



Country: Jordan

Author: Rosalie Fransen

Actor: The HASBANI Project

Contributors:

Layout and Design - Abdelazim Saafan and Lauren Mellows

Acknowledgements:

ICAN gratefully acknowledges Juliana Lopez Fajardo, Pamela Louisa Bahlis, Antoine Terrar, and the ARK Group for their collaboration on developing the case study, and Global Affairs Canada for their financial support and feedback. We also thank Sanam Naraghi Anderlini and Melinda Holmes for their review and editorial support.

Suggested Citation:

Rosalie Fransen, 'Institutionalizing Equality: Shifting Gender Roles in Jordanian Counterterrorism Responses,' International Civil Society Action Network, September 2022.

CASE STUDY

INSTITUTIONALIZING EQUALITY: SHIFTING GENDER ROLES IN JORDANIAN COUNTERTERRORISM RESPONSES

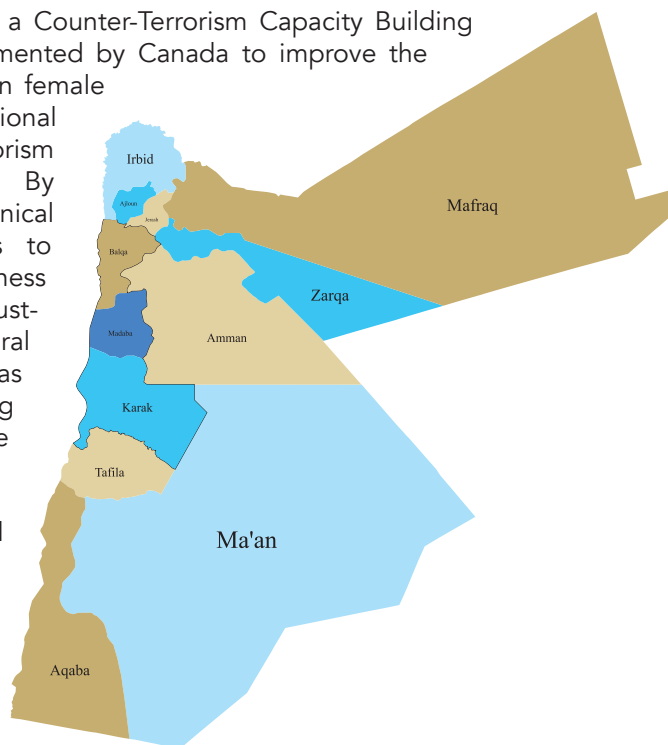
A Case Study on the Role of Gender and Identity in Shaping Positive Alternatives to Extremisms¹

SUMMARY

The HASBANI project is a Counter-Terrorism Capacity Building Program (CTCBP) implemented by Canada to improve the participation of Jordanian female police officers in operational roles in counterterrorism (CT) crisis response. By complementing technical training with strategies to promote gender awareness and taking a personal, trust-based approach to cultural change, the project has made inroads in shifting rigid gender roles in the Jordanian security sector.

Taking a Gender-based Analysis Plus (GBA+) approach,² this case study discusses facilitating factors, barriers, and challenges to expanding the roles of women in CT responses. Drawing on good practices from women-led civil society organizations in other contexts, it considers how combining women's participation with a community policing approach strengthens the ability of the security sector to provide a positive alternative to participation in violent extremist groups.






Despite Jordan's relative stability, the country is one of the highest per-capita contributors of foreign fighters in the world and has suffered several violent extremist attacks on its soil. Islamist extremist groups in the region have taken a dynamic and strategic approach to including women in combat, operations, and propaganda. They skillfully manipulate gender roles to avoid detection, bolster recruitment, and generate attention for their cause.



1. The International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN) was commissioned by Global Affairs Canada to produce this set of case studies on the role of gender and intersectional identities in countering violent extremism and counterterrorism. For more information or to contact the authors please email info@icanpeacework.org.

2. Gender-Based Analysis Plus (GBA+) is an analytical process that provides a rigorous method for the assessment of systemic inequalities, as well as to assess how diverse groups of women, men, and gender diverse people may experience policies, programs and initiatives. More info on the GBA+ approach is accessible [here](#).

