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Understanding the Role of Women in Preserving Cultural Heritage

While Jordan has experienced high urbanisation rates, a lack of strategic and inclusive urban planning since the 1960s has led to a need for high investment costs and unequal access to economic and civil activities for vulnerable groups.1 As strengthening and supporting the role of women in heritage and tourism align fully with Cities Alliance’s strategy for the region, a workshop was organised together with the municipality and governorate of Madaba, to assess the situation and derive possible recommendations for women’s economic empowerment in Madaba. This workshop is part of Cities Alliance’s engagement in the MENA region on the topic of women socio-economic empowerment. One area that is often overlooked in the pursuit of sustainable development in fast-growing cities is cultural heritage, which can also be a source of resilience and knowledge.2 Preservation actions for tangible (e.g. buildings) and intangible cultural heritage have increased, as their value for economies and quality of life is better understood. Women are key actors in the conservation of cultural heritage. They are at the centre of community networks and household activities and know construction techniques and cultural practices that would be lost without the application and transfer to other women. Because women are often repositories of local culture and knowledge, including them in the development of strategies for maintaining intangible and tangible heritage is indispensable to safeguarding cultural diversity. Despite their importance, women’s perspectives in the preservation and transmission of cultural heritage is often invisible.

The World Tourism Organization (WTO) estimates that while women make up 54 per cent of the formal tourism workforce (the number in the informal workforce is likely much higher), they typically earn 10 to 15 percent less than their male counterparts.3 Despite the fact that women perform most activities and are more present as entrepreneurs in the cultural and tourism sector, they benefit the least from it. And without access to credit and facilities to secure and support their businesses and build women’s capacities, their work remains exploited in the tourism sector.4

To address this challenge, Cities Alliance organised a participatory workshop on September 26, 2023, in Madaba, Jordan in partnership with the municipality and governorate. Representatives of different institutions such as the Department of Tourism and Antiquities, the Madaba Institute for Mosaic Art and Restoration (MIMAR), Madaba’s urban development department, and civil society organisations joined the workshop and contributed to the assessment. The participatory process focused on assessing and identifying the potential for women’s empowerment in the tourism and heritage sector of Madaba and the barriers they face, with the goal of increasing economic opportunities for women. To enable systematic qualitative data collection and assessment, the workshop applied the Cities Alliance Women’s Engagement in Cities (WEC) Framework with local stakeholders actively engaged in the process. Cities Alliance will follow up and support the implementation of the workshop’s recommendations together with the municipality, governorate, and civil society representatives.
Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment in Jordan

Jordan is witnessing progress in promoting gender equality and women’s empowerment as integral elements of national programmes. A positive trend is evident, but challenges persist regarding disparities in the labour market for women, which require attention.

Women’s participation in the labour force stands at just 14-15 per cent, compared to 54 per cent for men, according to data from Jordan’s Department of Statistics. High unemployment rates among women, estimated at 23 per cent, underscore their limited access to economic opportunities. In the realm of politics, despite a gradual increase in the percentage of women in national parliaments since 1990, the figure remains disappointingly low, hovering around 12 per cent in 2021.

The Jordanian government is taking action to improve the situation. In 2022, the Constitution was amended to include provisions for the protection of women and girls against discrimination and violence, as well as the empowerment of women to play a meaningful role in society and enjoy equal opportunities. Initiatives such as the integration of gender into Jordan’s Renaissance Plan 2019-2020 and the Women’s Economic Empowerment Action Plan under the Mashreq Gender Facility have firmly positioned this issue on the political agenda. Additionally, a National Women’s Strategy is currently in development with the support of the Jordan National Commission for Women, indicating a positive trend towards women’s empowerment in Jordan.

However, challenges persist. Legal barriers, caregiving responsibilities, household duties, restrictive social norms, and limited access to safe transportation and childcare services continue to hinder girls from attending school and women from seizing job opportunities. Furthermore, a lack of access to entrepreneurship opportunities and financial resources significantly limits women’s involvement in the local economy. Despite these obstacles, Jordan remains committed to advancing the cause of women’s empowerment and gender equality so that every woman in the country has the opportunity to thrive and contribute to society.
in Madaba include mosaics, jewellery, pottery and glassware, as well as Bedouin knitting and embroidery. Madaba’s ancient history makes mosaic production especially relevant, and the city features many stunning and historically significant mosaics. Although this intangible and tangible heritage is not yet listed with UNESCO, that could potentially be a way to safeguard them. Madaba is the home of MIMAR, a dedicated school for the restoration and conservation of mosaic art that is the only school of its kind in the region. It was established in 1992 with funds from the Italian government and initially offered the equivalent of a high school diploma. With support from USAID, the Italian government and Ravenna University, MIMAR began offering a two-year post-secondary educational programme in 2007. The cities of Madaba and Ravenna are also in the process of launching an international network for mosaic cities of the Mediterranean and Europe.

