Coping with COVID - 19 in Jordan:
A gendered human security approach

Coeditor Dr. Sawsan Al Majali

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Arab Renaissance for Democracy and Development (ARDD)

Founded in 2008 in Amman, Jordan, ARDD is a Civil Society Organization seeking to engender a new Arab Nahda (Arab Renaissance) movement that contributes to addressing the challenges faced by the Arab World, building on the achievements and ideas of the Arab Nahda and aiming to open the door for further participation in formulating concrete action plans that may help bring about the desired change and development. ARDD supports marginalized individuals and communities — including refugees —secure and enjoy their social, political and economic rights, through legal aid, psychosocial support, media and grassroots mobilization, and research and advocacy to raise local, regional and international stakeholders' awareness about the challenges that vulnerable persons face in Jordan and the wider Arab region.

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Executive Summary

The report is an effort exerted by civil society stakeholders to delineate, through consensus, possible intervention strategies that aim to minimise the adverse effects of the health crisis brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic and its socioeconomic impact. Before the pandemic, the human security situation in Jordan was already complex, and particularly fragile at times. COVID-19 and the economic crisis that ensued, negatively impacted all aspects of security, and will continue to do so, unless fundamental changes are adopted.

It has been argued that "Jordan had a good coercive mechanism to institute a lockdown but was structurally ill-equipped to deal with a large outbreak" (Jensehaugen, 2020) While the government managed to contain the health crisis to a large degree, the economic and political consequences of the measures adopted are having a profound impact, even the potential to intensify undemocratic/authoritarian and non-inclusive trends.

The report adopts a gendered human security approach to look at the seven areas of human security in Jordan, namely, economic, health, food, environmental, personal, community and political, and develop three different scenarios (optimistic, pessimistic, and neutral) of the impact of COVID-19 on human security. The report uses a gender lens in its analysis and gives voice to women to come up with gender-responsive recovery solutions. A gendered human security approach ensures a truly comprehensive and people-centered analysis of measures suggested to respond to current challenges.

The scenarios and recommendations proposed build on online Zoom discussions facilitated by ARDD and the Jordan NGOs Forum (JONAF) with a group of social protection specialists, including activists, academics, politicians, and civil society representatives from Jordan and the region. The sessions covered various factors (political, economic, legislative, social, and technological) related to the impact of the pandemic. The relevance and significance of analysing and understanding the human security context in Jordan stems from the belief that it is an essential indicator of how the country will cope in the aftermath of COVID-19.

1. Introduction

On March 2, 2020, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan registered its first confirmed case of COVID-19 and joined the global struggle against the virus. Despite the weak economy and health care capacities, the first wave of COVID-19 in Jordan was relatively controlled, with the government taking prompt steps to keep the virus curve flat for some time (see Figure 1).[1]Preparations to confront COVID-19 started when the virus was taking hold in China, through the formation of an Epidemic Committee on January 26, which established several protocols to deal with the expected arrival of COVID-19 (Younes, 2020) After the first positive

Figure 1COVID-19 situation in Jordan between April and September 2020.

case was registered, the government formed an inter-ministerial committee to manage the public health emergency, advance contingency plans, and supervise the operation (World Bank, 2020a is the "a" after the year needed?). Consequently, the government implemented measures to restrain the spread of the virus, including closing schools, land and sea borders and suspending national and international flights (Jensehaugen, 2020).
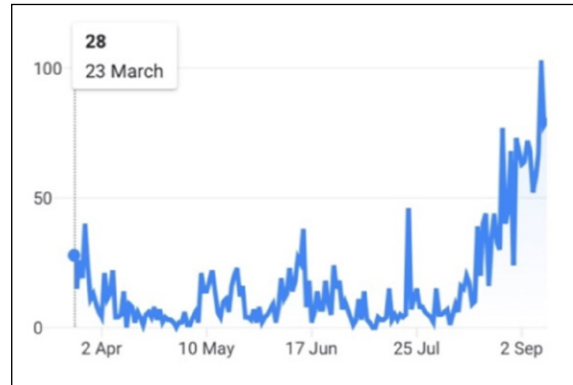
Furthermore, the issuance of Defence Order No. 2 for the year 2020 enforcing the provisions of Defence Law No. 13 of 1992, placed the country under emergency military laws and granted the government more extensive powers to combat the virus. On March 21, a complete curfew was introduced, including termination of most services (i.e., commercial, religious institutions, transportation) (International Labour Organisation, 2020).

These harsh and restrictive measures created tough socio-economic realities, and raised political and legislative questions that, as the report briefly explores, aimed to spare the country worse effects and impacts than elsewhere (Younes, 2020). In May, the government started to gradually ease the restrictions by implementing social distancing regulations and mandatory mask wearing in business establishments, public transportation and government facilities (Al-Monitor, 2020).
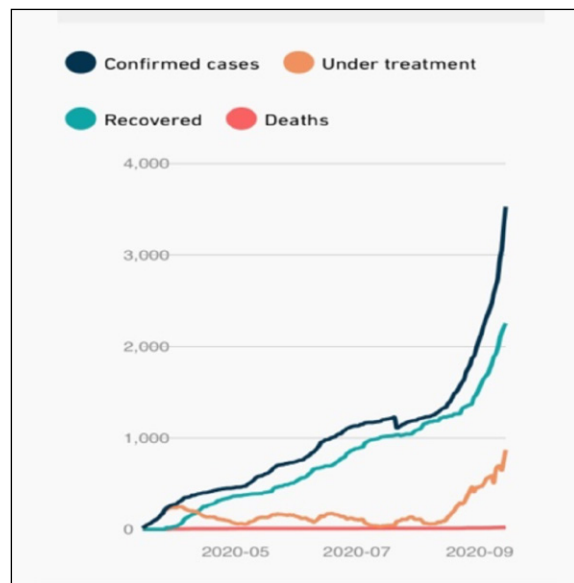

Figure 2: COVID-19 situation in Jordan between April and September 2020.

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1 Source: https://corona.moh.gov.jo/en

Despite the gradual increase in the number of positive cases in late August, 2.1 million students returned to school in early September and Queen Alia International Airport in Amman was reopened after six months of closure (Al-Monitor, 2020). On September 4, Amman and Zarqa went under complete curfew, with only essential workers exempt from the ban to move outdoors (Ibid). Two weeks after the commencement of the new school year the virus curve started to rise again and Jordan witnessed the second wave of Corona virus (see figure 2)[2],registering over 4,779 cases and a total of 30 deaths.[3] As a result, the government announced a series of nationwide restrictions for two weeks, starting September 14, including closing religious institutions, public markets and schools, and switched to online learning, with the exception of Grades 1, 3 and 12. (Ibid)

The pandemic had a shocking effect on people in ways we still grapple to cope with. (Human Security Collective, 2020) COVID-19 is having an intense social and economic impact on people and communities in nearly every country of the world. (United Nation Development Programme, 2020) COVID-19 and its impact pose serious risks to human security and economic recovery, whether in Jordan or elsewhere in the world, as well as the challenge of heightened regional uncertainty. (Ibid) .

As COVID-19 public health challenges persist, they force governments and other stakeholders (i.e., NGOs, INGOs) to consider trade-offs between health and other aspects of human security, and to take action that may go counter to established rights. (Human Security Collective, 2020) The pandemic amplified existing inequalities, exposing vulnerable groups, such as refugees, the elderly, informal workers, women, people on low incomes and those with disabilities to further inequalities and vulnerabilities. (Ibid) Containment measures, including maintaining physical distancing and suspension of the most businesses, curtailed human activities and resulted in growing levels of unemployment, poverty, hunger, and domestic and gender violence. (Ibid)

Human Security and Gender-Responsive Recovery

An approach that ensures human security calls for people-centered, comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented responses that strengthen the protection and empowerment of all people and all communities. It is based on national ownership and acknowledges the strong connection among peace, development and human rights, and considers civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. In short, it is people's right to live in freedom and dignity, free from poverty and need. Since the political, economic, social and cultural conditions for human security vary significantly among and within countries, human security necessitates national solutions that take into consideration local realities.