KEY TAKEAWAYS

- 
Violent extremist groups dynamically adjust their approach to gender roles according to what best suits their tactical interests. They manipulate perceptions of women's roles in society to avoid detection and strengthen their operations. Extremist recruitment propaganda plays into the economic and social restrictions women face by offering them purpose, opportunity, and belonging.
- 
Training and upskilling women in CT roles is most effective when paired with awareness training to reform the dominant patriarchal culture of the police and security sector. Organizational change around gender is slow and incremental, and awareness training should take a long-term approach that prioritizes trust- and relationship building with local security actors.
- 
Positive incentives for shifting gender roles need to be clearly communicated to intervention partners and participants, including to female participants. Traditional gender roles offer familiarity and comfort and shifting them needs to carry tangible benefits. Demonstrating how entering new roles can instill a sense of duty, honor, and prestige offers one avenue for communicating incentives, but must be paired with structural change that considers women's responsibilities at home and with their families.
- 
Community engagement approaches can support trust-building, holistic prevention of violent extremism, and leverage the capacity of female officers to create more open, trusted, and inclusive relationships with their communities. To provide an effective, positive counterweight to violent extremist groups, policing and CT culture needs to prioritize community needs and human security. Encouraging female participation in CT is important, yet insufficient as a long-term solution for transforming violent extremism. Purely militarized and securitized approaches risk increasing the vulnerability of communities to recruitment and radicalization. Integrating a community engagement approach
- 
The experiences of women-led civil society organizations offer critical lessons in building and repairing community-police relationships. Their interventions center gender equality and enable a joint community-police response to the threat of violent extremism.

CONTEXT ANALYSIS

Despite Jordan's relative stability and safety compared to its neighbors in the region, the country is known for having one of the highest per capita contributions of foreign fighters in the world.³ Jordan's geographical positioning, high refugee population, and growing political and economic tensions between the government and its young population leave it vulnerable to radicalization and destabilization.⁴ Jordan is furthermore home to the "father of ISIS," Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, whose legacy and ideas live on in Jordanian communities. The country has suffered from a variety of smaller-scale violent extremist attacks such as the 2005 Amman hotel suicide bombings, the Kerak castle incident in 2016, and the Salt and Madaba incidents in 2018.⁵

The Jordanian government has responded to these incidents by building up its police and military presence with the support and funding of international partners, most predominantly the United States.⁶ Under its 2006 anti-terrorism law, Jordan also instated the death penalty for terrorist crimes, a move widely criticized by human rights organizations.⁷ There is evidence that the government's attempts at reinforced border defenses and improved surveillance capabilities have successfully thwarted terrorist attacks.⁸ However, internal structural



During the 2016 Kerak castle attack, suspects escaped police by taking advantage of conservative cultural norms.

3. Klingensmith, A. (2019). The Role of Local Communities in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism (P/CVE) in Jordan. ([access here](#)).

4. Milton-Edwards, B. (2018). Marginalized youth: Toward an inclusive Jordan. ([access here](#)).

5. Counter Extremism Project (2021). Jordan: Extremism and Terrorism. ([access here](#)).

6. U.S. Department of State (2021). U.S. Security Cooperation with Jordan. ([access here](#)).

7. Amman Center for Security Studies (2021). The negative effects of terrorism on the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms: The case of Jordan. ([access here](#)).

8. Al-Sharafat, S. (2021). Sustained Counterterrorism Efforts Remain Key to Preventing Attacks in Jordan. Fikra Forum. ([access here](#)).

issues such as economic disparity, austerity measures, and youth unemployment remain, are exacerbated as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, and result in growing anti-government sentiment. Jordanian police have taken a securitized approach to responding to civil unrest, using force to break up peaceful protests and arresting political activists and government critics.^{9,10} Due to these crackdowns and the government's harsh restrictions on freedom of assembly, the country's status declined from Partly Free to Not Free on the 2021 World Freedom Index.¹¹

