



Female Inmates of Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers in Jordan

Between International Standards and Practical Reality

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Introduction

Fundamental international, regional and local changes have taken place in recent decades regarding the concept of prison. The view of prison has changed as a result of the growing influence of the Social Defence movement, so that prisons have shifted from punitive institutions aimed at society's revenge on the offender to institutions aimed at reforming the prisoner and rehabilitating and reintegrating him, so that he returns as a good and productive individual, removed as far as possible from the world of crime and delinquency. With this development, the objectives and visions that previously governed the work of penal institutions inevitably had to change.

From this standpoint, and in order to entrench the new view of penal institutions, their name was changed to "correctional and rehabilitation centers". Efforts are increasingly directed towards educating and training inmates and equipping them with various life skills, in addition to moral guidance, developing religious conscience and attempting to elevate the inmate's personality culturally and socially. The care of inmates is no longer confined to the efforts made inside the centers but extends beyond them, so that such care continues after release in what is known as "aftercare".

Within this concept, international standards have, from their inception, paid special attention to the rights of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers and to the mechanism for dealing with and caring for them in a manner that ensures their rehabilitation and reform. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights contain provisions urging respect for human dignity, including respect for the rights of persons deprived of their liberty. This was followed by the issuance of special rules on the treatment and care of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers, and these standards devoted special space to female inmates.

Although women constitute a small percentage of the inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers worldwide, the challenges arising from women falling under the penal system have prompted official and humanitarian bodies to push towards considering female inmates among the vulnerable categories of prisoners who need measures that address their special needs. Foremost among these is the push towards giving priority to non-custodial measures when sentencing a pregnant woman or a woman who supports children, since resorting to a non-custodial measure is less harmful than depriving the woman of her liberty and imprisoning her, particularly given the negative effects of imprisonment and its frequent failure to achieve its intended purpose, namely deterrence and the reform of the inmate.

The challenges specific to female inmates are particularly evident in the physical and environmental conditions surrounding them and in the extent to which prisons meet their special needs and requirements. It is common in many countries of the world, given the small number of women prisoners or inmates compared with men, for women to be placed in centers that are not specifically equipped or designed as correctional and rehabilitation centers, which affects the inmate's enjoyment of her rights, especially those relating to rehabilitation through training and education. In addition, there are the challenges faced by female inmates who enter the centers pregnant or breastfeeding or accompanied by their children, and who need special treatment that meets their needs and health conditions and the psychological, physical, developmental and social needs of their children, not to mention the social and psychological effects of

depriving a woman of her liberty on her family and children in general. The challenges facing the inmate become greater after her release owing to the stigma of shame that attaches to her socially, so that aftercare for female inmates becomes a basic requirement and a pressing need.

In Jordan, there are fourteen correctional and rehabilitation centers for inmates, two of which are dedicated to women: the Juweideh Women's Correctional and Rehabilitation Center and the Women's Detention Center in Umm Al-Lulu. Despite being called a "detention center", the latter holds convicted female inmates in addition to administratively or judicially detained inmates. Female inmates in Jordan – as is the case worldwide – constitute a small percentage compared with the number of male inmates; nevertheless, there are many challenges facing female inmates that prevent their rehabilitation and reintegration into society.

Hence the importance of this study, which aims to examine the conditions of female inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers, and in particular the extent of their consistency with the international human rights standards in general and with the international standards governing the rights of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers in particular. This will help to identify points of weakness and deficiency, if any, and the challenges in this field, so that work may be done in the future to remedy shortcomings, whether in legislation, in the physical conditions surrounding female inmates or in the programmes provided to them, and so that this study may be a contribution to the efforts made in Jordan by the bodies concerned with developing correctional and rehabilitation centers. To achieve its objectives, this study will address a number of issues and answer several questions, most notably:

- The national legislation governing the rights of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers and its consistency with international standards.
- The infrastructure and physical conditions in correctional and rehabilitation centers, and the extent to which these centers, in terms of design, construction and support facilities, meet the needs of female inmates.
- The current social, cultural, psychological and rehabilitative care programmes received by female inmates; the extent to which they are implemented on the basis of a clear and consistent plan and policy; and whether these centers actually achieve the purpose of reforming and rehabilitating inmates or whether their role is confined to housing them.
- The care received by pregnant inmates before and after delivery, and its consistency with the international human rights standards in general and the international standards on the treatment of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers in particular, including the children accompanying their mothers, the needs of female inmates and the conditions surrounding them inside the centers.
- The availability of effective programmes to protect the children of female inmates outside the correctional and rehabilitation centers and, where they exist, their effectiveness in protecting the children from delinquency resulting from the mother's absence.
- The availability and effectiveness of aftercare programmes for female inmates after they leave the centers, and the impact of these programmes on preventing reoffending and reducing recidivism.
- The importance of non-custodial measures and the extent of the need to resort to them in certain cases as an alternative to imprisonment.

To achieve the objectives of the study, the following methodology will be followed in collecting the data relating to its subject and then analysing and studying them in order to arrive at the necessary findings and recommendations:

- Analysing the national legislation governing the rights of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers and comparing it with the international standards in this framework, in order to show the extent of its consistency with those standards.
- Analysing the results of the field monitoring visits to the women's correctional and rehabilitation centers, through which the actual situation of female inmates was observed.
- Personal interviews with the inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers¹.
- The statistical information on female inmates obtained from the correctional and rehabilitation centers.
- Interviews with the administrations of the correctional and rehabilitation centers and some of their staff.

Building on the foregoing, and in order to examine the conditions of female inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers between international standards and practical reality, we will begin with the international and national legal framework governing the rights of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers in Chapter One. Chapter Two will address the conditions of female inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers, and Chapter Three, the last, will address the legal and practical challenges in the field of the care and rehabilitation of female inmates. The final part will set out the findings and recommendations of the study.

Chapter One: The Rights of Inmates of Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers under International and National Law

International standards have, from their inception, paid special attention to the rights of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers and to the mechanism for dealing with and caring for them in a manner that ensures their rehabilitation and reform. In addition to the international instruments that provide general protection, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, special rules have been issued on the treatment and care of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers, and these standards devoted special space to female inmates; this is the subject of Section One. At the national level, there is a set of laws and instructions governing the rights of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers, which will be addressed and compared with international standards in Section Two.

Section One: International Standards Governing the Rights of Inmates of Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers

The United Nations has adopted a set of international charters and instruments aimed at protecting and guaranteeing the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all human beings, irrespective of their groups,

¹Questionnaires were prepared for distribution to female inmates for the purposes of the study; however, the correctional and rehabilitation centers preferred that the inmates be interviewed and the information taken from them directly, for security reasons relating to the administration of the correctional and rehabilitation centers. It should be noted that approximately 120 inmates were interviewed in each of the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center and the Umm Al-Lulu Center.

sexes, colours and races, including the protection and care of all persons deprived of their liberty or detained. The most prominent international conventions providing this general protection include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, in its Article 10. The Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment also provides for the obligation to respect the rights of prisoners and detainees and not to subject them to any kind of torture.

In the field of instruments specialized in the care of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers, the United Nations has established a set of rules and instruments setting out the minimum rules for the treatment of such inmates and guaranteeing their rights, and has urged States to be guided by them when establishing penal and correctional institutions. The most prominent of these rules are the following:

First: The Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners

The Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners were adopted at the First United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, held in Geneva in 1955.