Women’s Participation in the Tourism Sector and Handicraft Production in Madaba

The capital of Madaba governorate, Madaba city, has a population of approximately 130,000. It is one of Jordan’s most important tourist destinations, with a long history dating back to around 4500 BC and many heritage sites and mosaics from the Byzantine and Umayyad periods. The main heritage buildings are the St George Orthodox Church, the Apostles Church, and the Madaba Archaeological Park, all located in the city centre. Beyond the city, Madaba governorate offers tourism sites including Mount Nebo, Al-Maghtas (the baptismal site of Jesus of Nazareth), the ancient fortress of Mukawir, and the Dead Sea.

Tourism and related activities, such as heritage conservation and the production and commerce of artisanal goods, are the main economic activities in the city and region. The traditional handicrafts produced in Madaba include mosaics, jewellery, pottery and glassware, as well as Bedouin knitting and embroidery. Madaba’s ancient history makes mosaic production especially relevant, and the city features many stunning and historically significant mosaics. Although this intangible and tangible heritage is not yet listed with UNESCO, that could potentially be a way to safeguard them. Madaba is the home of MIMAR, a dedicated school for the restoration and conservation of mosaic art that is the only school of its kind in the region. It was established in 1992 with funds from the Italian government and initially offered the equivalent of a high school diploma. With support from USAID, the Italian government and Ravenna University, MIMAR began offering a two-year post-secondary educational programme in 2007. The cities of Madaba and Ravenna are also in the process of launching an international network for mosaic cities of the Mediterranean and Europe.
Thanks to its heritage, tourist attractions, and conservation school, Madaba has growing economic potential. At the same time, the economic benefits and opportunities are not shared equally by all citizens, with women being underrepresented for various reasons. Madaba’s tourism industry is male dominated; only 20 per cent of women work in the sector, most of them in administrative roles and not in outdoor tourism jobs. Unlike their male colleagues, most of the women working in tourism in Madaba have a high school or university degree; yet they still have fewer employment opportunities and earn lower salaries than men.14 Women also lack the entrepreneurial skills15 to engage in self-employment activities and make the best use of their economic potential.

**This gender gap has various social and cultural causes**, including women’s roles and responsibilities for family and household care as well as gender stereotypes on specific occupations that might involve travelling or outdoor activities. The workshop was an opportunity to better understand the challenges and barriers women face in accessing economic opportunities in tourism and heritage conservation in Madaba. By overcoming these barriers and improving women’s participation in and access to livelihood opportunities, Cities Alliance aims to improve the well-being and socio-economic integration for women and the city as a whole.
Methodology

Cities Alliance has developed the Women Engagement in Cities Framework (WEC) to support local governments and civil society in planning and co-creating inclusive cities. The framework is a tool to guide the collection and analysis of data on how women and girls interact with their city to better inform public policies and address women’s often unmet needs at the urban level. To promote women’s active engagement in Madaba, Cities Alliance organised an assessment workshop in Madaba on 26 September 2023 that applied part of the WEC framework and indicators.16

Forty local stakeholders attended the workshop Empowering Creative Women in Madaba: Advancing Gender Equality in Heritage Management, Conservation, and Skill Development, which adopted a participatory process to provide qualitative data on the level of women’s economic engagement in the tourism and handicraft production sector. In addition to women’s individual and collective experiences and perceptions, the workshop also collected national data and policy information.

Before the event, initial engagements identified and mobilised key stakeholders, such as community members, local business owners, and representatives of civil society organisations, the MIMAR Institute, Madaba governorate, and the municipality. While these steps were underway, the Cities Alliance team translated, revised, and adapted the questions and indicators to be used in the assessment to fit Madaba’s thematic context.
Workshop Assessment

The perspectives and inputs collected during the workshop were revised and assessed within the WEC Framework, leading to the identification of key challenges and opportunities for women in the tourism and heritage sectors. The participatory approach produced insightful findings that need further attention (presented below).

