminist organizations have been pivotal in increasing the economic participation of these women by supporting small business development, job placement, and entrepreneurship. Microfinance programs, for instance, provide women with the financial resources needed to start their own businesses, while job training programs prepare them for various employment opportunities in the local economy. By participating economically, Syrian refugee women can achieve greater autonomy and improve their social status. Economic participation also helps in building self-esteem and a sense of purpose, contributing to the overall well-being of the women involved.

Many women reported wanting to contribute to household income but expressed difficulties finding work. Issues ranged from the inability to obtain a work permit to a lack of available jobs considered appropriate for women. This led women to accept informal employment such as tailoring, cleaning houses, tutoring, and cooking for neighbors and family (women, n.d.). Informal, home-based employment was accepted by many as the only option available to them, rather than as their preferred modality for engagement in the labor market. While some women saw this

work as shameful or demeaning, they did report feeling grateful that they were able to help their families survive.

The trauma of displacement, loss, and uncertainty profoundly impacts the mental health of Syrian refugee women. Feminist approaches emphasize the importance of mental health and psychosocial support, recognizing that empowerment is not solely economic or educational but also emotional. In Jordan, primary, secondary, and some tertiary healthcare services are available to all registered refugees at the non-insured Jordanian rate at public health centers and hospitals in all governorates. Many feminist organizations and NGOs offer counseling services, support groups, and trauma-informed care to help women cope with their experiences. These programs provide safe spaces for women to express their emotions, share their struggles, and receive professional support. By addressing mental health, feminist initiatives help women build resilience, which is crucial for their long-term recovery and empowerment.

Legal awareness is another critical area where feminism has significantly impacted Syrian refugee women. Feminist organizations often provide legal education, helping women understand their rights under Jordanian law and international human rights frameworks. This knowledge is vital for combating issues such as gender-based violence, exploitation, and discrimination. (women, n.d.).

Feminism encourages the participation of women in community leadership roles, fostering inclusive decision-making processes. Various programs focus on developing leadership skills among Syrian refugee women, encouraging them to take on active roles within their communities. By participating in community leadership, women can influence decisions that affect their lives and advocate for the needs of their fellow refugees (women, 2018). This shift not only empowers individual women but also promotes gender equality at a grassroots level, creating more cohesive and equitable communities.

Access to mobile phones and technologies plays a crucial role in supporting the livelihoods and well-being of Syrian refugee women. Refugee crises highlight the importance of mobile phones for connectivity, digital tools, and platforms, family reconnection, access to services and education, livelihoods, and mobile money (women, n.d.). A study of Syrians in Zaatari camp in Jordan found that refugees used mobile phones to cope with "information precarity"—a lack of access to information

and exposure to inaccurate or dangerous information. The survey found that most respondents (99.5%) have access to mobile phones, with 91% owning smartphones. Mobile phones also support women's livelihoods by enabling them to engage in business and income-making activities and provide a key channel to access information. Despite high ownership rates, access to mobile networks is a significant constraint, particularly in camps like Zaatari and Azraq, where fewer respondents report good access to networks. Outside of camps, affordability is a more commonly reported barrier.

The COVID-19 pandemic increased the importance of mobile access as services moved online, highlighting the need to address digital divides. The survey revealed gender differences in digital access and how these impact access to services, emphasizing the importance of addressing these disparities to ensure equitable access to resources.

While feminism has had positive impacts, it also faces significant challenges. Traditional and patriarchal norms within both the refugee and host communities can resist feminist principles, creating obstacles for women's full empowerment. Moreover, limited resources and the socio-economic conditions of refugees can hinder the implementation of feminist programs. The existence of basic services does not always translate into access for Syrian refugees in Jordan.

Feminist efforts often emphasize intersectionality, recognizing the diverse experiences of Syrian refugee women. Factors such as age, disability, and socio-economic status can intersect to create unique challenges for different women. (women, n.d.). Inclusive approaches ensure that the needs of all women, particularly the most marginalized, are addressed. By adopting an intersectional lens, feminist organizations can design programs that are more responsive to the specific needs of various groups of women, ensuring that no one is left behind.