The Standard Minimum Rules do not seek to describe in detail a model system of penal institutions; rather, they seek to set out what is generally accepted by the international community as the minimum conditions and principles applicable to the inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers². It should be noted that these rules have no binding legal value; they are guiding rules that carry moral value, like the other rules and principles issued by the United Nations³.

The Standard Minimum Rules contain a set of rules that constitute principles by which States are guided in dealing with and managing the prison file, the most important of which is non-discrimination in the treatment of prisoners on grounds of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status⁴, and the requirement that prisons be organized communities that constitute places that are safe for the lives and security of prisoners.

Second: The Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners

The Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners were adopted by General Assembly resolution 45/111 of 14 December 1990. This international instrument contains a set of principles, the most important of which are the following⁵:

1. The treatment of prisoners shall be consistent with respect for their inherent human dignity and without discrimination on grounds of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, while respecting the religious beliefs and cultural precepts of the group to which the prisoners belong.
2. Prisoners shall retain the human rights and fundamental freedoms set out in the international instruments, in particular the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant

²The Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, Preliminary Observations. The Preliminary Observations state that "these rules cover a field in which thought is constantly developing. They are not intended to preclude experiment and practices, provided these are in harmony with the principles and seek to further the purposes which derive from the text of the rules as a whole".

³In this respect they differ from conventions, which carry legal value and are subject to ratification procedures by States.

⁴See the Standard Minimum Rules, Part I (Rules of General Application).

⁵These principles likewise have no binding legal value; they are guiding rules that carry moral value.

on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, subject to the limitations necessitated by the nature and fact of incarceration.

3. Efforts addressed to the abolition of solitary confinement as a punishment, or to the restriction of its use, shall be encouraged.
4. Conditions shall be created enabling prisoners to take part in cultural and educational activities, in addition to providing the conditions necessary to enable prisoners to undertake work, which will in turn enable them to contribute to supporting their families.
5. Work shall be done to create the conditions necessary for the reintegration of released prisoners into society, in cooperation with all relevant bodies.

Third: The United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-custodial Measures for Women Offenders (the Bangkok Rules)

The particular situation of women who fall under the criminal justice system prompted the General Assembly to adopt special rules for the treatment of women prisoners and non-custodial measures for women offenders, known as the Bangkok Rules. These rules clarified that the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners apply to all prisoners without discrimination but did not pay sufficient attention to the special needs of women, and that, with the increasing number of women prisoners worldwide, it had become necessary to clarify further the considerations that should be taken into account in the treatment of women prisoners⁶.

Among the most important matters referred to in these rules is the emphasis on giving priority to non-custodial measures for women and moving towards alternative penalties. The rules urged States to adopt them in view of the negative social and psychological repercussions of imprisonment on women, their families and their children, in addition to the fact that the imprisonment of some women may make their reintegration into society more difficult.

It should be noted that there are many other specialized instruments relating to the treatment and rights of inmates, such as the Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment, the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for Non-custodial Measures, the Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials, and the Principles of Medical Ethics relevant to the Role of Health Personnel, particularly Physicians, in the Protection of Prisoners and Detainees against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

Section Two: The National Legal Framework for the Rights of Inmates of Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers

The national legal framework governing the rights of female and male inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers comprises the basic instruments that guarantee citizens' rights, such as the Constitution, laws, regulations and the relevant instructions. International human rights standards require States to amend their legislation so that it is consistent and compatible with these standards. In discussing the national legal framework governing the rights of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers, it is necessary to address the Jordanian Constitution, the Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers Law No.

⁶See the United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-custodial Measures for Women Offenders (the Bangkok Rules).

(9) of 2004 and the instructions issued thereunder, in addition to the Crime Prevention Law and the Penal Code.

First: The Jordanian Constitution

The Jordanian Constitution stands at the top of the legislative hierarchy in Jordan, and its Chapter Two addresses "Rights and Duties of Jordanians". The constitutional legislator devoted Article 8 to the prohibition of the arbitrary imprisonment or detention of any person and provided for the requirement to treat persons deprived of their liberty in a manner that preserves human dignity, as follows:

1. No person may be arrested, detained, imprisoned or have his freedom restricted except in accordance with the provisions of the law.
2. Every person who is arrested, detained, imprisoned or whose freedom is restricted shall be treated in a manner that preserves human dignity; he may not be tortured in any form, or harmed physically or morally; nor may he be held in places other than those permitted by the laws; and any statement made by any person under any torture, harm or threat shall not be admissible.

Second: The Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers Law

The Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers Law No. (9) of 2004 addresses a number of provisions, the most important of which are the administration and inspection of the centers, the admission and release of inmates, health and social care for inmates, incentive treatment, disciplinary offences and penalties, and the functions and competences of the Supreme Committee for Correction and Rehabilitation.

Although the Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers Law No. (9) of 2004, which replaced the Temporary Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers Law No. (40) of 2001⁷, is considered a pioneering step in the field of legislative reform, in recognizing the rights of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers and in developing penal institutions in Jordan, this Law needs a comprehensive review to ensure that it incorporates the international standards governing the treatment and rights of inmates; the protection it provides in its current form does not rise to that called for by the international standards governing the rights of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers.

As regards female inmates, the Law addresses them in only two articles, namely Article 14 and Article 15, and it may be said in general that these two articles fall short of covering the requirements of women who come under the criminal justice system and their special needs. The most prominent observations on the Law are as follows:

- Article 14 of the Law provides that "the officers and members of the female police shall be entrusted with the administration of the place designated for female inmates, and no person may enter that place unless accompanied by a member of the female police". This is consistent with the international human rights standards regarding the requirement that women's centers be supervised by specialized female police.
- Article 15 of the same Law provides that "a pregnant female inmate shall be given appropriate treatment according to the physician's directions and in accordance with instructions issued for that purpose". It is clear that the phrase "appropriate treatment" in this article is vague and loose, and its meaning is difficult to define, which leaves discretionary authority to those working in the center's

⁷The Temporary Law No. (40) of 2001 repealed the Prisons Law No. (23) of 1953.

administration in determining the nature and type of such treatment. Moreover, regulating the "appropriate treatment" to which a pregnant woman is entitled through instructions issued by the Minister does not provide sufficient legal protection, given how easily such instructions can be amended and changed through uncomplicated procedures.