Challenges

- Social norms and cultural practices in Madaba are the main challenges that women face which prevent them from participating in the labour market. Many restrictions, such as the lack of transportation, long working hours, lack of childcare services, limited job opportunities, and lack of training prevent women from engaging effectively in both the public and private sectors.

- The lack of basic and advanced training limits women’s capacity to achieve successful projects compared to male market competitors, who have access to these tools. For example, women lack marketing skills and experience due to the inaccessibility of capacity building opportunities. This renders them unable to market their products to larger markets or abroad.

- Organisations that conduct trainings typically invite specific women from Madaba, such as managers of community-based organisations (CBOs), prominent local female figures, or successful business owners. These women are usually under 40 years old. Older women do not receive any training opportunities, which results in their inability to develop skills, receive guidance, and earn or increase income.

- The mixed gender working environment is still an issue in Madaba and prevents women from applying to formal jobs in the public and private sectors. In some families, religious beliefs keep women from mixing with men in the workplace, except for necessity and under specific conditions.
• Women with disabilities are left behind in most of the projects in the public and private sectors in Madaba. Although Article 13 of the Jordanian Labour Law mandates employers to hire workers with disabilities in accordance with the percentages specified in the 2017 Law on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, there is no regular or effective oversight. Moreover, employers are not interested in hiring people with disabilities and find excuses for not doing so. They claim that the infrastructure is not suitable for people with disabilities or that jobs that accommodate the disability are not available.

• There is a lack of community trust in working women and a belief that they do not have the capacity to hold senior positions. This results in many women engaging in informal jobs and focusing on specific sectors, such as handicrafts (designing local dresses known as thob), manufacturing organic soaps, and commercial kitchens. Women who own agricultural land or have the ability to rent and invest in land prefer to engage in agriculture.

• Failure to activate the systems and laws that protect women in the workplace and their control by males is a point of strength for employers and an additional factor that leads to women's exclusion from economic empowerment.

• Gender equality for women is a double-edged sword. Women support the idea of gender equality, but they also want change in traditional care roles. Both responsibilities constitute too great a burden and puts psychological pressure on them.

In Madaba, there are no professional trainings for women that enable them to start a decent career. This forces them to attend trainings in other governorates, which is challenging, especially for married women.

– Handicraft business owner

We prefer to start projects with our own money instead of taking loans. Sometimes, we cannot pay the loan back, and this can lead us to prison.

– Female mosaicist
Opportunities

- Women’s awareness of the importance of social media and their ability to use it as a tool to promote their products and target and attract a larger audience at a lower cost.

- Women’s awareness of the Jordanian laws that protect women from discrimination within the workplace is an opportunity for them to improve their situation and defend their labour rights. Women’s awareness of the lack of social protection for females working in the informal sector, especially in the agriculture field, makes them more empowered in asking for their full rights in front of private employers and the government.

- For women working in the informal sector, knowledge of their training and professional needs will enable them to claim relevant trainings that support their professional development. For example, women mosaicists identified a need for more professional skills that would help them to think outside the box and market their products for tourists. Women who work in tourism should also complete English language courses to master the language and communicate properly with tourists.

- Some new, non-traditional roles were born from the community’s need in Madaba that could open up more jobs for women. For example, women identified the need for females to provide maintenance services. A plumbing course was offered to women to provide them with a new professional skill and an opportunity to improve their financial conditions. Such services help protect women from harassment because they employ females for the maintenance of their homes instead of men.

- Madaba Municipality is included in networks of international organisations and can submit project proposals that link the ancient city with climate change and the impact on economic sectors. In particular, how tourism workers deal with it, as well as the extent of women’s relationship with climate change and their support for the tourism sector as a result of climate changes over the years.

- King Abdallah II has called for a focus on agriculture and tourism in Madaba. This will provide women with extra encouragement and opportunities to enhance their skills in these sectors. It will also pressure key people in the government to push for a labour market that is safer, more equitable, and adapted to the needs of women, youth, and persons with disabilities.

- Three manuals have been developed to address the fundamental needs of the local community, the development sector, and the municipal sector. Madaba municipality used them to build a strategic plan for 2023-2026 that included 57 projects in all sectors that employ women and youth. The plan was submitted to King Abdallah II for consideration in future planning.

- The municipality of Madaba has a women’s empowerment unit led by women who work to improve the financial and social conditions of their peers.