Gender Roles in the Jordanian Security Sector

The participation of women in counterterrorism (CT), countering and preventing violent extremism (C/PVE) and peacebuilding in Jordan is constrained by a myriad of cultural barriers. Although Jordanian women are highly literate and educated, traditional attitudes that view women as homemakers limit female participation in public life, politics, and in the labor force.¹² Initial CT and C/PVE efforts in Jordan reflected these traditional gender norms and social roles, focusing on the participation of women as wives and mothers in deradicalizing their partners and children.¹³ The release of Jordan's National Action Plan for the Implementation of Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (WPS-NAP) in 2018 widened the scope of women's roles in CT and CVE policy, calling for the creation of roles for women in the security sector, including police, military, and intelligence agencies, and the development of mechanisms for security forces to integrate gender perspectives into their work.¹⁴ In Jordan, inviting women into the security sector carries tangible benefits: women can handcuff and carry out searches of both women and men (whereas men can only search other men), can provide emergency medical aid to both genders without explicit permission, and female survivors of gender-based violence (GBV) feel more comfortable reporting crimes to female officers.

In addition to the perception that women are primarily suited to familial roles as mothers and wives, cultural notions of honor and shame keep women out of the Jordanian public sphere. Female victims of domestic and sexual violence are often blamed for the abuse they face and being victimized carries social stigma and shame for them and their families. As a result, Jordanian society places significant emphasis on "protecting" women. For decades, women who are perceived as being at-risk of domestic violence or honor crimes have been held in "protective custody" by the state, a practice often used as an excuse to detain women who have engaged in behaviors deemed shameful by their families and male guardians, such as having sex outside of marriage.¹⁵ Attitudes that justify excluding women from society under the guise of their protection also extend to the Jordanian security sector.

Keeping women behind the scenes [of the Jordanian security sector] is a deliberate choice: deploying them in front-line capacities risks something happening to them, which would carry shame for them and their families

Women in the security sector and police largely work in administrative, secretarial, and desk-based positions. They rarely occupy crisis response, tactical, operational, or leadership roles. The most visible public presence female officers have is as traffic police. Keeping women behind the scenes is a deliberate choice: deploying them in front-line capacities risks something happening to them, which would carry shame for them and their families and invite negative public perception. Practical considerations also constrain women's participation: women cannot sit in the front seat of a car with a man who is not her husband, and they cannot stay overnight at trainings due to concerns they might face sexual violence.¹⁶ As a result, despite the benefits of women's participation and the high-level policy commitments made by the Jordanian government, Jordan's deep-seated gender roles continue to inhibit implementation of its WPS-NAP objectives.

Playing with Perception: Manipulation of Gender Roles by Islamist Extremist Groups

While attempts at integrating women in CT and C/PVE responses in Jordan are stifled by rigid gender norms, violent extremist groups in the region are taking increasingly flexible approach towards using women in their combat operations. Islamist extremist groups have a complex relationship with using women in combat roles, as it forces them to reconcile their ideology – which confines women to the private sphere and emphasizes their role as wives and mothers – with the pragmatic need for fighters to carry out attacks. Traditionally, groups like the Islamic State and Hamas did not directly encourage attacks by women but showed willingness to incorporate women in combat in select circumstances, such as when acting in defense ("defensive Jihad").^{17, 18} They have also retroactively praised attacks by female shooters and suicide bombers that align with their objectives, for instance when, following the 2015 San Bernardino shooting, the Islamic State referred to the married couple that carried out the attack as "soldiers of the Caliphate."¹⁹ In the face of strategic necessity, such as

9. Nusairat, T. (2020). Jordan protests met with repression as government changes tactics. Atlantic Council. ([access here](#)).

10. Al-Khalidi, S. (2021). Jordan Police Detain Scores of Activists, Break up Protests. Reuters. ([access here](#)).

11. Freedom House (2021). Freedom in the World 2021: Jordan. ([access here](#)).

12. Smith, J. (2019). Jordanian Feminism and Countering Violent Extremism. Brown Political Review. ([access here](#)).

13. UN Women (2016). Women and Violent Radicalization in Jordan. ([access here](#)).

14. Government of Jordan (2018). Jordanian National Action Plan (JONAP) for the Implementation of UN Security Council resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, 2018 - 2021 ([access here](#)).