- As regards health care, although Article 22 of the Law provides that the Ministry of Health shall provide health care and treatment for inmates, the Law does not provide for the need for female physicians in women's correctional and rehabilitation centers, in view of the specific medical issues from which female inmates may suffer and in view of prevailing customs and traditions. Furthermore, the Law does not provide for the provision of psychological care to inmates. Nor does it set out the procedures for transferring a sick inmate to hospital when necessary, in particular the procedures for transferring a pregnant woman for treatment or delivery, including a provision that instruments of restraint shall not be used on female inmates during labour, during delivery and immediately after delivery.
- As regards the disciplinary offences and penalties imposed on inmates, there are numerous observations, the most important being the vagueness and generality of some of the forms of disciplinary offences set out in Article 37 of the Law. The Law also does not expressly provide that two disciplinary penalties may not be combined for a single act, nor does it provide that solitary confinement may not be applied to pregnant women, breastfeeding women and women accompanied by their children. It is also important to point to the need for judicial oversight of the legality of certain penalties imposed on the prisoner.
- **Social services and aftercare for inmates:** Article 30 of the Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers Law entrusted this task to the Ministry of Social Development "according to the capabilities available to it". This means that such care and services depend on the Ministry's capacity to provide them and are not mandatory. It would have been more appropriate to provide for the provision of social services and aftercare to inmates on a mandatory basis, in line with the international standards, given the importance of these services in preventing inmates from reoffending⁸.
- **Lawyers' visits:** The Law does not set out the conditions that must be observed during the visit, including that the interview shall be confidential. Although the Instructions for the Administration of Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers and the Guarding of Inmates and their Rights provide in Article 11 that the visit shall take place "in the place prepared for that purpose", they do not provide that such visits shall be confidential. On another level, Article 11 of the Instructions for the Administration of Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers provides for "preventing the lawyer from contacting his client where a judicial order to that effect exists", which is clearly inconsistent with the right of defence guaranteed by international standards and national legislation⁹.
- As regards the inspection of correctional and rehabilitation centers, Article 7 of the Law provides that "the Minister, or whomever he delegates, may inspect the centers to verify the implementation

⁸See Rules (61, 62, 63, 75, 80 and 81) of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners.

⁹Article (13) provides as follows: "The inmate shall be entitled, in accordance with the instructions issued by the Minister, to the following: 1. to contact and meet his lawyer whenever his interest so requires; 2. to have access to a copy of the indictment against him and the judgments and decisions issued in his regard, whether directly or through his lawyer; 3. to be enabled to inform his relatives of his whereabouts; 4. to correspond with his family and friends and to have contact with them facilitated; 5. to receive visitors, unless there is an impediment to the visit by decision of the Director; 6. to practise religious rites; 7. to contact the diplomatic or consular representative of his State if the inmate is a foreigner; 8. to benefit from the opportunities available at the center for academic education and vocational training".

of the provisions of this Law and the regulations and instructions issued thereunder and any decisions issued by a relevant authority". Article 8 of the Law further provides that "the Minister of Justice, the President of the Public Prosecution, any of the presidents of the Courts of Appeal, First Instance and Major Felonies, the Attorney General and members of the Public Prosecution, each within his area of jurisdiction, may enter the center to verify ...".

- It would have been preferable for the legislator to provide that the aforementioned officials must visit these places periodically to verify that no violations exist.
- **The Supreme Committee for Correction and Rehabilitation:** Article 33 of the Law provides that the Supreme Committee shall meet once every six months at the invitation of its chairman, or of his deputy in his absence. Under the Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers Law, the Supreme Committee is responsible for setting the general policy for the treatment of inmates and other policies aimed at providing social, health and operational services for inmates.
- Given the importance of the Committee's work and of the tasks entrusted to it, a meeting every six months is a long interval; it would be more appropriate to shorten the interval to three months and to activate the Committee's role in a manner that ensures the development of correctional and rehabilitation centers as required.

Third: The Instructions for the Administration of Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers and the Guarding of Inmates and their Rights

These Instructions were issued pursuant to the provisions of the Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers Law, and they set out the rights of inmates in greater detail than the Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers Law.

The Instructions address matters of importance and gravity, such as the mechanism for housing inmates in wards or dormitories, floor space, lighting and ventilation, cleanliness, the clothing and bedding of inmates, the provision of water and food, and inmates' contact with the outside world. It is noted that these Instructions link the inmates' enjoyment of many of their rights to the capabilities available at each center, especially the right to education and vocational training, which may provide the relevant bodies with a pretext for not providing these services on the grounds that the capabilities are unavailable¹⁰.

As for the provisions specific to female inmates, paragraph (Y) of Article 11 of the Instructions is devoted to the treatment of female inmates. This paragraph provides as follows: "1. The pregnant inmate shall be presented to the center's physician whenever necessary and periodically, based on the physician's direction. 2. The inmate shall be transferred to government hospitals if her treatment at the center is not possible and, if she is admitted to hospital, she shall be placed under guard by members of the female police. 3. The pregnant inmate shall be admitted to hospital for delivery on the recommendation of the physician. 4. The necessary assistance shall be provided, according to the available capabilities, to the inmate and her child on the recommendation of the physician. 5. A special place (a nursery) shall be designated inside the women's correctional and rehabilitation center, in which the infants and children present with their mothers shall be placed during the periods in which they are not in their mothers' care".

¹⁰See Article (11/H) and (11/T) of the Instructions for the Administration of Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers and the Guarding of Inmates and their Rights.

It is noted that these provisions link the pregnant woman's enjoyment of her rights to the available capabilities, which opens the door to evading the provision of sufficient and necessary care on the pretext that the necessary capabilities are unavailable. These provisions also fall short of covering the special needs of women in general and of pregnant and breastfeeding women in particular, especially the requirement that, as a rule, a woman should give birth in a fully equipped hospital, delivery inside the correctional and rehabilitation center being the exception. Nor do the Instructions address the subjection of pregnant and breastfeeding women to a special dietary regime, the requirement not to restrain them during transfer during labour and delivery and immediately after delivery, and the other matters provided for in the international standards referred to earlier.

It should be noted that, given the nature of instructions and the ease with which they can be amended and changed through simple procedures that do not rise to the level of the procedures and conditions for amending laws, and given that they are not issued by the legislative authority vested with general jurisdiction, the rights of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers, including the rights of female inmates, should be set out in detail and incorporated in the Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers Law, or in an independent law that draws on the international standards governing the treatment and rights of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers.

Fourth: The Instructions on Social Services Provided by Social Service Offices to Inmates of Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers of 2008

These Instructions were issued pursuant to Article 30 of the Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers Law. Article 2 of the Instructions defines social service as "any service or activity provided by the social service office that would improve the standard of the inmates and their families materially, culturally, educationally, in terms of health, in sports or socially".

The Law provides for the establishment of an office to provide social services to inmates in each correctional and rehabilitation center¹¹. Under the Law, the tasks of the social service office include participating in the inmate classification committee and conducting the initial social study of each inmate requesting social service in order to determine the type of social service he requires.

The office's tasks also include facilitating the placement of the children of detainees in social care institutions, protecting the children of inmates present in correctional and rehabilitation centers and placing inmates' children who are at risk in institutions that care for such children where they need care, in addition to cooperating in holding religious, cultural, health, sports, vocational and other activities and preparing the necessary social reports on the conditions of inmates. The social service fund provides twenty dinars monthly to inmates who meet the conditions.

It is noted that these Instructions do not oblige the Ministry of Social Development to conduct a status check on the children of female inmates and to verify that they are living in an environment that provides them with care and protection, particularly since the detention or imprisonment of a woman has major repercussions for the family and poses a serious danger to the children, who, according to practical observation, are in most cases more vulnerable to delinquency and homelessness.

¹¹ Article (3) of the Instructions on Social Services Provided by Social Service Offices.