Women also need to find the space that helps their voices be heard in the recovery discourses, in this case, in Jordan. Women have been disproportionally impacted by COVID-19 worldwide, Jordan included, and they are key stakeholders in exerting sustainable efforts to respond to the human security threats affecting their countries. The response efforts exerted by the civil society during the past year are a testimony to the key role that CSOs, and in particular women-led

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2 Source: https://corona.moh.gov.jo/en
3 From: https://corona.moh.gov.jo/en. These figures may change

CSOs, can play in Jordan. It should be remembered that during the Spring 2020 lockdown, when international and government actors would not operate in the field, action by the civil society, in the form of partnership with the military or on its own, was instrumental in providing aid distributing it to many in need. At the local level, CSOs responded quickly to the needs of their communities, providing information on the needs and risks of those in vulnerable situation. To be sure, the civil society, and most often women, stepped up to the plate and filled the void that had been created.

About the Report

The report aims to bring about an understanding of the impact of COVID-19 on human security in Jordan by answering questions relating to trends, key drivers, and actors in order to develop three potential scenarios (optimistic, pessimistic and neutral) for short, medium and long terms. As much as possible, the report adopted a gendered human security approach, including a gender lens when discussing challenges and recommendations.

As it stands, the pandemic might be subsiding, but it also has the potential to get worse and its impact may be felt for a long time. A macro level analysis shows that it is important to also recognise the potential for other global crises, given factors like the high rates of global production and consumption, poor and unsustainable resources management, and various other problematic components of what has come to be regarded as normal life. On a more localised level, this report aims to explore and predict potential human security scenarios the COVID-19 may impose on different groups of the society in Jordan, and to propose several ways forward.

The report builds on an extensive review of relevant documents, studies and data collection processes, based on different COVID-19 response plans, reports, policy papers and rapid assessments published by INGOs, local civil society organisations and research centres in Jordan. The data collected laid the foundation for initiating a dialogue among experts of different backgrounds and specialities from Jordan, on the different possible scenarios for the effect of COVID-19 on the seven human security areas. ARDD developed the guiding questions for these discussions through reviewing pertinent literature and analysing human security needs (see Table 1 in Annex 1).

ARDD facilitated online discussion sessions with scholars, policymakers, activists, politicians, civil society actors, and government and independent experts (see table 2). These sessions were held between April 22 and June 17, 2020, followed by a scenario-building exercise. Scenario building is a methodology used to help understand the whole range of possibilities that present themselves in several fields, including social development, to stakeholders and policymakers. Scenario building is relevant when dealing with critical uncertainties such as the impact of COVID-19 and the complexities of forces driving future change. It provides opportunities to explore the impact of COVID 19 on human security in Jordan and to consider effective ways of responding to it. Furthermore, it offers stakeholders an opportunity to better cope with the complexity of post-COVID-19 times. It helps them examine, challenge and discuss their assumptions and perceptions about the future and sharpens their ability to reorganise their mental model of reality, given an uncertain future. (Provo et al., 1998)

2. Human Security Profile of Jordan

According to most recent data from the Department of Statistics (DoS), Jordan's population stands at 10,722,618; the majority, 91.5%, lives in urban areas, with a low-density population of 118.9 person/Km2. Almost 74% of people are below the age of 30. (Ibid). Jordan hosts about three million registered refugees; among them, more than two million are Palestinians (United Nations Relief and Works Agency, 2020), and about 656,000 are Syrians. Approximately 124,000 refugees reside in large camps: 67,000 Iraqis, 15,000 Yemenis, 6,000 Sudanese and 2,500 of 52 other nationalities. (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2019) Jordan lacks natural resources (it is the world's second water-poorest country), , high unemployment and underemployment rates, and state finances are in permanent deficit, (Combaz, 2019) Jordan is vulnerable to conflicts, and the political instabilities that stem from them, in neighbouring countries. It has undergone changes in geopolitical relations and commodity prices have at times been unstable.

The government response to COVID-19, as already mentioned, was prompt and restrictive. At health level, the Ministry of Health (MoH) took the lead by increasing the number of medical staff, designating seven public hospitals for quarantine, isolation and treatment, as well as 10 public and private laboratories to diagnose COVID-19. The virus-testing procedure at public facilities is free of charge for both Jordanians and non-Jordanians. Furthermore, MoH established field hospitals to cope with the growing amount of COVID-19 patients along with mobile clinics for minor illnesses and injuries.Active surveillance and contact tracing of COVID-19 cases continue throughout the country. (World Bank, 2020)

At economic level, according to an International Labour Organization (ILO) report (2020), the government announced that it would postpone collecting taxes from all local companies in the food supply and health sectors. Two funds were established to support enterprises at risk; one is managed by the government and receives donations from establishments and individuals, the other, the "Himmat Watan" Fund (Nation's Efforts), led by businesses, accepts contributions from the private sector. Furthermore, the Central Bank of Jordan established a fund for soft and low-interest loans to support small- and medium-size enterprises.

However, despite the prompt response to the pandemic and the relative success in controlling the spread of the virus, Jordan is still fighting consecutive waves. Unemployment rates are on the increase and COVID-19 has significantly weakened the already fragile economy, with poorest segments of the society bearing the overwhelming brunt of it. There is also an urgent need to support the exhausted health system. Furthermore, during the lockdown, there were some concerns and issues raised about the containment measures, government action, and the role of INGOs and local NGOs.

To better deal with the impact of the pandemic on human security in Jordan, it is vital to be aware of its current realities. The following pages present a snapshot of the seven areas of human security in Jordan. They do not aim to give a comprehensive and detailed picture of each area; such a task is beyond the capacity of this report. Instead, it seeks to offer a brief and focused description of the potential threats and opportunities, to enable its readers to better understand the situation and to thoroughly prepare and plan for possible impact scenarios of COVID-19 on human security in Jordan. It is essential to note that the seven areas of human

security are interconnected and should not be read by policymakers and stakeholders separately. They have a domino effect on each other; deficit in one aspect produces a deficit across the spectrum, hence the need to view the seven aspects holistically.

Analysis of Human Security

Economic Security	• Assured basic income for individuals, usually from productive and remunerative work or, as a last resort, from a publicly financed safety net. In this sense, only about a quarter of the world's people are presently economically secure (HDR, 1994).
Food Security	• Physical and economic ease of access to basic food. This requires that people have accessible means to food, by growing it for themselves, by buying it, or by taking advantage of a public food distribution system (HDR, 1994).
Health Security	• Activities required, both proactive and reactive, to minimize the danger and impact of acute health events that endanger people's health across geographical regions and international boundaries (WHO, n.d.).
Environmental Security	• Providing people with a healthy physical enviroment while protecting them from environemental threats that come from the degradation of local and global ecosystems (HDR, 1994).
Personal Security	• The protection of people from physical violence, in a general sense. The status of threats to personal security is primarily reflected in crime rates inside communities that are increasing in both, rich and poor countries (HDR, 1994).
Community Security	• Protection against the breakdown of community structures and frameworks (such as tribes or extended families) that provide members with a reassuring sense of identity and belonging, as well as a shared value system (HDR, 1994).
Political Security	• People's ability to attain their rights free from government repression, torture, systematic violation of human rights and ill-treatment, threats from militarization and the military's ability to exercise control over ideas and information (HDR, 1994).