We encourage increasing the number of workshops and trainings as well as the provision of technical support to increase women’s access to the labour market. However, we cannot achieve anything without financial support.

— Nayef Al-Hdayat, Governor of Madaba
Detailed results of WEC dimension assessment

Guided by the Cities Alliance WEC Framework, the workshop participants identified and rated issues surrounding women’s participation in the workforce, mainly in the informal sector. They had to agree on a score for each issue on a scale from 1 (critical) through 3 (almost satisfactory) to 6 (more than satisfactory). This section provides an overview of the issues and their ratings.

Women’s Financial Independence and the Working Environment

Their challenges include:

- Very limited access to work in the private sector due to typically lower pay (gender pay gap) and long working hours that do not accommodate their primary caretaking role.

- Spatial and cultural restrictions regarding possible and acceptable jobs that limit their opportunities. This is especially problematic for married women who cannot look for work in other governorates, leading them to withdraw from the labour market or implement projects on their own. Additionally, transportation options often lack the needed level of safety.

- Women receive fewer incentives, training and promotions that would encourage and enable them further in the labour market.

- Many sectors (private and informal) still abuse the rights of working women and refrain from implementing the provisions of the labour law requiring employers to provide nurseries in the workplace, maternity leave, and a safe environment for women. Working women in informal sectors, such as agriculture or handicrafts, lack social protection and do not benefit from social security, health insurance, or a pension.

“Women’s work outside the home is a luxury. Therefore, society places many restrictions on the nature and conditions of women’s work. If traditional practices remain stronger than the law, women will never be able to gain their financial independence.”

- A female participant
Creating Women’s Own Businesses

Women are faced with various obstacles when seeking to open their own business and struggle to engage in the economic sector. This stems from a lack of financial support, protective regulation, and competence and skill development services. The informal sector is known for its lack of protection and organisation – a situation that predominantly affects women, who make up the majority of informal workers. These disadvantages render women more vulnerable to work-related injuries, chronic diseases, physical and psychological exhaustion, and the lack of a stable income and financial independence. This type of work is also one of the reasons for the persistence of poverty among women in Madaba and their lack of stability and financial independence.

It is difficult for women to open their own businesses for various reasons:

- A lack of investment by organisations and the governorate (or another entity) to enable capacity building (such as marketing skills, innovative product development, and management) in women’s businesses.

- It is difficult for women in Madaba to have their own business if they lack financial resources. Obtaining a loan from the bank requires mortgaging real estate, such as a house or land, and this is not available to everyone. Women also need resources to undertake the costly process of officially registering a business. Sometimes they are forced to use the certificates of their male peers, making them vulnerable to exploitation.

- Women require a sponsor when submitting a financing request, which further constrains them.

- The products that women choose for their businesses are traditional and repetitive. Many women from the same area make the same products, which decreases their opportunities for success. For example, in each bazaar, there are three to four women selling the same products. This increases the competition between them and reduces the profits for everyone.

Even when we were informed that the Women’s Loan Corporation would grant women loans and facilities through which they could implement their project without pawning any property, we still faced risks because some of us were fined because of our inability to repay loans. This is due to the lack of proper supervision, follow up, and guidance of our work.

– Woman working in agriculture

Funding Small Projects

Accessing funding for small businesses is an obstacle for women; there are typically many requirements connected to the process that systematically make it difficult for women to qualify. In addition, biases against women and a lack of support throughout the process hinder women from obtaining needed financial resources.

- Biases against women lead to increased requirements for obtaining a loan to open a new business. The conditions are formulated by the lending institution or individual responsible for submitting the transaction and approving the loan. These include having a retirement salary and owning land, properties or a water
well; all things women are less likely to have, especially when starting a business.

- Lack of guidance, supervision, and follow up from entities such as the Women’s Loan Corporation has led to failure of women’s businesses because they were unable to repay the loans and were uninformed about the possible repercussions, often imprisonment.

- Lack of support from families and partners can lead to misuse of the loans. One participant mentioned that a man took his wife’s loan to marry someone else.

- Funding from international organisations for municipalities and governorates is not visible and accessible enough for women and the local community.

- Loan misuse and fraud through fictitious and unsupervised projects make it more difficult for other women to obtain a loan.

Despite the fact that male officials pretend to defend women’s rights, we find the opposite on the ground. Women are still secondary members of the Jordanian society, and obstacles are deliberately placed in front of them to prevent them from reaching higher job ranks.

– A female lawyer

Many women in Madaba are now imprisoned.