Fifth: The Crime Prevention Law and the Penal Code

The Crime Prevention Law No. (7) of 1954, which replaced the Crime Prevention Law of 1927, grants the administrative governor judicial powers that directly affect the right to personal liberty of individuals, including the power to issue arrest and summons warrants, to conduct investigations and to hear evidence and witness testimony under oath, in accordance with the practice under the Criminal Procedure Law. Accordingly, the administrative governor has the power to issue a detention order against the person pursued and consequently to imprison him without specifying the period of imprisonment, which is known as administrative detention. He also has the power to bind the pursued person with a financial bond to guarantee his good conduct and behaviour, and at the same time the power to determine the amount of the bond and the person of the guarantor. Article 3 of the Crime Prevention Law specifies the cases that constitute a basis for the administrative governor to exercise the aforementioned powers, as follows: "1. Anyone found in a public or private place in circumstances that satisfy the governor that he was about to commit, or to assist in committing, any crime. 2. Anyone who habitually commits robbery or theft or possession of stolen property, or who habitually protects or harbours thieves, or who assists in concealing or disposing of stolen property. 3. Anyone whose being at large without a bond would be dangerous to the public".

The aforementioned cases involve a considerable degree of generality and are loosely drafted legal provisions. Expressions such as "about to commit a crime", "anyone who habitually ..." or "dangerous to the public" contradict the fundamental legal principle that there is no crime and no punishment without a legal provision, and they also contradict the principles of criminal legislative drafting, one of the most important conditions of which is clarity and precision, so that such provisions do not become a pretext for the authorities to infringe the liberties of individuals under the guise of preserving security and public order. It is worth mentioning that the detention of women by the administrative governor for their protection is not among the cases set out in the Law.

Administrative detention is one of the most prominent challenges faced by the criminal justice system in Jordan, and at the same time one of the most prominent challenges facing female inmates, as a large number of female inmates are administratively detained for various reasons¹².

In view of the negative repercussions of this Law on society as a whole and on women in particular, who suffer from its arbitrary application without regard to the repercussions of administrative detention on them and their families, this Law calls for urgent intervention to repeal it or to amend it in a manner that guarantees the liberty and personal security of individuals.

Finally, in concluding the discussion of the national legal framework governing the rights of female inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers, it must be pointed out that the Jordanian Penal Code should include non-custodial measures, as provided for by international standards, so that judges may resort to them as an alternative to imprisonment in cases defined and regulated by law, in view of the negative effects of imprisonment on inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers, particularly female inmates.

¹² Administrative detention will be discussed in detail later in this study.

Chapter Two: The Conditions of Female Inmates of Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers

Female inmates in Jordan are distributed between two correctional centers: the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center and the Women's Detention Center at the Umm Al-Lulu Correctional and Rehabilitation Center. The Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center and the Women's Detention Center in Umm Al-Lulu house three categories of female inmates: women against whom judicial sentences have been handed down; women who are judicially detained; and, finally, women who are administratively detained.

Examining the conditions of female inmates in these two centers requires a study of their conditions from all aspects, and of the extent to which they enjoy the rights set out in the international standards governing the rights of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers and in national legislation. Accordingly, we will first address the physical conditions in the women's correctional and rehabilitation centers, then shed light on the care and rehabilitation of female inmates, and finally discuss aftercare and the role of civil society organizations and the business sector in protecting and promoting the rights of female inmates.

Section One: Physical Conditions in the Women's Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers

The environment surrounding the inmate and the living conditions in correctional and rehabilitation centers are among the most prominent factors that give the inmate a sense of dignity and self-esteem. International instruments have generally affirmed that the purpose of human rights is to preserve and safeguard human dignity. In this context, the Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners provide that all prisoners shall be treated with the respect due to their inherent dignity and value as human beings¹³. Among the matters that States must take into account in developing and implementing their correctional policies is that imprisonment is in itself an extremely harsh punishment; prison conditions must therefore not aggravate this harshness, lest the punishment become compounded and lead to counter-productive results.

In addressing the physical conditions in women's correctional and rehabilitation centers, we will begin with a general description of the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center and the Women's Detention Center in Umm Al-Lulu, then address the infrastructure and surrounding conditions in each of them, and finally indicate the causes and types of the crimes committed by female inmates.

First: A General Description of the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center and the Women's Detention Center in Umm Al-Lulu

The Juweideh Women's Correctional and Rehabilitation Center is located in the capital, Amman, and is considered one of the centers close to population concentrations, a factor that facilitates access to it and the transport of inmates from the center to the courts hearing their cases. The center was designed from the outset as a correctional and rehabilitation center. Its capacity is (350) inmates; however, the actual number present exceeds this capacity, which has caused overcrowding and affected the quality of the services provided to inmates. The center contains thirty-nine dormitories, including dormitories

¹³See Article (1) of the Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners.

conforming to specifications¹⁴, a sunning yard and a health unit. Each dormitory holds between (11–13) beds on the single-bed system, and the number of beds depends on the total area of the dormitory. In a positive development, a dormitory was established on 1/3/2010 for the "Tahween" (settling-in) programme for female inmates entering the center for the first time in misdemeanour cases. A dormitory was also established for the "Tahyi'a" (preparation) programme, which aims to prepare female inmates whose release date is approaching to adjust and reintegrate into society.

The other facilities, which provide various services, include the library, the literacy classroom, two computer rooms, a printing room, a sports hall, the mosque, the workshops and the dining hall.

Center	Opening date	Capacity	Number actually present in the center
Juweideh Women's Correctional and Rehabilitation Center	1/1/2000	350 inmates	476 ¹⁵
Umm Al-Lulu Women's Detention Center	28/10/2013	40 inmates	37 ¹⁶

The Women's Detention Center in Umm Al-Lulu is located in the Umm Al-Lulu area of Mafraq Governorate and is considered one of the centers remote from population concentrations. The center was opened on 28/10/2013¹⁷. It was not originally established for this purpose; rather, it was converted later and used for this purpose¹⁸. Although the center bears the name "Detention Center", it holds inmates against whom judicial sentences have been handed down (convicted women), as well as administratively and judicially detained women. The center comprises two dormitories, each containing twenty beds on the bunk-bed system, while the capacity of the center is forty inmates¹⁹. Most of the inmates in this center were transferred from the Juweideh Women's Correctional and Rehabilitation Center.

The center's support facilities include a dining hall, part of which has been partitioned off for solitary confinement purposes. The center has no library, sports hall or medical clinics, since it was not designed from the outset as a women's center.

Although this center is affiliated to the Umm Al-Lulu (Men's) Correctional and Rehabilitation Center, it is located at an appropriate distance from the men's center, is completely separated from it and is administered entirely by the female police, which is consistent with the international standards in this respect.

¹⁴ A dormitory conforming to specifications, according to those in charge of the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center, is one that includes a sunning yard and sanitary facilities and contains a number of beds proportionate to the total area of the dormitory.

¹⁵ This figure is as at the time the study data were compiled on 6/3/2014, and it is the number relied upon in this study as a purposive sample for the purposes of calculating the number of judicially and administratively detained women, the proportion of repeat offenders, etc., bearing in mind that the number rises or falls according to daily admissions and releases.

¹⁶ This figure is as at the date the study data were compiled, and it is the figure relied upon for the purposes of the study as a purposive sample for calculating the number of administratively and judicially detained women and convicted women, the proportion of repeat offenders and the types of crimes, bearing in mind that it rises or falls according to daily admissions and releases.

¹⁷ It should be noted that the Umm Al-Lulu Correctional and Rehabilitation Center was opened in 2009.