Economic Security

Economic security pertains to a person's ability to access basic needs such as health, education, housing, information, social protection and job security (International Labour Organization, 2004). Jordan is an upper middle-income country, and its economy is considered one of the smallest in the region (World Bank, 2020). According to the International Monitory Fund World Economic Outlook (IMF), Jordan is ranked 113th out of 192 countries in the world in terms of GDP per capita (2019), and 86th out of 167 in the overall Legatum Prosperity Index (2019). Almost 15.7% (more than one million) of the Jordanian population and 78% of the country's Syrian population lived below the poverty line before the COVID-19 outbreak (Jensehaugen, 2020). The industrial sector is limited, while the services sector accounts for more than 70% of the GDP and around 75% of jobs (Combaz, 2019) .The tourism sector accounts for approximately 19% of the GDP (Ibid). Less than 10% of Jordan's land is suitable for agricultural production, and most of it lies in the areas where the population is already concentrated at high density (EcoPeace, 2019). Furthermore, agriculture accounts for only 3% of the GDP and employs only 3.5% of the workforce. (Kumaraswamy and Singh, 2018) The government therefore relies heavily on foreign aid, tourism, rents and remittances (Ibid) Such economic features make the Jordanian economy vulnerable to external shocks, (Ibid) The World Bank has argued that the pandemic, along with other factors, such as international oil prices and the region's political insecurity, are expected to have a negative impact on Jordan's economic security and other areas of human security (Country Overview World Bank, 2020b 2020b).

COVID-19 has already increased the challenges facing Jordan's weak economy. The World Bank stated in a review published in May 2020 that weak fiscal performance and weak economic growth increased the public debt-to-GDP ratio, with central government debt reaching 99.1% of the GDP in 2019. By the second quarter of 2020, the public sector debt reached almost 101.7% of the GDP. (World Bank, 2020a) Furthermore, the latest figures from DoS show that the overall unemployment rate reached 23%, which means an increase of 3.8% over the second quarter of 2019 (2020). The unemployment rate among the 15-19 and 20-24 age groups is 57.7% and 42.2% respectively (Ibid). The unemployment rate reached 21.5% for males and 28.6% for females during the second quarter of 2020; the unemployment rate for males increased by 4.4 percentage points and 1.4 percentage points for females, over the second quarter of 2019 (Ibid).

As debated by the participants in the Zoom discussions, the pandemic is expected to further weaken the economy in Jordan through increased inflation rates and loss of household purchasing power. The pandemic affects mostly day laborers, owners of small businesses and women in the labour force. Several companies have already stopped working or intend, at best, to reduce the volume of their economic activity because of declining demand, high rates of inflation and capital flight. Furthermore, there are many cases of layoffs, salary cuts, reduced working hours and non-compliance with contracts. Above all, there is a severe lack of accurate data about the poor, low-income families, and workers in Jordan.[4]

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4   This will be further elaborated in section 4.1.3

As detailed in the Zoom discussions, social protection in Jordan relies on two bases: income security and health insurance. According to independent expert and former Senator, Dr. Sawsan Majali, before the pandemic, the government had social protection schemes including: (a) National Aid Fund that covers low-income families, widows, divorcees and people with disabilities; the fund is expected to cover 200,000 families and to include day laborers; (b) health insurance, particularly for those over 60, children under 6 years old, persons with disabilities, and some cancer patients; (c) the Supplementary Fund, which covers 35,000 families through cash transfer, health insurance, transportation, school feeding and solar units; (d) maternity insurance and (e) unemployment insurance.

Furthermore, as noted by Managing Director of the Institute for Family Health Dr. Ibrahim Aqel, the National Social Security Fund suffers from structural weaknesses that limit its ability to provide appropriate protection, especially the elderly, as it does not operate a pension system that would provide suitable pensions for its members. Furthermore, the general pension system that the government provides to a limited number of public sector employees has limited coverage.

Food Security

Food security relates to a person's ability to have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets that person's food preferences and dietary needs for an active and healthy life. (United Nation Development Programme, 1994) Jordan is ranked 64th out of 117 countries by the Global Food Security Index and scored 10.5 on the 2020 Global Hunger Index, indicating that the level of hunger is moderate (see Table 3)[5]. According to DoS, while stunting fell from 12% in 2002 to 8% in 2012, rates have stagnated for the past five years (Department of Statistics and ICF International, 2013) as some groups lack access to quality food". Furthermore, micronutrient deficiencies are prevalent among both Jordanian and Syrian refugee women and children. (UNICEF, 2021)

The above UNDP food security definition stresses the importance of the availability, access, utilisation and stability of supply to achieve the status of being food secure. (Kumaraswamy and Singh, 2018) However, these components are not straightforward in Jordan. A study by Kumaraswamy and Singh (2018) on Jordan's food security challenges found that Jordan imports over 90% of its food needs and has one of the highest per capita subsidy arrangements in the world. This entails an extra economic burden on a country that lacks financial resources and relies heavily on foreign aid. Food security, thus, has become a fundamental problem facing Jordan and its long-term political stability. Furthermore, the study argues that food security in the country faces structural and political issues, including severe climate features; over 93% of the land is arid or semi-arid, water scarcity is endemic, economic deficits prevail, high poverty and unemployment rates are the norm, urbanization continues apace, and all this is accompanied by an population increase. Furthermore, there is lack of a resilient strategy for the agricultural sector and continued political instability in the region. All this makes achieving food

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5   Global Hunger Index severity scale: ≤ 9.9 low 10.0–19.9 moderate 20.0–34.9 serious 35.0–49.9 alarming ≥ 50.0 extremely alarming

sufficiency in Jordan a continuous problem, and while some places are reasonably food-secure at micro-level, there remain pockets of considerable insecurity in the highlands (Badia) and the Jordan Valley (Ghor).

According to WFP's Jordan Country Strategic Plan (2020–2022), governance of the food security sector has limited coordination and is dispersed among many actors. The majority of national strategies and policies are not gender- and age-sensitive and lack an institutional framework for attaining practical food security. Furthermore, agricultural systems are dependent upon good-quality irrigation water, but this is often missing; there is mismanagement and degradation of the limited land resources; poor farm management practices; inequalities; significant variations in seasonal rainfall and an increasing frequency of drought; high production and marketing costs; weak research and extension services and information systems; and poor crop diversification, and all this negatively affects agriculture in Jordan.

Table 3: Jordan's hunger index.[6]

Year	2000	2005	2010	2019
Score	12.1	8.7	8.3	10.5

In addition to the systemic deficiencies noted above, a contemporary example of the interplay between the different dimensions of human security is the situation regarding desert locusts. These locusts fly north from Saudi Arabia into Jordan, Syria and Lebanon on yearly basis. As a deterrent, warning systems are in place to mitigate their effects on Jordanian agriculture. However, in 2021, there were no warnings, and some have attributed this to political tensions. (Guardian, 2021)[7]

Health Security

Health security is the ability to lessen the risk and impact of acute public health events that jeopardise people's health. (World Health Organization, 2020) According to WHO, Jordan's public health indicators have improved significantly over the past 20 years (2017) (see Table 4). The MoH is the leading provider of health insurance services for Jordanians and Syrian refugees living in Jordan. According to the latest data by the Jordan Population and Family Health Survey (2017-18), 58% of ever married women and 50% of men are covered by some type of health insurance scheme (public and private).