15. Amnesty International (2019). Jordan: Imprisoned women, stolen children: Policing sex, marriage, and pregnancy in Jordan. ([access here](#)).

16. Interview with Global Affairs Canada Project Officer, January 2022.

17. George Washington University (2019). Perspectives on the Future of Women, Gender, & Violent Extremism. ([access here](#)).

18. Tony Blair Institute (2018). ISIS, Women and Jihad: Breaking With Convention. ([access here](#)).

19. Callimachi, R. (2015). Islamic State Says 'Soldiers of Caliphate' Attacked in San Bernardino. The New York Times. ([access here](#)).

loss of territory, some Islamist extremist groups have been quick to renegotiate traditional gender roles: after the Islamic State lost Mosul to the Iraqi government in 2017, the group released an article explicitly outlining women's obligation to engage in Jihad on behalf of the Caliphate, citing examples of mujahidat who fought alongside Prophet Mohammad to provide role models for aspiring female Jihadis.²⁰ These examples, though are likely to be temporary strategies, demonstrate how Islamist extremist groups are able to rapidly shift their norms around gender and women's roles based on what approach best serves their tactical interests.

Islamist extremist groups are able to rapidly shift their norms around gender and women's roles based on what approach best serves their tactical interests.

Islamist extremist groups have also proven adept at playing into, manipulating and co-opting gender roles and cultural norms to strengthen their operations. Jordan's 2016 Kerak castle attacks illustrate this point. Leading up to the attack, Jordanian security forces attempted to enter a suspicious home in a nearby town after receiving complaints from neighbors. Taking advantage of conservative cultural norms, the suspects cried that there were women present in the home who were uncovered, preventing the all-male police from entering. The delay gave the attackers enough time to escape, mobilize weapons and eventually escape to hide out in Kerak castle, taking the lives of 11 members of the security forces and 3 civilians, including a Canadian tourist.²¹ The Islamic State later claimed responsibility for the attack. While there were no actual women present in the home, the attackers were able to co-opt traditional gender roles to create the perception of female presence. Similar tactics by Islamist extremist groups include the use female operatives to smuggle weapons and goods under their clothes and avoid detection by security personnel, knowing that women are less likely to be searched. They understand that portraying women in propaganda, especially in combat roles that starkly contrast with traditional cultural norms, will generate shock value and media attention for the violent extremist cause.²² Islamist extremist groups furthermore recognize the power and influence of women's social roles, particularly the position of women as entry points to their family and community. They draw on women's extensive familial and social networks to facilitate recruitment, intelligence-gathering, proselytization, education, and fundraising.²³ Critically, the operational roles of women in Islamist extremist groups - although naturally bound

by ideological conventions and traditional divisions - are dynamic and appear to evolve with the emergence of new challenges and strategic needs.

Islamist extremist groups, especially the Islamic State, leverage restrictive societal gender roles to encourage radicalization and recruitment. While the ideological rhetoric of the Islamic State is embedded in patriarchy, misogyny and the subjugation of women, the group's narratives highlight opportunities for empowerment through contributions to state-building and position participation in the group as offering a sense of belonging and purpose. Islamic State propaganda has highlighted the availability of educational opportunities for women, their role in teaching children, and their contributions to on-line lectures and other recruitment materials.²⁴ Disaffected young women who face limited social, economic, and political opportunities may view joining violent extremist groups as an alternate path to empowerment and an escape from the gendered norms of their family and community.²⁵ Islamist extremist groups also manipulate conservative norms around female honor and purity by using rape and sexual violence as a recruitment tactic that makes women easier to exploit (as they "lost honor anyway") and inhibits their disengagement from extremism due to the heightened social stigma they would face if they were to return to their families and communities.