¹⁸ The Umm Al-Lulu/Women Detention Center was previously used by the Umm Al-Lulu Correctional and Rehabilitation Center as dormitories for the guards.

¹⁹ At the time of the visit, one of the dormitories held (18) inmates, and the other dormitory held (18) inmates [sic], i.e. a total of (37) inmates.

Second: Infrastructure and Surrounding Physical Conditions

In order to examine the infrastructure and the physical conditions surrounding female inmates, field visits were carried out to the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center and to the Women's Detention Center in Umm Al-Lulu. In this context, the following observations may be made on these conditions:

- The Juweideh Women's Prison lacks a sewerage network; it relies on a cesspit for the disposal of wastewater. The infrastructure problems have consequently affected the health conditions at the center: foul odours spread, as do insects, which increase at certain times of the year, such as summer. Furthermore, wastewater in many cases seeps into the center and into some of the facilities frequented by inmates, such as the dental clinic²⁰.
- The Juweideh Women's Prison lacks the necessary periodic maintenance. It is noted that the building is old and that the health units attached to the dormitories do not undergo periodic maintenance, which has affected the availability of health and safety conditions inside the dormitories and their attached health units²¹. By contrast, the dormitories of the Women's Detention Center in Umm Al-Lulu, and the center's building in general, are in better condition than those of the Juweideh center, owing to its newness.
- Lighting and natural ventilation in the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center are generally insufficient, and inmates suffer from high humidity inside the center, which has affected the health of some inmates, some of whom suffer from respiratory diseases. In addition, artificial lighting is insufficient, which has negative effects on the health of the inmates²². As for the Women's Detention Center in Umm Al-Lulu, there are problems relating to natural ventilation, as the windows are not opened because their requirements have not been completed²³.
- Heating is provided to inmates in winter through the central heating system, which is operated for an average of two hours in the morning and two hours in the evening. During the meeting with the inmates, they indicated that they suffer from the cold during winter, particularly in the evening, especially given the shortage and age of the blankets²⁴.
- Most of the dormitories in the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center suffer from overcrowding owing to the number of inmates exceeding the center's capacity, which has forced

²⁰The sewage water overflowed into the dental clinic more than seven times, which affects the health of the patients attending, the health of the treating physician and the difficulty of the physician's work. This was observed during the visit to the Juweideh/Women Correctional and Rehabilitation Center on 3/3/2014.

²¹For example, the toilets in the health units have no covers, and the spread of insects and foul odours was noted.

²²During the interviews, the inmates indicated that the weakness of the artificial lighting affects their eyesight. It should be noted that Rule (11) of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners provides that "in all places where prisoners are required to live or work, the windows shall be large enough to enable the prisoners to use natural light for reading and work, and shall be so constructed that they can allow the entrance of fresh air whether or not there is artificial ventilation; artificial light shall be provided sufficient for the prisoners to read or work without injury to eyesight".

²³As at the date the study was prepared, owing to the absence of screens to prevent the entry of insects and the like, the windows in the Umm Al-Lulu Detention Center are not opened, which means that the inmates do not enjoy natural ventilation despite the large number of smokers among them.

²⁴The inmates indicated during the interviews that there is a shortage in the number of blankets and that the blankets provided to them are old and unclean. They added that they are forced to spread their clothes on the heaters for lack of a place to hang them, which also prevents the heating from being used as required. In the Umm Al-Lulu Women's Detention Center, the inmates indicated that the heating was turned off from mid-March, even though the weather was still cold.

some inmates to sleep on the floor for lack of sufficient beds. It has also been observed that some inmates rent out their beds in return for a certain sum of money²⁵.

- As regards the furniture inside the dormitories, the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center has separate beds, whereas the Umm Al-Lulu Women's Detention Center has bunk beds. These beds, however, lack adequate guard rails and a ladder to make it easy for the inmate to climb to the upper bunk, which has forced some inmates to sleep on the floor²⁶.
- As regards solitary confinement, the general conditions in confinement are unhealthy and do not meet health and safety requirements; the health unit attached to the confinement cell causes health problems, the cell has no heating at all, and it also lacks a facility for bathing²⁷.

Third: Types of Crimes Committed by Female Inmates and their Causes²⁸

Numerous studies indicate that criminal behaviour and its spread are closely linked to poor and deteriorating economic, social, cultural and family conditions²⁹. Interviews with the inmates showed a close relationship between their commission of crimes and their family circumstances, in terms of the prevalence of violence, family disintegration, marital disputes and the low economic level of the family in general. The social service office in the correctional and rehabilitation centers also confirmed, through the studies it has conducted and its communication with inmates over the years, that the main cause of inmates' commission of crimes is, first and foremost, family disputes and disintegration, followed by difficult material circumstances and low family income.

On another level, the social studies conducted on inmates have established a relationship between the commission of crime and the harshness of treatment among family members, as well as low attention to the individual, resulting in many cases from the large size of the family, marital disputes, the family's poor economic situation or the family's lack of understanding of the individual's needs, which generates a kind of hostility towards others and drives the individual to develop criminal behaviour towards his family and society³⁰.

As for the types of crimes committed by female inmates, a count of the crimes committed by the judicially detained and convicted inmates in the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center and the Umm Al-Lulu Center showed that theft ranked first among the crimes committed, followed by murder or attempted

²⁵ During one of the visits, a dormitory holding (14) inmates was observed, while there were only (11) beds, meaning that three inmates had no beds and slept on mattresses on the floor. A dormitory holding a group of (21) inmates of foreign nationality was also observed. The dormitories of convicted women are generally more orderly, while overcrowding appears greater in the dormitories of detained women or of foreign inmates.

²⁶ Some inmates in the Umm Al-Lulu Center place the mattresses on the floor to sleep on, as an inmate had previously fallen from her bed owing to the lack of adequate guard rails.

²⁷ Rule (32) of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners provides that "punishment by close confinement or reduction of diet shall never be inflicted unless the medical officer has examined the prisoner and certified in writing that he is fit to sustain it".

²⁸ According to the Juweideh/Women Correctional and Rehabilitation Center, the ages of the inmates range between (18–44) years.

²⁹ See: Care and Rehabilitation of Prisoners, previously cited reference.

³⁰ See Al-Shannaq, Nazek, "The Economic and Social Characteristics and their Impact on Crime Patterns among Female Inmates of the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center", Humanities and Social Sciences Series, Yarmouk University, Vol. 27, No. 2A, 2011, p. 1090.

murder, and then moral cases. The crimes committed by female inmates are generally considered to be of medium seriousness³¹.

The following table shows the crimes committed by convicted and judicially detained inmates³² in the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center:

Type of crime	Number
Murder and attempted murder	53
Theft	79
Narcotics	22
Cheques	12
Indecency and prostitution cases	41
Assault (harm)	9
State security crimes	15
Miscellaneous crimes ³³	12

The following table shows the types of cases committed by convicted and judicially detained inmates in the Umm Al-Lulu Center³⁴:

Type of crime	Number
Interference in murder	1
Theft	1
Indecent assault + cheques	1
Indecent assault + theft	1
Prostitution and indecency cases (adultery, assisting in sexual intercourse with a female)	9
Forgery	1
Perjury + cheques	1
Issuing a cheque without sufficient funds	2

³¹Previous social studies confirm that the crimes most frequently committed by female inmates are prostitution and indecency crimes, murder and theft. However, these studies differ as to which of these crimes ranks first. See: The Impact of Economic and Social Characteristics on Crime Patterns, previously cited reference.