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6   Source: Global Hunger Index.
7   Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/may/26/did-jordans-closest-allies-plot-to-unseat-its-king

Table 4: Selected indicators of the health situation in Jordan.[8]

Item	2018	2019
Physician per 10,000 pop.	23.0	27.0
Nurses (all categories) per 10,000 pop.	32.4	29.6
Total No. of hospitals	116	116
Total hospital beds	14,741	14,693
Hospital beds per 10,000 pop.	14.0	14.0
MoH comprehensive health centres	111	112
MoH primary health centres	376	377
MoH budget as % of total government budget	6.6	7.0
Total expenditure on health as % of GDP	0	0
Per capita GDP (JD)	2909.0	NA
Per capita health expenditures (JD)	0	0

Despite the improvements, some challenges continue to pose growing health security risks due to lack of coverage, certain shortages of certain items, or lack of capacities. For instance, Jordan has limited capabilities in national laboratory systems, reporting; preparedness, emergency response and operations, risk communication and points of entry (World Bank,2020a) . The Global Health Security Index 2019 (GHI 2019) ranked Jordan 80 out of 195 countries (see Table 5); 11 within the 17 countries included in the Western Asia and 21 out of the 56 upper middle income countries in the index (GHI 2019).

According to the National Health Strategy (2016-2020) (NHS 2016), there is poor cooperation and coordination within Jordan's health sector. It has a highly centralised system, training shortages for management and strategic planning, and an overlap and duplication of some health-related laws. There is lack of control over the private sector and limited empowerment of citizens to advocate for their interests and to hold local government to account. Lastly, Jordan has a weak commitment to implement national strategies and plans, and inadequate monitoring and evaluation systems (NHS 2016, p. 12).

Table 5: Status of Jordan's health system according to the Global Health Index.[9]

	Rank Out of 195 countries	Score Out of 100
Overall score	80	42.1
Prevention	97	31.8
Detection	83	42.9
Rapid response	50	47.8
Health system	79	27.8
Compliance with International Norms	96	48.6
Risk environment	99 among the more prepared	55.8

8   Source: Ministry of Health website.
9   Source: Global Health Security Index 2019. Available at https://www.ghsindex.org/country/jordan/

Environmental Security

According to the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, environmental security relates to a person's right to safety from environmental threats caused by nature or humans (2016). Jordan is exceptionally vulnerable to negative health effects arising from climate change and has very high natural risks as well: heat waves, dust storms and water shortages in the summer, and routine flooding in the winter, particularly in northern areas (Combaz, 2019). Studies suggest that excessive heat is a high threat, with protracted exposure resulting in heat stress forecast to happen at least once in the coming five years. By 2050, Jordan will have more hot days (above 35°C), the average annual temperature will increase by 2.4°C, and the average rain will be 7.4 mm per annum (EcoPeace, 2019). Internationally, Jordan is ranked 81st (one being the least vulnerable) out of 181 countries in the Notre Dame Global Adaptation Index (ND-GAIN) for climate vulnerability, as well as the 84th least ready country.[10] As a result, and due to already poor water resources, droughts are very likely to happen, which will place more pressure on the agriculture sector and shrink the amount of potable water. Consequently, food security could be at risk (Combaz, 2019).

The National Climate Change Policy and Sector Strategic Guidance Framework (2013-2020)[11] is Jordan's central policy on climate change. The long-term goal of the policy is "to achieve a pro-active, climate-risk resilient Jordan, to remain with a low carbon print but growing economy, with healthy, sustainable, resilient communities, sustainable water and agricultural resources, and thriving and productive ecosystems on the path towards sustainable development." (2013, p. 8) The priority sectors are water[12], agriculture, energy[13], land use and reversing desertification. Unfortunately, Jordan's endeavours on climate change are limited and under-funded, plans are fragmented, and institutions are inconsistent. Furthermore, policymakers see it as a lesser priority in comparison to other stressing issues, such as unemployment. (Combaz, 2019)

Environmental security for Jordan is not a luxury; ignoring or postponing answering environmental questions has the potential to threaten the future of the country and worsen the living conditions in the long run. During the lockdown, key environmental issues were access to water, garbage collection, recycling services and waste management. Jordan is highly vulnerable to ecological risks, which are likely to strongly impact all other areas of human security, in particular: economic, food, and health security. The government needs to prioritize and integrate climate change considerations into the national security agenda. It needs to work on slowing urbanization. Involving women and youth in policies meant to address environmental security is critical to ensuring the success of planning and implementation of environmental strategies.

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10 One is the least ready. Ready here means ability to influence investments and translate them into adaptation actions while taking into consideration the country's economic, governance and social readiness.
11 Has now been extended to 2030
12 The key policies are 'Water for Life: Jordan's Water Strategy (2008-2022)', the National Water Strategy for 2016- 2025, and the Climate Change Policy for a Resilient Water Sector.
13 The key policies are the Master Strategy in the Energy Sector (2015-2025), and the policies based on the 2012 Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency Law (REEEL)

Personal Security

Personal security relates to a person's physical safety and protection from all forms of violence, including domestic, state initiated, and external disturbances, (United Nation Development Programme, 1994) In general, Jordan is a secure and safe country that has robust and capable security services (IHS Markit, 2020). The crime rate per 10,000 people decreased from 44 in 2011/12 to 25 in 2019 (Ibid). Although crime in Jordan is relatively rare, the number of cases of murder and attempted murder, aggravated assault and kidnapping continued to increase in 2019. (Ibid) The most significant increase was in premeditated murders, with 58 incidents witnessed in 2019 compared to 31 in 2018 (Ibid). Overall, crimes against property were the highest (69.6% of the total number of crimes, or 18,459 incidents), with misdemeanour theft the most frequent subcategory. Ibid). Half of all crimes, 49.4%, were committed in Amman, including 53% of all crimes against property and 49% of all crimes against public administration (Ibid). The lowest number of crimes was committed in the desert region (3.8%), followed by the southern region (7.5%) (Ibid).

However, personal security for women remains an issue. According to data by the 2017-18 Jordan Population and Family Health Survey (the most recent), about 1 in 5 (21%) of ever-married women aged 15 to 49 experienced physical violence since age 15. As the report highlights, 18% of ever-married women experienced spousal physical violence. Pushing, shaking, and slapping are the most common types of physical violence reported.

Femicides in the so-called honour killing are the most extreme examples of domestic violence. The latest figures from the Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Monitor (2020) show that during 2019, Jordan recorded 21 cases of domestic killings, an increase of 300% compared to 2018 (seven murders only); 6,965 women were victims of violence. Furthermore, according to the Sisterhood Is Global Institute (SIGI), nine women were killed in the year to July 2020 (2020).

The COVID-19 pandemic has presented critical challenges related to personal security in Jordan, particularly among the most vulnerable groups, such as women, the elderly, children, people with disabilities and refugees. For instance, results of a recent survey published by the Centre for Strategic Studies (CSS) of Jordan University (2020) shows that during the lockdown, there was an increase in domestic violence, with 34% of Jordanian women reporting that they faced different forms of violence and limited or no access to justice.[14] Echoing the CSS findings, a recent report by the UN Women (2020) on the impact of COVID-19 on vulnerable Syrian refugees in Jordan and Jordanian women reveals the multi-layered nature of violence against women and refugees during the pandemic. The report concludes that the pandemic and lockdowns increased the risk of violence in households and augmented food and economic insecurities. It found that 62% of respondents felt at increased risk of suffering physical or psychological violence as a result of increased tensions in the household and increased food insecurity, both of which caused by the pandemic.