– A female youth

Training Opportunities

In Madaba, there is a lack of training on professional skills in general, even for men. Women have repeatedly requested financial and professional training from both governmental and non-governmental bodies, but their requests remained pending. As a result, the local community has lost its trust in governmental and international institutions.

- Women in Madaba believe that improving their communications and linguistic skills can positively impact the tourism sector.

- Most of the advanced and professional trainings are implemented outside Madaba, which limits women’s opportunities to participate for multiple cultural and social reasons. In addition, women do not always receive financial support to attend such trainings, which is a further challenge.

- The women who are invited to management trainings are mainly managers of CBOs and well-known women entrepreneurs. The women who would benefit the most from such trainings are excluded.

- The topics of trainings are often outdated or do not address women’s needs.

The problem with the success or failure of women’s projects is the extent of access to training or the lack of it.

– A male youth working in the tourism sector
Recruitment Process

1: Bad | 2: Highly unsatisfactory | 3: Almost satisfactory | 4: Satisfactory | 5: High satisfactory | 6: Full

According to Dr. Ahmaed Al-Amaerah, director of MIMAR, 52 per cent of Jordanian women have a university degree but only 14 per cent are formally employed. Although there are no Jordanian laws that prevent women from working, females are faced with discrimination from the recruitment process onwards. The government sector is considered fairer than the private sector in recruiting staff because it depends on the Civil Service Bureau for Recruitment. However, the male-dominated institutional culture and the small number of women in leadership positions are obstacles to the incentives and promotions granted to women over the years.

- There is discrimination against women in the recruitment process and granting incentives and promotions to working women in the government and private sectors. In the informal sector, women’s rights are abused and exploited, and their products are bought at lower prices than others. In addition, the municipality is not interested in marketing their products in or outside Madaba.

- The discrimination in recruitment at the public and private level encourages women to withdraw from the labour market or open their own businesses.

Because we are women working in the informal sector, we are exploited as our handmade products and mosaics are sold at a lower price. No attention is paid to marketing, even for best-selling products.

- Two women handicraft workers

Women’s Participation in Tourism, Mosaics, Maintenance, and Handicrafts

1: Bad | 2: Highly unsatisfactory | 3: Almost satisfactory | 4: Satisfactory | 5: High satisfactory | 6: Full

From the discussion it emerged that women are mainly working in food production and handicrafts. Due to a lack of entrepreneurial skills, however, they are not able to market their products successfully. Women are also trying to expand their skill sets to work in other sectors such as maintenance and tourism, but this is not yet completely accepted by society.

- The percentage of women working in the tourism sector in Madaba is under 5 per cent. In addition to the challenges mentioned above, women suffer from the importation of lower-priced foreign products that compete with their products.

- Women’s products are repetitive and have stopped attracting tourists. Moreover, women who trade at bazaars sell similar products and little effort is made to improve packaging and make it more appealing and sustainable. Yet, women in the mosaic sector are aware that thinking outside of the box, and learning making innovative and new shapes and forms can increase attractiveness of the mosaic art again.

- Non-traditional jobs such as maintenance services employ a low percentage of women. There is a need to change the community’s mindset to accept women’s entry into domains that are considered “male dominated.”
• The lack of knowledge on marketing methods, improving the quality of products, and packaging limits the success of women’s projects. Women in Madaba rely heavily on bazaars and festivals to market their products and earn an income, and they are unable to market their products through other channels.

• Women who obtained a plumbing certificate are not able to work in their new field. As one participant noted, “the community does not accept this type of work. Moreover, as women, we do not feel safe to enter the homes of strangers. In addition, people do not trust our abilities. However, we should be given the opportunity to work in this field to improve our skills and gain our community’s trust.”

• In the tourism sector, women are still restricted to selling products instead of working as tour guides or supporting tourists during their visits to historical areas in Madaba. In addition, women do not engage in design, planning, or decision making that can serve the area and improve the city’s infrastructure.

Most mosaicists make similar shapes, such as the olive tree or Virgin Mary. This is unattractive to tourists and reduces the sales rates.

- Woman mosaicist
The workshop identified multiple factors that limit women’s opportunities in the tourism and heritage industries. While some are social and cultural issues that require a long-term effort to address, other barriers could be overcome by implementing specific actions, such as skills development training or a business incubator.

The list of recommendations below provides an overview of possible follow-up pilot activities that, if successful, would also contribute to removing cultural and social challenges against women’s empowerment in both the medium and long term.