³²These figures are for 2014, as at the date the information was compiled for the purposes of the study: the number of convicted women was (106) and the number of judicially detained women (137), while the remaining (233) were judicially [sic – administratively] detained.

³³Such as the crime of impersonation, and others.

³⁴At the time the information was compiled for the purposes of the study, the number of judicially detained and convicted inmates was (17), while the remaining (20) were administratively detained, i.e. a total of (37) inmates.

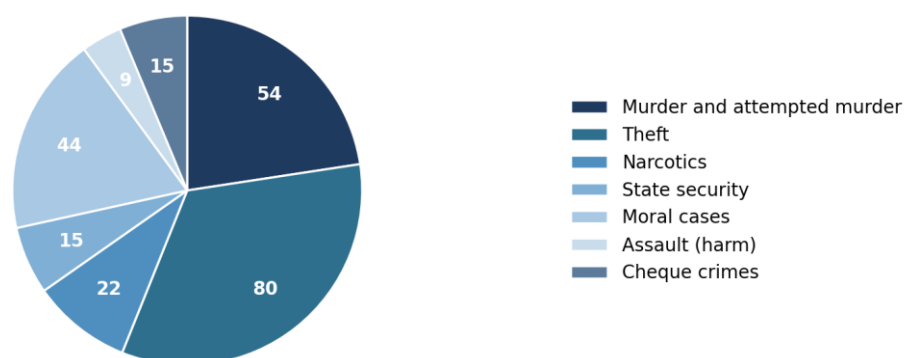


Figure: Types of crimes committed by convicted and judicially detained women in the Juweideh/Women and Umm Al-Lulu Centers

Section Two: Rehabilitation and Care of Female Inmates

Rehabilitation is defined as an organized professional process for employing vocational, educational, social, psychological and medical services to help a person better perform his various roles, in a manner that contributes to his adjustment to the requirements of the environment in which he lives and works, and that develops his capacity for greater self-reliance and improves his standard of living³⁵.

The care and rehabilitation of female inmates take various dimensions and forms, starting with the provision of health conditions inside correctional and rehabilitation centers and extending to health, social, psychological and cultural care, training and vocational rehabilitation. The various, integrated dimensions of the care and rehabilitation process have a direct impact on changing female inmates' attitudes towards society and, consequently, on modifying their behaviour.

First: Classification of Female Inmates

Before discussing the classification process that takes place after the inmate enters the center, the issue of searching inmates must be addressed. International standards have affirmed the need to take effective measures to guarantee the protection of the dignity of women prisoners during body searches, and to introduce alternative screening methods, such as scanning devices, to replace searches involving the removal of clothing, in order to avoid the harmful psychological effects on female inmates and on the accompanying children who are searched with their mothers³⁶.

In practice, the search of women in correctional and rehabilitation centers is carried out by female staff who have received training in the use of appropriate search methods. During the personal interviews, however, female inmates expressed their dissatisfaction with the search process, which they consider an affront to their dignity, since it is carried out in the traditional manner and scanning devices are not used, as provided for in international standards. The reason is the shortage and scarcity of material resources in correctional and rehabilitation centers, as these devices entail high financial costs.

The classification process is addressed under the heading of care for female inmates because it is one of the matters that have the greatest impact on the reform and rehabilitation of female inmates if carried out correctly and soundly. The process is based on the requirement to classify inmates according to specific

³⁵Care and Rehabilitation of Inmates of Correctional Institutions, previously cited reference, p. 96.

³⁶United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-custodial Measures for Women Offenders, Rule (19).

criteria and bases. The international instruments, the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners and the United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners have affirmed the importance and necessity of classifying inmates according to clear bases and criteria that contribute to the reform of female inmates.

The classification of inmates must be preceded by another matter of some importance, namely a study of the personality of the convicted person in its various aspects, in order to obtain as much information as would be useful in implementing the measure imposed. This examination is, by its nature, technical work requiring the cooperation of a group of specialists, each of whom examines a particular aspect, which contributes to the classification process³⁷. The examination of inmates must focus on its various basic aspects: the mental examination, the psychological examination and the social examination.

Classification in the correctional and rehabilitation center is carried out through the classification office, which comprises a Public Security officer, a social researcher and a psychological counsellor who study the various aspects relating to the inmate³⁸. As for the classification criteria, Article 11 of the Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers Law provides that: "(a) Detained inmates shall be separated from convicted inmates. (b) Inmates shall be classified into categories according to age, the type of crime, its degree of seriousness and the length of the prescribed sentence, so as to separate each category from the others".

Practical reality indicates that the classification process is not consistent with the provisions of the Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers Law and is therefore not in line with the international human rights standards in this framework. Monitoring, field visits and personal interviews with the inmates showed that there is no commitment to classifying inmates in accordance with the law in a manner that ensures their rehabilitation. Some dormitories hold foreign inmates of a particular nationality regardless of their category (detained or convicted) and regardless of the type of crime committed, which was justified on the grounds that the foreign inmates wish to be together. The presence of administratively detained women was also observed in dormitories holding inmates who had committed various crimes of differing criminal seriousness (adultery, murder, protective custody). In the dormitories of convicted women, too, there is no full commitment to classification: one of the dormitories holds inmates who committed murder, property crimes (cheques), crimes relating to indecency such as adultery, and narcotics crimes, and, as is well known, each of these crimes differs from the others in terms of the type of crime, the length of the sentence and the degree of criminal seriousness.

The problem of overcrowding and of the number of inmates exceeding the center's capacity, the insufficiency of dormitories, the small area of some of them, the non-conformity of others with specifications, and the failure to appreciate the importance of complying with the classification process are among the most prominent reasons preventing compliance with the classification system.

It is worth noting that non-compliance with the classification criteria and bases affects all efforts aimed at the reform and rehabilitation of inmates, since the first step in the reform and rehabilitation process is not carried out in a manner that ensures the success of the subsequent steps. Mixing inmates of different ages, crimes and degrees of seriousness leads to negative consequences for the inmates, which may lead them, upon their release into society, to commit crimes more serious than those for which they entered

³⁷ Al-Turki, Mustafa, *Women's Prisons*, Naif Arab Academy for Security Sciences, Riyadh, 1st ed., 1997, p. 71.

³⁸ The social researcher at the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center holds a diploma in sociology, while the psychological counsellor holds a university degree in psychology.

the correctional centers, since the friendships arising from such mixing contribute to the transmission of criminal traits from highly dangerous inmates to less dangerous inmates or to those entering prison for the first time.

Second: General and Personal Hygiene of Female Inmates and Provision of Clothing

The Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners affirm that inmates must take care of their personal hygiene, that they must be provided with water and such toilet articles as are necessary for health and cleanliness, and that every prisoner must be enabled and required to have a bath or shower at a suitable temperature at least once a week³⁹. In particular, the accommodation of women prisoners must have the facilities and materials required to meet women's specific hygiene needs⁴⁰.

Field monitoring of general hygiene showed that the level of general cleanliness in the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center is very good with regard to the corridors and halls of the center, with the exception of the cafeteria that serves hot drinks to the inmates, which was not at the required level of cleanliness.