The HASBANI Project: Building Technical and Cultural Capacity for Women's Participation in the Jordanian Security Sector

To improve the presence of women in counterterrorism and security responses, Canada, under its Counter-Terrorism Capacity Building Program (CTCBP), began implementation of a project to deliver training and support to female officers in the Jordanian gendarmerie and Public Security Directorate (PSD).²⁶ The HASBANI CTCBP project was launched in 2018 and designed specifically in response to the 2016 Kerak castle incident, acting on the assumption that if female officers had been involved in the tactical response to the attacks, the suspects could have been apprehended and operational losses may have been avoided. Under the project, Canada and its implementing partners train female officers in firearms, search techniques, and English language skills to prepare them for operational roles and growth within the organization. Both genders are trained on tactical medical skills to provide first-line medical support. An awareness of Jordan's gender dynamics is integrated in the trainings: participants are taught, for example, that when encountering female suspects, female officers should approach them first and that when entering a room where women are

20. Winter, C. and Margolin, D. (2017). The Mujahidat Dilemma: Female Combatants and the Islamic State. ETH Zurich Center for Security Studies. ([access here](#)).

21. Momani, B. (2019). Our feminist foreign policy is not perfect, but in Jordan, it's doing a lot of good. The Globe and Mail. ([access here](#)).

22. George Washington University (2019). Perspectives on the Future of Women, Gender, & Violent Extremism. ([access here](#)).

23. Ibid.

24. Europol, (2019). Women in Islamic State Propaganda: Roles and Incentives. ([access here](#)).

25. International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN) and United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (2019). Invisible Women: The Gendered Dimensions of Return, Rehabilitation and Reintegration from Violent Extremism. ([access here](#)).

26. Government of Canada (2021). Security Capacity-Building Programs. ([access here](#)).

27. In 2019, the Gendarmerie and PSD merged and are now jointly referred to as the PSD. The HASBANI project was originally training the Gendarmerie but as a result of the merger has been able to reach a broader range of participants across the PSD.



The HASBANI project trains female police officers to prepare them for operational roles within the Jordanian Public Security Directorate (PSD).

present, female officers should be present. In the tactical medic courses, trainers rectify misconceptions and assumptions around male-on-female medical support, such as that men can be charged with assault if they give CPR to an unconscious woman.²⁸ Through these technical trainings, the project aims to improve the PSD's capacity to deal with female suspects, victims, and civilians in CT operations.

To complement and strengthen the technical training, the project contains gender awareness training aimed at shifting the organizational culture of the PSD to be more accepting of the presence and leadership of female officers in operational roles, and to institutionalize gender as a component of PSD's strategies, policies, and operations. Gender awareness training initially took the form of workshops and seminars for staff and senior personnel of all genders, and later in the project began taking a training of trainers approach with the Gender Unit team and Gender Focal Points introduced under the PSD's 2021 Gender Mainstreaming Strategy. The content of the training touches on gendered concepts and their relevance to security and counterterrorism and discusses international policy commitments such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), UN Security Council Resolution 1325, and Jordan's own WPS-NAP. On a more direct and behavioral level, awareness training required reframing the attitude of male officers towards

their female counterparts. At the start of the project, a male officer would refuse to sit in the front of a police car next to a woman, even though they were police partners.²⁹ The training taught men and women that they are first and foremost colleagues who need to take a pragmatic, professional approach to collaborating.

The HASBANI project offers important insight about the level of work and attention required to successfully broaden gender roles and dynamics in counterterrorism and policing, especially when a project is implemented by an external, international partner. It highlights that creating cultural change in traditionally patriarchal spaces like the security sector requires more than just imparting knowledge on why women's participation is important, it necessitates time, relationship-building, continuous presence, and constant negotiation with project participants and partners. Project implementers cited their attitude of being there to help rather than criticize, sustained in-country presence throughout the multi-year duration of the project, and the personal approach they took to relationship building with PSD leadership as central to their accomplishments. One project implementer stated that his background as a retired police officer allowed him to build trust with Jordanian partners and relate to them by providing examples of how police in his home country had undergone a similar transformation process to become more inclusive of women.³⁰ Being able to connect the project objectives

28. Interview with HASBANI implementing partner, January 2022.

29. Interview with Global Affairs Canada Project Officer, January 2022.

30. Interview with HASBANI implementing partner, January 2022.

back to the Kerak castle incident emphasized that the project is not just externally imposed – a common security sector perception of gender-focused projects – but has a clear CT purpose. These trust-building strategies have led to successes in the project, like the acceptance of mixed gender trainings by the PSD – a practice unheard of prior to the project. Canada has also been invited to implement the project for the Jordanian military, a sign that Jordan recognizes that it is not sustainable to exclude women from CT operations.