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14   Available at: http://jcss.org/ShowNewsAr.aspx?NewsId=830&fbclid=IwAR0kP5ZUy-F2zLNmcvRgjZ-cod9Q-XyCbAW1o7yLKyeRduPiqCPygW8dg48A

As discussed by the Zoom participants, the lockdown and limited human activities increased domestic violence rates and everyday life challenges. The lockdown, along with online education, placed extra burdens and responsibilities on households, particularly on women, including the care of additional household members (children, the elderly, people with disabilities). It decreased women's access to basic healthcare needs, including sanitary pads and contraceptives. (UN Women, 2020)

Older groups of people were amongst those significantly affected by the lockdown as well. As argued during the Zoom discussion, a large percentage of the elderly was not registered with the National Aid Fund, and the sudden dependence on technology during the lockdown further complicated their everyday life and personal security. For those living in assisted facilities, permits granted to family members to visit their elderly relatives during the lockdown were difficult to obtained. As a result, the lderly were left with no access to their loved ones.. Moreover, there were issues related to access to healthcare centres, as patients were not able to access healthcare centres, along with medications for chronic conditions since the health centers were shut down at the beginning of COVID. Eventually, a system of transportation and delivery of medicines was established. Furthermore, the elderly experienced increased mental health problems related to being confined in small housing space, and, generally, being subject to overwhelming and frightening media messages about their extreme vulnerability to the virus.

People with disabilities were also negatively affected by the pandemic due to the absence of access to adequate services, particularly related to access to medical services, food and medications. The pandemic affected people differently and revealed the social gaps within the Jordanian society. For families with children with disabilities, access to technology and online education is uneven. Some families lack proper or steady internet access and, as a result, there was limited or no access to online education during the pandemic. Furthermore, physical distancing and staying at home are luxuries that lots of low-income families cannot afford. Low-income families and refugees do not have the option of being locked down when they must struggle to put food on the table.

Community Security

Community security is the protection against the breakdown of community structures and frameworks (such as tribes or extended families) that provide members with a reassuring sense of identity and belonging, as well as a shared value system. (United Nation Development Programme, 1994) In terms of place of residence and lifestyle, communities in Jordan are divided into urban, Bedouin, rural, and refugee, with extended families or tribes assuming considerable community, social and political importance.

The pandemic revealed both positive and negative aspects at community security level. On the positive side, communities in Jordan witnessed more social and community solidarity, and financial donations to the government's COVID-19 fund schemes. Furthermore, an increase in voluntary initiatives by individuals and community-based organizations was obvious, as members of smaller communities responded promptly in support of those who were in need, as they were best able to define who needed what.

On the negative side, the civil society was not involved in the decision-making process, which threatens to shrink the civil society's working sphere. At the same time, some waited for the government to invite them to contribute to the response to the pandemic or refused to participate in civil society meetings organized by others. Most civil society organizations had no plans and were not prepared to respond promptly to the crisis. Furthermore, a significant concern related to the role of civil society in Jordan during the pandemic was that many organizations saw their role shift to pure relief work. For instance, several civil society organizations shifted during the pandemic from working on issues related to women's empowerment to relief work and parcel distribution. This poses critical questions about civil society organizations and their capacities, specialization, and missions.

Political Security

Political security relates to a person's ability to attain his/her rights, free from government repression, torture, systematic violation of human rights and ill-treatment, threats from militarization and the military's ability to exercise control over ideas and information. (United Nation Development Programme, 1994) Regionally, Jordan ranks 5th (one is the most peaceful) out of 20 on the Global Peace Index (GPI) for 2020. The economic cost of violence in Jordan is 6% of its GDP, whilst the country scored 2.014 in the militarization domain (see tables 6 and 7).[15] Jordan rose 20 places on the 2019 GPI, based on improvements in three thematic domains: the level of societal safety and security; the extent of ongoing domestic and international conflict; the degree of militarization. The country's most considerable improvement was in neighbouring country relations, based on over two decades of improving foreign affairs, especially concerning trade.

Table 6: Ongoing Domestic and International Conflict domain, most peaceful to least.[16]

Regional rank	Overall score	Score change	Overall rank
5 out of 20	1.958 (out of 2.513 regional average)	-0.027	72 out of 163

Table 7: Economic cost of violence in Jordan.[17]

Rank (% GDP)	Economic cost of violence (millions, 2018 PPP)	Per capita impact (2019, PPP)	Economic cost of violence as a percentage of GDP	Economic impact of violence (millions, 2019 PPP)
95 out of 163	5,458.7	1,060.4	6%	10,502.1

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15 Militarisation domain includes seven indicators that reflect the link between a country's level of military build-up, access to weapons and its level of peacefulness, both domestically and internationally.

16 Source: Global Peace Index.

17 Source: Global Peace Index (2020). The economic impact of violence includes the direct and indirect costs of violence as well as an economic multiplier applied to the direct costs. The economic cost of violence includes only the direct and indirect costs. Per capita and percentage of GDP results are calculated using the economic cost of violence.

The most significant impact on political security during the COVID-19 pandemic, as argued by the participants in the Zoom discussion, is associated with the defence orders and their inconsistency, ambiguity and overlapping with other laws which resulted in a lack of clarity across all sectors. For instance, at the beginning of the pandemic, the Ministry of Labour issued some rules which later became invalid as a result of the issuance of a defence order. Some foreign institutions had concerns about the defence orders and questions regarding the protection of workers who had lost their jobs because their institutions did not understand the laws. As Linda Kalash, Executive Director of Tamkeen for Legal Aid and Human Rights, put it during the Zoom discussion, "the defence orders did not protect the worker or the employer" Part of the defence orders policies and laws discriminated against foreign workers. Furthermore, the extent and duration of the orders were not clear. The public often lacks knowledge of the legal jargon concerning issues raised by the defence orders and was insufficiently aware of who the law applies to, under what condition, and who is included in or excluded from the social protection schemes.

The pandemic further weakened political participation, and there was a lack of clarity, regarding the pandemic management mechanism, in identifying the bodies capable to play specific roles in times of crisis. Citizens were not involved in the decision-making process concerning their rights and duties, they often lacked adequate information, which led to a reduced sense of agency, or, in some cases, communities did not comply with the government policies.

To conclude, the overall human security situation in Jordan is challenging and will most likely continue to be so. Before the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, Jordan faced challenges regarding its economy, food security, health capacities, environmental realities, personal, community and political security.

3. Scenarios and factors of COVID-19 impact on human security in Jordan

Based on the above context, and employing the scenario-building tool, this section presents the factors that may influence the impact of COVID-19 on human security and the three potential scenarios (optimistic, pessimistic, and neutral).

The scenario-building exercise enhances the strategic planning process; it can be a learning and decision-making tool that enables one to suggest proper recommendations. It is important to stress that: (1) the ultimate objective of developing potential scenarios regarding the impact of COVID on human security in Jordan is not to invite instant action; instead, it is to build insight and understanding of how COVID-19 is affecting the seven areas of human security in Jordan. Through this process, policymakers and stakeholders learn to acknowledge the uncertainty regarding the future. Once they can understand the risks, they are better prepared to deal with alternatives and thus, ultimately, may be able to structure the future; (2) building scenarios does not envisage the future in any probabilistic manner; instead, it involves identifying critical uncertainties, which likely defy prediction, to allow policymakers and stakeholders to prepare impactful intervention strategies. (Provo et al., 2006)

3.1 Factors

Political, legislative, economic, social, and technological factors might influence the impact of COVID-19 on human security in Jordan. The following highlights some issues related to the five factors as discussed during the online sessions. Hence, it is essential to remember that those discussions took place during the lockdown imposed at the time of the first wave of COVID-19.

3.1.1 Political Factors

Internationally, there is uncertainty about the region's strategic issues and concerns about the asymmetric Israeli-Palestinian conflict, about the rise of extremism, and the military disengagement of the US, which may have harmful consequences for Jordan. The region is witnessing a shift in global priorities, which might lead to ignoring Jordan's political-strategic role in the area and its need for help to fight the pandemic and its impact. Locally, the crisis happened fast in the context of weak political participation, which made more difficult the consultation between the government and other bodies. The pandemic highlighted the government's centrality in responding to COVID-19, as the primary services were provided mainly by it. At the same time, the local councils missed the opportunity to contribute to the response to the pandemic.