In the inmates' dormitories, the level of cleanliness varies and depends on the extent of the inmates' attention to general cleanliness; a low level of cleanliness was observed in the dormitories of foreign inmates.

The centers' administration provides each dormitory with cleaning tools for the dormitory and hygiene articles for the inmates. All the inmates interviewed indicated that these articles are insufficient and scarce and do not meet the requirements of the inmate's personal hygiene. As a result, some inmates are forced to buy cleaning articles at their own personal expense, which imposes financial burdens on them, while some inmates cannot afford to buy these articles, particularly those who receive no material support from their families. Inmates also buy their own sanitary necessities at their own expense, which contravenes the United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners, which affirm that these needs must be provided free of charge.

As regards the supply of the hot water needed for bathing, the system adopted is to supply inmates with hot water twice a week; in reality, however, this is not fully applied, as hot water reaches the dormitories in most cases only once a week. Moreover, the hot water may run out before all the inmates have bathed, given the large number of inmates in some dormitories, which forces some inmates to bathe with cold water. The problem of intermittent water supply, particularly in the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center, is one of the challenges that negatively affect the inmates and also cause difficulties for the center's administration.

The inmates wash their clothes and bed covers by primitive means in the health units, and these clothes and covers are hung either in the health units themselves, on the central heating or in the sunning yard⁴¹. This means that the covers and clothes are not exposed to sunlight and are not periodically washed and sterilized in electric washing machines, which does not ensure that they are fully clean. During the field

³⁹Article (15) of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Inmates of Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers.

⁴⁰The United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners affirm the provision, free of charge, of the specific health needs of women and a regular supply of water for the personal care of children and women, in particular women involved in cooking and pregnant, breastfeeding or menstruating women.

⁴¹It should be noted that the sunning yard contains no clothesline or anything else to help hang various items.

visits, it was observed that the inmates' bed covers were not as clean as required, and it was also observed during the meeting with the inmates that most of them do not pay sufficient attention to their personal hygiene.

Some inmates indicated that they suffer from a shortage of clothing and are unable to buy clothing for financial reasons.

As regards the health units (toilets) attached to the dormitories, their number is small compared with the number of inmates. During field monitoring, it was observed that most health units lack personal hygiene articles such as soap, and a foul odour was present in some of them; the absence of drain covers was observed, which has led to the presence of insects. In addition, the dormitories and health units lack waste bins, which contributes to the low level of cleanliness in general.

As regards clothing, the inmate is permitted to take approximately five items of clothing into the dormitory, while the rest of her clothes remain in her bag in the storage room; that is, the clothes remain in bags without ventilation, and there are no designated places, such as lockers, in which to keep clothes properly. Some inmates suffer from a shortage of clothing owing to their financial inability to buy it and their families' failure to provide them with clothing. It should be noted that monthly advances are disbursed on some occasions by the Directorate of Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers to meet the inmates' needs for clothing, cleaning articles and other items, particularly for inmates who cannot afford to buy their necessities⁴².

Third: Provision of Food and Water

The international standards governing the rights of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers, specifically the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, affirm that the administrations of the centers shall provide every prisoner, at the usual hours, with food of nutritional value adequate for health and strength, of wholesome quality and well prepared and served, and that drinking water shall be available to every prisoner whenever he needs it.

The inmates expressed their dissatisfaction with the food served in the centers in general, especially the lunch meal, which drives some of them to buy foodstuffs from the center's grocery instead of the lunch meal⁴³. The inmates indicated that the situation had improved somewhat in the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center after a contract was concluded with a company to provide food for the inmates, whereas there is still no specialized company providing food in the Umm Al-Lulu Center. Some inmates indicated that meals are sometimes served to them in an unsuitable manner, being distributed in bags.

Drinking water is not provided free of charge in the women's correctional and rehabilitation centers; rather, the inmates buy it from the center's grocery, which imposes additional financial burdens on them. It should be noted that the prices of the foodstuffs and other goods sold in the grocery of the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center are high, and the prices of hot drinks in the center's cafeteria are high in relation to the inmates' material situation.

⁴² At the time of the visit on 15/4/2014, an advance had been disbursed by the Director of Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers to meet the needs of inmates who lack sufficient financial means. The administration of the Juweideh Center disburses financial incentives to needy inmates within the powers vested in the center's director.

⁴³ According to the inmates, the lunch meal is usually not fully cooked, especially the meat, and tastes bad; a number of inmates indicated that the meals are insufficient.

Fourth: Health Care

The medical care provided to inmates is among the matters that play an important role in preserving their dignity and, consequently, in their rehabilitation and reintegration into society after leaving correctional and rehabilitation centers as healthy persons capable of supporting themselves and their families. The responsibility for preserving the inmates' health lies with the State, which must provide free medical care that preserves the mental, physical and psychological health of the inmates. This obligation entails, first, attention to the inmates' preventive health by providing appropriate health and environmental conditions in the centers that do not cause inmates to contract chronic diseases.

The Jordanian Ministry of Health, through its Health Directorates, undertakes health supervision of the correctional and rehabilitation centers located within their areas of competence and monitors the health conditions relating to the cleanliness of the center and to the inmates' food and clothing⁴⁴. In discussing health care for inmates, we will address the medical examination upon admission, preventive health care, curative and psychological health care, and the care of pregnant women and their children.

A. Medical examination upon admission to the correctional and rehabilitation center

The international standards on the treatment of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers, particularly the United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners, require a medical examination upon entry into prison in order to determine the health condition of women prisoners, for the following purposes:

- (a) Determining primary health-care needs.
- (b) Determining the diseases from which the inmates suffer, in particular sexually transmitted or blood-borne diseases, provided that inmates are offered testing for the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV).
- (c) Determining the inmates' mental health-care needs, including psychological disorders and the risk of suicide and self-harm.
- (d) Determining the information relating to the inmate's reproductive health, including the number of pregnancies and deliveries, and identifying cases of sexual abuse and other forms of violence, as well as cases of drug dependency⁴⁵.

On this basis, a medical examination is carried out for each inmate upon her admission to the correctional and rehabilitation center. However, the medical examination carried out is an external examination consisting of a visual inspection of the inmate and asking her whether or not she is pregnant and whether she suffers from any diseases, without carrying out the laboratory tests needed to verify that she is free of chronic or infectious diseases, especially serious diseases. This prevents the determination of the inmates' primary health needs in a manner that meets and is consistent with the aforementioned international standards.

Moreover, the inmates' medical records do not contain comprehensive information on all medical matters relating to the inmate during the period before her admission to the correctional and rehabilitation center,

⁴⁴Article (23) of the Jordanian Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers Law.

⁴⁵United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners, Rule 6.

particularly information relating to reproductive health and exposure to violence or sexual abuse⁴⁶. It should be noted that, for inmates who do not suffer from diseases or who do not visit the hospital or clinic, the information in their files is limited to the admission sheet completed by the center's physician upon their first admission.

During the interviews, the inmates expressed their fears and concern that the failure to carry out comprehensive medical examinations exposes them to the transmission of infectious diseases from inmates who may carry such diseases, particularly inmates in moral cases.

B. Preventive health care

Preventive health services include educating inmates and providing them with information on preventive health care, including information on sexually transmitted and blood-borne diseases and information relating to women's health. They also include providing preventive health-care measures for women through periodic examinations to detect various diseases, including cancers, in particular breast cancer⁴⁷.