Feminism efforts have significantly impacted the lives of Syrian refugee women in Jordan. These efforts have contributed to improving the lives and prospects of many Syrian refugee women. Through continued support and innovative approaches, feminist initiatives can further enhance the empowerment and integration of Syrian refugee women, fostering a more just and equitable society and policies.

V. CONCLUSION

The displacement of millions of Syrians due to the ongoing conflict that started in 2011, has led to an unprecedented humanitarian crisis, with many seeking refuge in neighboring countries such as Jordan. Among these refugees, women have faced unique challenges exacerbated by gender discrimination and economic insecurity. This thesis has explored the impact of International non-governmental organizations (INGOs) on the economic security of Syrian refugee women in Jordan from 2016 to 2023, with a particular emphasis on feminist perspectives. Through the analysis of various theoretical frameworks, historical contexts, and empirical evidence, several key findings and implications have emerged.

A. Economic Security and Feminism:

For Syrian refugee women in Jordan, achieving economic security has been a multifaceted challenge. INGOs have played a crucial role in addressing this challenge by providing financial aid, vocational training, and employment opportunities. These efforts have not only helped women meet their basic needs but have also enabled them to attain a degree of financial independence and stability. Feminist frameworks have been instrumental in shaping these interventions, emphasizing the importance of gender equality and the empowerment of women.

Feminist initiatives within INGOs have focused on raising awareness about women's rights, providing platforms for women's voices, and fostering leadership skills. These initiatives have challenged traditional gender roles and enabled women to take on more active roles in both their households and communities. By integrating feminist principles, INGOs have contributed to a shift in societal attitudes towards gender equality, although resistance from patriarchal norms remains a significant barrier.

B. The Impact of NGOs:

INGOs have been pivotal in providing humanitarian aid and support to Syrian refugees in Jordan. From emergency response efforts to long-term development programs, these organizations have addressed various aspects of refugees' lives, including health, education, and economic empowerment. The historical framework outlined in this thesis highlighted how INGOs have evolved their strategies over the years, adapting to the changing needs of the refugee population and the socio-economic conditions, regulations, and costumes of Jordan.

In terms of economic security and economic justice, INGOs have implemented numerous programs aimed at improving the livelihoods of Syrian women. These programs have included microfinance initiatives, job placement services, and entrepreneurship training. The impact of these efforts has been significant, enabling many women to start their own businesses, secure employment, and contribute to their families' incomes. Despite these successes, challenges such as legal barriers to work, limited access to resources, and social stigma persisted to stand between these initiatives and its goals.

C. Impact on the Jordanian Labor Market:

The influx of Syrian refugees has had a complex impact on the Jordanian labor market. While there have been concerns about competition for jobs and downward pressure on wages, the presence of Syrian women in the workforce has also brought new skills and perspectives. NGOs have facilitated this integration by advocating for policies that support refugee employment and by providing training that aligns with market demands. The economic participation of Syrian women has not only benefited their families but has also contributed to the broader economy.

D. Feminism and Community Leadership:

Feminist approaches have emphasized the importance of community leadership and participation for Syrian refugee women. By involving women in decision-making processes and encouraging them to take on leadership roles, INGOs have helped to build more inclusive and equitable communities. These efforts have been essential in promoting social cohesion and resilience among refugees and host

communities alike.

E. Challenges and Future Directions:

Despite the positive impacts, several challenges remain. Traditional and patriarchal norms continue to dominate the full empowerment of Syrian women. Additionally, limited resources and the socio-economic conditions of refugees pose ongoing obstacles. To address these challenges, INGOs must continue to navigate complex cultural dynamics and build trust within communities. Collaborative approaches that involve men and boys in gender equality initiatives can help mitigate resistance and promote broader acceptance of feminist ideals.

Furthermore, it is essential to adopt an intersectional approach that recognizes the diverse experiences of Syrian refugee women. Factors such as age, disability, and socio-economic status create unique challenges that require tailored interventions. By considering these intersections, INGOs can design more responsive and inclusive programs that ensure equality in communities.