At the same time, the official response to COVID-19 has raised concerns about the government's transparency and decision-making processes. The government's decisions seemed rushed, and this tended to confuse the people. According to the Zoom participants, the government lacked transparency and took decisions without providing enough clarifications or sharing sufficient information with the public. The participants also raised concerns related to perpetuating the rentier system and relying on the government entirely, the lack of a comprehensive scheme to monitor and evaluate the government's procedures, and the fragility of the government's economic and social protection schemes.

The government took a top-down approach instead of engaging the citizens or civil society organizations. The participants believe that the government's discourse during the pandemic sounded elitist and relied mainly on the educated classes to understand and implement its policies. The participants also believe that there are no preparedness plans to deal with natural or man-made disasters, and that emergency resources lack from the general budget.

3.1.2 Legislative Factors

The defence orders issued in the early days of the pandemic have affected and continue to affect important aspects of the public's lives; they were the focus of the online discussions which centred around three points: the intersectionality of defence orders with existing laws, their overlapping existing strategies and, their intersectionality with human rights. The issuance of the defence orders poses serious challenges to the Jordanian society, particularly to democratic processes; they also contributed to the marginalization of parliament when taking decision pertaining to budget and infrastructure , violations of workers' rights, and restrictions on media and freedom of speech.

As lockdown measures are no longer in place, the continuation of the defence orders engenders mistrust between civil society, citizens and the government.

It is necessary to promote an efficient accountability scheme, enhance complementarity between executive and legislative powers, and to strengthen Parliament's legislative powers.

3.1.3 Economic Factors

When it comes to economic factors, three points were touched upon. First, an increase in inflation and unemployment rates results in a significant loss in household purchasing power, declining demand and capital flight. This affects other sources of income, such as retirement pensions, real estate rents, savings, etc. To deal with such issues, Jordan must benefit from experiences in self-sufficiency, bearing in mind that economic aid is bound to be reduced or cut off. The second point is lack of accurate data. The pandemic highlighted the importance of having an accurate national database on poverty and the poor, formal and informal workers, and the class strata. Finally, in order to overcome and survive the pandemic, adaptation and finding a fundamental balance between the health and economy sectors is essential.

The participants argued that old neoliberal economic solutions are inadequate for dealing with the current crisis, and the role of the private sector should not be limited to donations, but expanded, to help find ways to preserve people's jobs and secure a dignified living. This could be in the form of inclusive social protection schemes. Also, to better deal with the consequences of COVID-19, sustainability must be a fundamental concept for all sectors, including agriculture and water.

3.1.4 Social Factors

As discussed in section 3.6, COVID-19 revealed both positive and negative aspects at national and community levels. On the one hand, there was significant social solidarity and community cohesion. On the other, the pandemic shone a light upon the class divisions and inequalities within the Jordanian society. It revealed the deficit in the social protection network across the country. As discussed by the Zoom participants, the pandemic did not affect all equally; for instance, poor women and children, refugees, the elderly and people with disabilities were amongst the most affected. Containment measures, including physical distancing, are luxuries that some communities and families in Jordan cannot afford. Lack of access to services, internet, justice and information, and an increase in domestic and gender-based violence added further burdens to the everyday lives of people in these groups.

It is essential to listen to vulnerable groups living in Jordan, in particular those who live in refugee camps and rural areas, as well as to have an honest and comprehensive review of roles and responsibilities with regard to provision of protection. As discussed by the participants, most civil society organizations should have crisis-preparedness plans to be able to provide adequate responses in times of crisis.

3.1.5 Technological Factors

Technological factors are crucial when discussing the changes that might occur due to the impact of COVID-19. With the reduction in human activities during lockdown, access to the internet became a basic need, particularly for online schooling and distance education. This

development prompted some organizations to distribute internet cards as part of their charitable donations. The growing demand for internet services placed considerable pressure on internet providers all over the country. Of significant concern when addressing technological factors is the need to secure equal access to the internet for all. Whilst the government is moving towards digitalization, it is essential to review its technological capabilities and the measures in place to reduce digital illiteracy in Jordan.

In addition to issues of access, digital literacy among parents of school-aged children was an issue. In many cases parents were unable to support their children's on-line education.

3.2 Scenarios

Scenario analysis and scenario building involves defining the possible alternative outcomes of a system's performance that might develop in future. Such processes include "forecasting the expected value of a performance indicator, given a time period, occurrence of different situations, and related changes in the values of system parameters under an uncertain environment".

It tries to consider possible developments and turning points which are connected to the past. Usually, building a scenario entails defining three different possible developments: the optimistic (best case), the pessimistic (worst -case), and more and less probable developments in between.

Scenario creation implies the "futures thinking methodology" that requires broad participation of stakeholders and deep analysis of the defined trends and their key features. Besides, it should be tackling the short-, medium- and long-term development.

The following scenarios are optimistic, pessimistic, and neutral. They are divided into short term, until the end of 2020, medium term, 2021-2022, and long term, 2020-2025. Each scenario provides a narrative that includes the identification of (a) major organizational and environmental forces driving change, (b) the interrelationship of these driving forces and (c) the critical uncertainties in the future environment. (Provo et al., 2006)

3.2.1. Optimistic Scenario: pandemic is controlled and human security is protected

Jordan manages to keep infection rates to a minimum and the health system continues to deliver essential services, and identify and contain new cases. In the immediate and mid-term future, as vaccines become available and the number of infections decreases, containment measures relax gradually, international travel resumes, and land borders open, human work activities pick up slowly, schools and universities open and the government focuses on boosting and protecting the economy and social solidarity.

In the mid- and long-term future, the unemployment rate, food prices and internal violence decrease. As a result, there is continued political stability. International support, stable oil prices, political stability in the region and a tourism boost help Jordan avoid economic and human catastrophes.

The factors that would support this scenario include regional and local political stability, improvement in the economic indicators, decreasing unemployment and poverty rates, a narrowing of social gaps and class divisions, and clear laws concerning the pandemic. Furthermore, social cohesion, solidarity and resilience are crucial. All these elements play an essential role in addressing the impact of COVID-19 on human security in Jordan. The optimistic scenario assumes that the pandemic decline and financial distress curves flatten, deterioration of the economic indicators in Jordan stop, and the government, with support from the regional and international community, stimulate the economy and work to decrease unemployment and poverty rates. It also assumes that policymakers and stakeholders employ a human security approach, prioritising health, food and environmental securities, in addition to economic security (see Table 8).

This scenario can be envisioned in two ways. In one, decision making is centralized, but citizens' demands are taken into consideration. Decisions are focused on both the long-term and short-term impacts and are safeguarding the country and its citizen's best interest. Here, the government works on possible solutions to help mitigate the impact of the virus and help contain it without disrupting human security. In this scenario, the situation of human security in the country is improving.

Alternatively, this scenario could also take a more democratic form. Community resilience is highlighted, and decision making is decentralized. Here, different segments of the government work collaboratively to come up with decisions, and the House of Representatives is highly involved in the decision making to ensure that the voices of the citizens are being heard. The responsibilities, risks and outcomes are shared by all members of the community. All members of the community work together to ensure the delivery of human rights and human security.

3.2.2. Pessimistic Scenario: pandemic is out of control and human security is increasingly at risk

Under this scenario, Jordan continues to take all sorts of containment measures, including issuing defence orders. A serious global economic recession ensues. Subsequent waves of COVID-19 hit and there is an increase in the number of cases infected and dead, particularly in urban areas and refugee camps. There is no available treatment for the side effects of the disease and the health system is fatigued. In the short- and mid-term future, poverty and hunger increase, unemployment rates grow and aggregate productivity decreases, which, in turn, increases migration to urban areas as people search for employment. The government is unable to care for the growing number of people living in poverty. Foreign aid dependence increases, and local and international CSOs become the main actors.