**Action Points**

- **Develop business incubators** that would support startups, provide them with business management guidance, communications, entrepreneurship, digital skills, and essential networks for the tourism sector. In addition, raise the institutional awareness for these capacity-building needs.

- **Invest in public spaces** affiliated with the Ministry of Tourism and facilitate women’s access to them.

> *I have had a commercial kitchen for years, but the income has only increased recently. My work is on and off, and the situation got worse after Covid-19. The main reason is that there is no supervision for our work and a lack of guidance on how to increase our income and market our products. Sometimes, we just obtain money, but the project fails.*

– Female business owner
Enhancing Women’s Opportunities in the Cultural Heritage Sector in Madaba, Jordan

Improve the awareness and access of women to potential funding in Madaba and rebuild trust with Madaba’s governorate by strengthening the relationship and the direct connection with them for any confirmed funding.

Provide women in Madaba with adequate guidance and comprehensive training on financial culture and project management before obtaining any funds. They should also have regular follow ups after starting any new business.

Develop a national strategy using a participatory approach that focuses on creating a market to promote handicraft products and ensure the success of any production project undertaken by women in Madaba. Highlight the participatory approach for the tourism sector, as it allows all community members to be part of the planning, design, and implementation of the rehabilitation of many touristic areas in Madaba.

Improve women’s awareness of possible trainings and needed capacities. This would enable them to engage more actively in the economy of cultural heritage and improve their economic activities, including financial independence.

Activate Jordan’s Social Security Law to cover and protect women who work in the informal sector. The law should be reviewed and consider these issues from a gender lens to adapt to women’s challenges and needs.

Enhance the public and private sectors and connect them with the Vocational Training Centres in Madaba to identify the main needs addressed in this assessment and develop training programmes accordingly.

Link the needs assessment, challenges faced by women, and the government’s vision to the Economic Modernisation Vision of Jordan and adapt them to women’s requirements in Madaba.

Women’s empowerment is not about supporting women to create their own businesses. It is about supporting them to think in a sustainable way and to have plans for the long run. Social protection for women in the informal sector is still an issue, especially for those who work in the agricultural and handicraft sectors.

- Aref Al-Rawajih, Mayor of Madaba
Conclusion

In recent years, Jordan has made considerable progress towards achieving women’s empowerment and gender equality. Notably, its constitution has been amended to promote equal opportunities for women and girls. While there are positive trends, at the local level there are still multiple socio-economic and cultural barriers and challenges for women to fully participate in the formal economy, especially in male-dominated sectors such as tourism and maintenance.

The identification and assessment of women’s needs and priorities – especially in relation to care roles and responsibilities – is a first necessary step to expand women’s participation and opportunities in the formal economy. Women cannot bear the care burden alone while also working to be economically independent. This report supports the governorate and municipality of Madaba in identifying and co-creating actions and initiatives for the inclusive and sustainable development of women and girls. It provides valuable data that the municipality and local women’s organisations can use to design and implement specific activities to empower women and improve their economic well-being.

The workshop has also helped create the seeds for a network to galvanise and push for women to have more access to training, business skill development, and livelihood opportunities. There is also the potential to replicate the workshop approach in other cities with cultural heritage sites where women face similar challenges as in Madaba.
Endnotes


8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.


15 In this context, entrepreneurial skills refer to business management, communication and marketing skills, and product differentiations.


17 Article 25 of Jordan’s Law on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities states that “no person may be excluded from employment or from training on the basis of, or because of, disability. Disability in itself should not be considered a barrier for preventing candidacy for holding or assuming a position or job and for retaining such position or job and attaining promotions therein.” This article of the law also provides information on Jordan’s quota system for disability employment: “Without undermining work or job requirements related to educational or professional qualifications, government and non-government organisations with at least (25) employees and workers and no more than (50) employees each pledge to hire at least one employee with disabilities to fill out one of its vacancies. In the event that there are more than (50) employees hired by these organisations, (4%) of the relevant vacancies should be assigned to persons with disabilities, according to a decision made by the Ministry of Labor.” https://www.un.org/development/desa/disabilities/wp-content/uploads/sites/15/2019/11/Jordan_Law-No.-20-for-the-year-2017-on-the-Law-on-the-Rights-of-Persons-with-Disabilities.pdf.

18 A commercial kitchen refers to a kitchen that produces meals and food for commercial selling.