To summarize, INGOs have had a profound impact on the economic security of Syrian refugee women in Jordan, significantly shaped by feminist principles. These efforts have enabled women to achieve greater financial independence, challenge traditional gender roles, and contribute to their communities. While significant progress has been made, ongoing challenges necessitate continued support and innovative approaches. By embracing intersectionality, fostering community leadership, and promoting gender equality, INGOs can further enhance the empowerment and integration of Syrian refugee women, contributing to a more just and equitable society. Through sustained commitment and collaboration, the goals of economic security and gender equality for Syrian refugee women in Jordan can be progressively realized.

F. Recommendations

To enhance sustainable economic development and gender equality for Syrian refugee women in Jordan, a multifaceted and inclusive approach is necessary. The following strategies can be implemented to address the complex challenges faced by these women and promote long-term empowerment and stability.

1. **Enhance Access to Education and Vocational Training:**
    - Targeted Educational Programs: Develop and expand educational initiatives tailored specifically to the needs of Syrian refugee women, including literacy courses, vocational training, and higher education scholarships. These programs should focus on market-relevant skills such as technology, healthcare, and entrepreneurship.
    - Collaborations with Educational Institutions: Partner with local universities, vocational schools, and online education platforms to provide accredited courses and certifications that improve employability.
2. **Foster Economic Participation and Entrepreneurship:**
    - Business Incubators and Mentorship: Establish business incubators and mentorship programs that offer guidance, resources, and networking opportunities for aspiring female entrepreneurs. These incubators can provide co-working spaces, business development services, and access to markets.
    - Market Access and Supply Chains: Integrate refugee women into local and regional supply chains by creating partnerships with businesses and promoting products made by refugee women.
3. **Strengthen Legal and Policy Frameworks:**
    - Advocacy for Legal Reforms: Advocate for policies that remove legal barriers to employment for refugees, such as easing restrictions on work permits and formalizing informal employment sectors.
    - Awareness and Legal Aid: Increase awareness among refugee women about their legal rights and provide access to legal aid services to address issues such as exploitation, discrimination, and gender-based violence.
4. **Promote Mental Health and Psychosocial Support:**
    - Comprehensive Support Services: Integrate mental health and psychosocial support into all economic development programs. Provide counseling, support groups, and trauma-informed care to help women cope with the psychological impacts of displacement.
    - Community-Based Approaches: Utilize community-based approaches that

leverage existing social networks and cultural practices to provide mental health support. Train community leaders and peer supporters to offer first-line psychological aid.

5. **Encourage Community Leadership and Participation:**
    - Leadership Training: Offer leadership training programs that empower women to take on active roles within their communities. Focus on building skills in advocacy, public speaking, and community organizing.
    - Women's Committees and Councils**:** Establish women's committees and councils within refugee communities to ensure that women have a platform to voice their concerns and influence decision-making processes.
6. **Utilize Technology and Digital Tools:**
    - Digital Literacy Programs: Implement digital literacy programs to equip women with the skills needed to navigate and leverage digital platforms for education, business, and communication.
    - Online Marketplaces: Develop and support online marketplaces that allow refugee women to sell their products and services beyond local markets. This can increase their income potential and economic independence.
7. **Engage Males in Gender Equality Efforts:**
    - Awareness Campaigns: Conduct awareness campaigns that target men and boys, highlighting the importance of gender equality and the benefits of women's economic participation.
    - Inclusive Programs: Design programs that involve men and boys as allies in promoting gender equality. Encourage their participation in workshops and discussions about shared responsibilities and respectful relationships.
8. **Strengthen Partnerships and Coordination:**
    - Stakeholder Collaboration**:** Foster partnerships between NGOs, government agencies, international organizations, and the private sector to coordinate efforts and pool resources. This can enhance the effectiveness and sustainability of economic development programs.

- Sustainable Funding: Advocate for long-term, sustainable funding from international donors and development agencies to ensure the continuity and scalability of successful programs.

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