In the long-term future, rates of internal violence, femicide, homicide and crimes, in particular in urban areas, rise significantly. Food prices jump and food insecurity and mortality rates increase, particularly amongst the most vulnerable groups; there is increasing political instability.

The factors involved in this scenario include regional and local political instability, further deterioration in the economic indicators, an increase in unemployment and poverty rates, growth of social gaps and class divisions, and further ambiguity in the legislation concerning the pan-

demic. Furthermore, there will be social fragmentation, domestic and community violence, and the absence of the government authority in some areas. All these factors would enhance the negative impact of COVID-19 on human security in Jordan. The pessimistic scenario assumes a sharp rise in the pandemic, recession and increased financial distress, and deterioration in all areas of human security. A severe deficit in the economic security in Jordan would destabilise personal, community and political security. It would dramatically increase food and health insecurities and would accelerate the already existing environmental risks Jordan is facing (see Table 8).

3.2.3. Neutral Scenario: Partial containment and continuity of status quo

Jordan manages to control the spread and consequences of COVID-19, with local outbreaks continuing to occur, particularly in urban areas. In the short-term future, human activities increase slowly, partial lockdowns continue, and containment measures are slightly relaxed. The health system is operating and able to handle the number of admissions and respiratory equipment and staff are sufficient, , schools and universities continue to close when necessary and online teaching carries on.

In the short- and mid-term futures, the containment measures are partially lifted and there is a limited opening of borders. The international humanitarian organisations and the government continue to target the most vulnerable groups with subsidised support to improve their human security and basic needs. The government continues to try to slow down the economic deterioration. However, in the long-term, unemployment and poverty rates increase while personal, community and political securities decrease. The healthcare system is under pressure, exhausted, and operates at lower capacity. Food insecurity and malnutrition increase, particularly amongst vulnerable groups.

The factors involved in this scenario include the perpetuation of the status quo in terms of regional and local policies, and economic indicators, such as constant unemployment rates, poverty rates, social gaps and class divisions. A neutral scenario assumes a slow but steady rise in the pandemic, recession and financial distress curves. The economy will continue to deteriorate, but slowly, with no dramatic shocks. The international financial support received will temporarily mitigate the impact of COVID-19 on human security in Jordan. However, in the long-term, the profile of human security in Jordan will pose a challenging picture for the country see Table 8).

From the perspective of good governance, this scenario presents an authoritarian leadership approach. Decision making is central, and the government holds most of the power; lack of inclusion is evident. In this situation, an adaptive style of planning is evident, whereby the government is trying to adapt to the current situation for the country to survive. Essentially, this is a short-sighted approach in which the government is seeking to survive rather than plan. The government follows international policies and mimics actions set by other countries. Thought leadership and innovation are obsolete. The response plan may be successful, but it will come, at the cost of the individuals' human security.

Table 8: Scenarios relating to human security[18]

Human security area/scenario	Optimistic	Pessimistic	Neutral
Economy	Decreased poverty and unemployment rates. Economic growth rate steadily increases while the economy starts to flourish. The government is capable of creating new jobs to improve labor force rates. Current interest rates are maintained. The government creates social safety schemes to help support sectors impacted by the pandemic. Power is in the hands of the people; they work collaboratively toward improving economic growth. Both the public and the private sector work toward creating new jobs, enhancing inclusive social protection and improving growth without worsening inequality.	Increased poverty, growing unemployment, decreased aggregate productivity, increased migration in search of employment. Need to address growing number of people living in poverty and the growing migration to urban centres. There is no focus on the economic growth rate nor on inclusive social protection; each stakeholder is focused on surviving and gaining more power. The creation of jobs and population is ignored as it is not a concern for the government	Slow and manageable increase in poverty and unemployment rates. Government looks for short-term solutions to increase the economic growth rate, such as decreasing expenditure, lowering taxes and lowering interest rates or job creation, regardless of the social cost of contractual relations. There is no emphasis on the promotion of inclusive social protection solutions.

18   Adapted from: Human Security Handbook (2016)

Food	Decreased food prices, and food insecurity. Barriers that hinder individuals' capability to domestically grow resources are reduced. Investment in agriculture is encouraged. The country creates sufficient food aid programs to help food insecure households gradually become less dependent on foreign food aid. Jordan is able to establish a long-term treaty regarding the import of sustainable drinking water. The community develops a domestic production of food to reduce high import levels, becoming more independent members of the community engage in agriculture. Local CSOs work toward providing sufficient food aid for food-insecure households. Community members reduce their water consumption, while those with power seek alternative water resources.	Skyrocketing food prices, loss of livestock, dwindling crop production. Growing food insecurity, increased household expenditure on food. Growing hunger and malnutrition and an accompanying loss of productivity. Increased number of people in need of food assistance and nutrient supplies. Growing need to develop climate-sensitive agricultural practices. The country continues relying on imports with no to low contribution toward domestic production. Food-insecure individuals continue relying on International CSOs food aid policies and exhausting current water resources, with no foreseeable plan for future availability of drinkable water.	Manageable increase in food prices and slow increase in food insecurity, particularly amongst the most vulnerable groups. Importing drinkable water to ensure the survival of the country, with no sustainable plan to maintain the availability of water in the future.

Health	Control of diseases, decreased malnutrition. The government imposes preventative measures, with penalties set if measures are not followed, and works toward a sustainable vaccination plan. The health sector is prepared, in terms of capacity, for future crises. Health coverage expands. Numbers of COVID-19 cases decrease or are stagnant. Treatment and vaccine for COVID-19 is provided for all members of the society by the public health system.	More diseases and illnesses. Growing malnutrition and the accompanying loss of productivity. Increasing Burden on the health sector due to growing number of diseases and need to improve access to health care and to strengthen the overall health situation. The government is less involved in issuing preventative measures and reliance is placed on the individuals. The government relies on external vaccine aid, and lacks sustainable planning due to lack of funding. COVID-19 treatment and vaccines are provided by the private sector.	Exhausted but functioning health sector. The government imposes preventative measures and high restriction, which impact businesses and citizens' freedoms The government relies on external vaccine aid and lacks sustainable planning due to lack of funding. The health sector plans and prepares on an on-the-spot basis when action is needed. The number of COVID-19 cases increases or is stagnant. Treatment and vaccines for COVID-19 are provided to those who are able to afford them.

| Environmental | The government enforces environment-friendly policies, such as: recycling schemes forcing organizations to recycle waste; introduction of new restrictions to reduce the emission of air pollutants and thus maintain the positive effect the pandemic had on the environment; banning untreatable hazardous waste and disposing of hazardous waste through chemical treatment. Organizations and government entities take action toward recycling and produce waste-reduction programs and exert efforts to reduce air pollution and ensure an efficient resource management. | There will be climate changes resulting in more droughts, environmental degradation, diminishing water resources and grazing land; loss of livestock; rising competition in search of water and pastures. Conflicts over land and water will emergence. Post COVID-19 pandemic, Jordan will continue to produce high levels of air pollutants and no preventative measures will be taken. Hazardous waste produced by hospitals during COVID-19 will not be disposed of in an efficient manner, causing further pollution. | Jordan continues burying waste in landfills, which might cause excessive amounts of pollution in the future. Post COVID-19 pandemic, Jordan continues to produce high levels of air pollutants and minimal measures will be taken to lower them. The country will continue burning hazardous waste produced by hospitals during the pandemic, emitting harmful gases into the atmosphere |

Personal	Decreased rates of violence. The Family Protection Department develops new means of support for children and women and carries out campaigns to raise awareness about how it can be reached during the COVID-19 pandemic and beyond. The government enforces strict penalties for domestic violence of any sort. The Family Protection Department collaborates with local and international CSOs to reach vulnerable children and women, and to create alternative means of support. CSOs work with the Family Protection Department to improve access to it for people seeking help; they collaborate in creating surveys and polls to determine key criteria and areas were children and women are most vulnerable.	Proliferation of small arms and light weapons, growing violence. Injuries and killings of community members, sometimes due to misuse of guns. Rising tensions and disengagement from the state make disarming programmes urgent, along with measures to improve the rule of law, good governance and local leadership. The Family Protection Department uses current means to make itself accessible to people seeking support.	Relative but controllable increase in the rates of violence.