Creating cultural change in traditionally patriarchal spaces necessitates time, relationship-building, continuous presence, and constant negotiation.

Despite these successes, meaningful change around shifting gender norms in the PSD remains slow and incremental. Jordan has not experienced a critical terrorist incident in recent years that would provide insight into whether the PSD is able to put the training into practice and deploy female officers in its response. While there is rhetorical support by PSD leadership, they maintain a fear of public perception and shame. A PSD General has stated that if one incident happens, or one female officer gets hurt, the project will be over, demonstrating continued perception of women as vulnerable and in need of protection.³¹ Resistance to change has also come from the female officers themselves, who in assuming operational roles will have to work farther away from home and from their families, face more risk and work longer hours for the same salary.³² When traditional responsibilities for Jordanian women as homemakers clash with opportunities for advancement in the police force, women appear to choose the former. Structural concerns like limited access to childcare further limit incentives. The project has begun to address these challenges by setting examples of successful women in operational roles, such as female officers dispatched to UN peacekeeping or as security for the Qatar World Cup, playing into a sense of duty and honor to encourage women to participate in the training. Interestingly, this “role model” approach mirrors some of the tactics used by the Islamic State to sensitize their members to the inclusion of female combatants.

Finally, the HASBANI project, while taking strides towards removing technical and cultural barriers to increasing the proportion of women in frontline roles, does not place as much attention on considering the



Trust-building strategies have led to successes in the HASBANI project, like the acceptance of mixed gender trainings.

psychological and mental health impact on women entering a male-dominated environment and being the target of gender bias. Studies have shown that women in male-dominated work environments face higher stress exposure, isolation, low social support, and high pressure to perform.³³ Facing gender bias in one's workplace has also been linked to decreasing productivity, poor teamwork and damaged relationships with supervisors, as well as higher withdrawal rates.³⁴ In project reports, several female trainees indicate that they still face unsupportive attitudes and perceptions around women working in operational duties. In addition to interventions to shift the organizational culture to be more supportive of women in operational roles, the project would do well to include measures to support the female officers, such as ensuring they receive frequent recognition and acknowledgment from their supervisors, have safe spaces to discuss challenges with one another, and have access to reporting mechanisms for incidents of prejudice, unfair treatment, and harassment. Providing such coping mechanisms will be integral to long-term retention of female officers. Broadly, the expectation that women change their skills, behaviors, and attitudes to fit neatly into a masculine CT environment is unfair and unrealistic – the environment must adapt to meet them where they are, ensure they feel safe and welcome, and treat them with support, care, and respect.

31. Interview with Global Affairs Canada Project Officer, January 2022.

32. Interview with HASBANI implementing partner, January 2022.

33. Indiana University. (2015). Women in mostly male workplaces exhibit psychological stress response. ScienceDaily. ([access here](#)).

34. Lekchiri, S., Crowder, C., Schnerre, A. and Eversole, B.A.W. (2019). Perceived workplace gender-bias and psychological impact: The case of women in a Moroccan higher education institution. European Journal of Training and Development, Vol. 43 No. 3/4, pp. 339-353.

The expectation that women change their skills, behaviors, and attitudes to fit neatly into a masculine counterterrorism environment is unfair and unrealistic – the environment must adapt to meet them where they are.