Community	Decreased inter-community disputes and violence. The country works toward providing quality education that reaches the whole population. Public healthcare systems provide services to those in need. The government creates job-protection programs and creates job opportunities. Funding and support is granted to businesses heavily affected. Private and public schools work together to create suitable platforms for students to access education. Information and awareness regarding COVID-19 is spread through governmental media channels and the private sector.	Increased inter-community conflicts and inter-communal distrust. Weakened traditional management for the prevention and resolution of conflicts further exacerbates tensions. Growing need to bridge community tensions through peace-building, communal efforts, disarming programmes, application of the rule of law, good governance and improved local leadership. Information and awareness regarding COVID-19 is mainly driven by international organizations and media channels. No initiative is taken to create or to protect jobs, the private sector takes advantage of this opportunity to pay minimum wages.	Relative but controllable increase in the rates of violence. The country provides an alternative method of education, such as online education, that some individuals might not be able to access. Emergency services are provided by the public healthcare system only to the most vulnerable individuals.

Political	Political stability. The government takes decisions but consults all sectors of society, including community, on what needs to be done during COVID-19. Freedom of expression is guaranteed, as is freedom of assembly via social media. The government enters into dialogue with CSOs and deputies partake in the decision making to create a solid response to COVID-19. Individuals must assume the responsibility of maintaining the spread of the virus. Individuals choose to engage online, have freedom to assembly and express their opinions online.	Riots all over the country, particularly in the main cities. Lack of decision making is evident. Decision making concerning COVID-19 is centralized, all decisions are solely taken by the government. Human rights and freedoms are limited and controlled by the government, freedom of expression is limited or non-existent, movement is controlled by the curfews imposed by the government and freedom of assembly is completely lacking.	Relative but controllable increase in the rates of violence.

4. Recommendations

The ultimate overall goal of the recommendations below is to provide different intervention options to flatten the impact of the pandemic on economy and financial distress. The impact of COVID-19 on human security in Jordan and the government's response to it have the potential to reshape the country's profile for generations to come. Therefore, the government of Jordan needs to implement a set of context-specific policies and strategies and help boost public and private sector investments through significantly coherent policies, and improved planning and coordination across sectors and actors. A compelling response plan needs to look at the pandemic through equity fair lens, focus on people's long-term capabilities and follow a coherent multidimensional approach. Any recommendations to deal with the pandemic and its impact on human security in Jordan need to balance public health priorities with economic and social activities, as well as accommodate short- and mid-term measures to mitigate the spread of the virus and the long-term effects of the pandemic (United Nation Development Programme, 2020).

The seven human security areas are equally important; as said earlier, they are interconnected and influence each other, and improvement in one area will positively affect the other areas. Therefore, the approach needs to be holistic rather than piecemeal. Finally, it is important to mention that there are national strategies and plans targeting the different areas of human security in Jordan already in place, and what is needed is a serious, courageous, honest and accountable commitment to building a better Jordan for the next generations. The following recommendations are meant for the Government of Jordan.

Political recommendations	• Revise its development strategies with the support of civil society and experts. • Develop mechanisms that monitor government transparency and decision-making processes. • Follow participatory and engaging approaches with citizens and civil society organisations. • Enhance decentralization.
Legislative recommendations	• Develop an efficient scheme to monitor laws introduced during the pandemic to ensure that there is no overlapping or conflict with other laws and fundamental human rights. • Enhance complementarity between the executive and the legislative branches. Parliament should keep the human security agenda at the core of their advocacy efforts to the government.Develop active accountability mechanisms to evaluate and monitor the government's work. • Pay attention to securing access to justice, particularly in family law courts, during the lockdown. • Work on legal education and raise awareness among people, particularly regarding defence orders.

Economic recommendations	• Develop policies that improve employment rates and increase the number of income-generating activities, reduce income inequality and ensure that no one is left behind. • Implement gender-responsive recovery, focusing on medium and small industries, urban agriculture, household economy, and economic empowerment of women and youth. • Find alternative solutions to neoliberal approaches, and revise the role of the private sector. • Balance the economic and health sectors, and secure more funding for the health sector, for it to be able to respond to health crises: enhance its capacities through higher investment in medical staff and services. • Focus on innovative sectors such as information technology, banking, telecommunications, science and technology, and services sector. • Adopt a pro-social economy that focuses on ensuring the right of people to a dignified life. • Reach sustainability, as a critical concept for all sectors.
Social recommendations	• Enhance universal social protection coverage through a life-cycle approach (from childhood to elderly age) . • Ensure that all have access to essential services, particularly health and education. • Institutionalise social and psychological support and ensure that it is inclusive of all and that sufficient resources are available. • Build on the solidarity initiatives, particularly in remote areas. • Provide special social and financial support to vulnerable groups, especially to poor women and children, refugees and informal workers. • Ensure support services for women victims of violence. • Ensure availability of mental health services
Technological recommendations	• Work on empowering people technologically, increasing digital literacy, reducing the access to internet gap and strengthening technological capacities and services. • Invest in digital business models.
Other recommendations	• Learn from other countries' experience in coping with the virus, particularly in terms of online education. • The government needs to prioritise and integrate climate change considerations into the national security agenda and work on reducing urbanisation.

Annex 1: Session Questions

	Theme: trends and key drivers
1	What are the possible trends and the key drivers for change? How do they interact with each other?
2	How do you evaluate the government's response plan to COVID-19?
3	How do you asses the role of technology and the internet in the response plan?
4	What were the strengths and weaknesses in the social protection systems in Jordan? (The measures by the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Social Development)
5	How does public awareness and commitment to safety measures play a role in the response plan?
	Theme: Actor analysis
1	Who is involved in the response to COVID-19? The government, INGOs, local civil society organizations and the public.
2	How do they vary in their importance and influence? Which side is the leader? The supporter? Marginal?
3	How do they interact with each other? Is there room for cooperation, if at all?

Annex 2: Participants in Zoom Sessions

Name	Position/affiliation
Dr. Sawsan Majali	Former Senator, Senior Consultant at Durrat Al Manal Company for Training and Development
Samar Muhareb	CEO of the Arab Renaissance for Democracy and Development (ARDD)
Reem Abu Hassan	Former Minister of Social Development
Dr. Manal Wazani	CEO of Durrat Al Manal Company for training and consultation
Dr. Sara Ababneh	Researcher at the Centre for Strategic Studies at Jordan University
Linda Kalash	CEO of Tamkeen Centre for Legal Aid and Human Rights
Dr. Lina Shbeeb	Former Minister of Transportation
Dr. Salma Nims	Secretary-general at The Jordan National Commission for Women
Dr. Ibrahim Aqel	Director of the Institute for Family Health IFH at King Hussein Foundation
Dr. Abla Amawi	Director of the Higher Population Council
Dr. Raeda Qutub	Former Senator and professor at University of Jordan
Dr. Yusuf Mansur	Former Minister of State for Economic Affairs
Dr. Maha Ali	Former Minister of Trade and Commerce
Dr .Mohannad Al Azzeh	Former Senator and Secretary General of the Higher Council for the Rights of People with Disabilities

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