Beyond Shifting Gender Roles, Towards an Ethos of Community Engagement ³⁵

While the focus of the HASBANI project is on strengthening the technical skills of female officers and building an organizational culture that welcomes their participation in operational roles, gender-responsive security sector initiatives and efforts to integrate women in policing in other contexts have taken a community engagement approach. In Sri Lanka, the Association for War Affected Women (AWAW) has provided training to personnel in over 400 police stations, using UNSCR 1325 to encourage police to identify community security concerns and develop interventions that created space for dialogue between police and communities.³⁶ In Somalia, Witness Somalia developed community policing structures that allow communities to share information with the police in a safe environment and report critical incidents. Female officers have an important place in these interventions and providing for their inclusion in field roles, as the HASBANI project does, remains critical. AWAW, for instance, advocated for the deployment of female officers because they instilled less fear than male officers when entering the homes of female civilians. Witness Somalia found that improving the presence of female officers in communities led to women feeling more comfortable to report crimes, especially when GBV-related.³⁷

Such community engagement approaches create valuable space for exchange and trust-building between women-led civil society, police, and communities. They also enable a broader focus on prevention of violent extremism, rather than the narrower strategy of incident response. In the context of Jordan, elements of trust-building and prevention are relevant and necessary. The force and repressive tactics used by police against protestors has led to growing mistrust between the Jordanian state and civilians and potentially encouraging further radicalization to violent extremism.³⁸ Jordan also

has a limited and highly controlled civil society space, resulting in engagement around CVE being more top-down and less independent and locally rooted than in other contexts. While Islamist extremist groups have taken a dynamic, pragmatic approach to women's participation in their operations by renegotiating the deployment of women in combat roles, leveraging the ability of women to go undetected, and playing with gender roles by including women in propaganda, efforts to improve the presence of women in Jordanian security sector responses have evolved at a slower pace, constraining its capacity to keep up and respond. Without attention to holistic prevention efforts, violent extremist groups are likely to continue to expand and shift their operational tactics including their approach to gender roles.

In thinking holistically about the role of police in CVE, interventions must go beyond including female officers in securitized responses and add elements of community engagement that consider how police can provide

Redressing mistrust and damaged [state-citizen] relationships will require a fundamental transformation of policing culture from prioritizing state security interests and state protection towards serving communities.

a meaningful, positive alternative to participation in violent extremist groups. Redressing mistrust and damaged relationships will require a fundamental transformation of policing culture from prioritizing state security interests and state protection, towards serving communities, addressing local security concerns, and upholding human rights.³⁹ Mirroring the securitized tactics of violent extremist groups within policing, even when they are made gender-sensitive, is unlikely to provide a sustainable counterweight to violent extremism. Community engagement that includes female officers has been shown to be a more effective long-term solution, successfully leveraging the capacity of female police to create more open, trusted, and inclusive relationships with their communities.⁴⁰ Civil society, in particular women-led civil society, has a critical role to play in facilitating and monitoring such a transformational shift in Jordan's security sector.

35. The analysis in this section is informed by the experiences and perspectives of the Women's Alliance for Security Leadership (WASL), a network of over 80 women rights and peace practitioners engaged in preventing extremism and promoting peace, and based on ICAN's research on CVE and policing as captured in ICAN (2017). Preventing Violent Extremism, Protecting Rights and Community Policing Why Civil Society and Security Sector Partnerships Matter ([access here](#)) and ICAN (2016). Uncomfortable Truths, Unconventional Wisdoms – WASL Security Brief ([access here](#)).

36. International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN) (2017). Preventing Violent Extremism, Protecting Rights and Community Policing Why Civil Society and Security Sector Partnerships Matter ([access here](#)).

37. Schamber, S. and Holmes, M. (2021). Agents of Change: Transforming Gender Roles and Extremism in Somalia, International Civil Society Action Network. ([access here](#)).

38. Evidence from other contexts has pointed to the role of state violence and abuses of power as a "tipping point" for people to join violent extremist groups. See: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2017). Journey to Extremism in Africa: Drivers, Incentives and the Tipping Point for Recruitment. ([access here](#)).

39. International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN) (2017). Preventing Violent Extremism, Protecting Rights and Community Policing Why Civil Society and Security Sector Partnerships Matter ([access here](#)).

40. Klingensmith, A. (2019). The Role of Local Communities in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism (P/CVE) in Jordan. ([access here](#)).