In this framework, health awareness lectures are very few and barely worth mentioning, and the correctional and rehabilitation centers lack consistent health programmes that are continuous and implemented according to a specific and clear training curriculum that ensures that the inmates' health awareness is raised and that they are provided with the information they need to limit their exposure to diseases. On another level, the periodic examinations necessary to detect certain diseases, such as breast cancer, or to detect infections and other conditions, are not carried out for the inmates.

As regards the provision of a healthy environment that reduces the incidence of disease, the high humidity, particularly in the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center, and the fact that smoking is permitted inside the dormitories have created a poor health situation that is harmful to the inmates' health. Many inmates indicated that they suffer from respiratory diseases as a result of the lack of health conditions inside the dormitories, particularly because of smoking inside the dormitories.

It should be noted that the most prominent health problems observed are respiratory infections, back pain, itching and allergies, asthma and high blood pressure; most of these diseases afflict inmates after they enter prison, owing to the poor surrounding health conditions.

On another level, certain immoral acts take place among the inmates⁴⁸, which reflects a lack of sufficient awareness among them of the seriousness of these practices, in addition to their weak and poor sexual education resulting from the low scientific and cultural level of most of them. This may make some of them vulnerable to exploitation, which develops over time and may lead the inmate into a phase of deviance that leaves psychological and physical effects on her and increases the difficulty of her reintegration into society.

The issue of immoral acts raises another issue, namely the application of the conjugal visit (lawful privacy), which is one of the means that may help prevent inmates from deviance, strengthen the family

⁴⁶The information form completed by the physician of the correctional and rehabilitation center contains a set of data (such as asking the inmate whether she suffers from diseases and the type of disease; whether she has undergone operations; the treating physician; communicable diseases; whether her state of health allows her to work inside the center; the inmate's personal features, such as visual acuity and hearing ability, and whether she wears glasses; and whether or not she smokes). This information is completed through the external examination and by asking the patient about the diseases from which she suffers only.

⁴⁷See the United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-custodial Measures.

⁴⁸The inmates confirmed the existence of these immoral acts during their interviews.

ties between the woman and her family, and facilitate her integration into society after her release and reduce her isolation.

However, conjugal visits are neither applied nor activated, owing to social and cultural constraints, in addition to the lack of resources and of places designated for this purpose in some centers, even though the Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers Law provides for conjugal visits in Article 20, which states: "Every inmate sentenced to a term of one year or more shall be entitled to conjugal privacy with his lawful spouse in a place designated in the center for this purpose that meets the conditions of conjugal privacy, in accordance with instructions issued by the Director".

C. Curative and psychological health care

International standards affirm the provision of health-care services to inmates that are at least equivalent to the services available in the community; that every prison shall have at least one qualified medical officer with some knowledge of psychiatry; that every prisoner shall be able to use the services of a qualified dental officer; and that the prison shall have the treatment services provided by hospitals, with equipment and pharmaceutical supplies adequate for the medical care and treatment of sick inmates⁴⁹.

On the ground, the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center has a medical clinic with modest equipment and a small medical staff consisting of a nurse, a general practitioner and a dermatologist who visits the center once a week, while the center has no female gynaecologist to meet the specific needs of the female inmates. Medical emergencies at the center are dealt with by summoning the nurse on duty at the Juweideh/Men Correctional and Rehabilitation Center to examine the inmate and, if necessary, to transfer her to hospital. It should be noted that there are problems relating to the failure to deal with medical emergencies and transfer them to hospital with the necessary speed and in the required manner, owing to security complications in correctional and rehabilitation centers in general.

As regards dental health, the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center has a dedicated dental clinic supervised by a qualified dentist. Weak infrastructure is among the factors affecting the work of the medical staff in the Juweideh Women's Prison: wastewater has seeped into the dental clinic more than once, which affects the availability of a health environment appropriate for performing medical work as required, and also affects the health of the physician and the inmates.

It should also be noted that the medical tools used in treatment (medical waste) are disposed of in a sound scientific manner, by placing such waste in the place designated for it and sending it to the relevant bodies for disposal.

As for mental health, the services provided to inmates in this field at the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center are insufficient, particularly given that many inmates suffer from various psychological disorders arising from the psychological and family circumstances in which they grew up and committed their crimes, in addition to the general atmosphere of prison and the psychological effects it leaves on the inmate, her feelings of alienation, and the thoughts that may lead some of them to suicide. It should be noted that a psychiatric file is opened only for inmates who have committed certain crimes,

⁴⁹See Article (22) of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners and the United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-custodial Measures.

such as murder, and who show clear symptoms of mental illness, while the psychological condition of the remaining inmates is not studied.

A psychiatrist visits the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center once a week. Compared with the number of inmates, the psychiatric medical staff, consisting of a single physician who visits the center four times a month, is inadequate to meet the inmates' psychological care needs, and it is clear that psychological care services are limited to, and reduced to, the dispensing of medicines to inmates. During the personal interviews, some inmates explained that they refrain from consulting the psychiatrist despite suffering from psychological distress, depression and insomnia, because the treating psychiatrist's work is confined to prescribing medicines, which are likely to affect their health in the long term, particularly if they stop taking them.

The Women's Detention Center in Umm Al-Lulu has no clinic dedicated to women; rather, the services of the physician of the Umm Al-Lulu/Men Correctional and Rehabilitation Center are used when needed. Where an inmate needs a dentist, she is treated at the health center in the governorate under security escort. The absence of dedicated medical services in the Umm Al-Lulu Women's Center is due to the lack of the buildings and facilities needed to provide such services to inmates, since the center was not designed from the outset as a correctional and rehabilitation center.

In discussing health care for inmates, it should also be noted that special attention must be paid to inmates with disabilities. At the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center there are two such inmates: one has a mild hearing impairment and the other has an artificial limb. Inmates with disabilities are presented to the physician when needed. It should be noted that inmates who wear artificial limbs are not permitted to keep them inside the dormitories for security reasons; instead, the limbs are placed in the storage room. The need to provide physical facilities for persons with disabilities in correctional centers and to give them special health attention and care must be emphasized.

D. Pregnant mothers and child care

In accordance with the United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners, pregnant and breastfeeding women prisoners shall receive advice on their health and diet under a programme drawn up and monitored by a qualified health practitioner, and adequate and timely food, a healthy environment and regular exercise opportunities shall be provided free of charge for pregnant women, babies, children and breastfeeding mothers⁵⁰. The Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners also affirm the need to provide the special accommodation necessary for pre-natal and post-natal care and treatment, and that, wherever practicable, arrangements shall be made for children to be born in a hospital outside the institution; if a child is born in prison, this fact shall not be mentioned in the birth certificate⁵¹.

The number of pregnant inmates in the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center was twenty, while there was one pregnant woman in the Umm Al-Lulu Detention Center⁵². Pregnant inmates are given some vitamins and necessary minerals; however, it was observed that some pregnant women take no vitamins of any kind, which has caused some of them to develop anaemia. Pregnant inmates are also not examined periodically by a physician to check on the condition of the foetus, and the necessary medical

⁵⁰Rule (48) of the United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-custodial Measures for Women Offenders.

⁵¹See Rule (23) of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners.

⁵²These statistics are as at the date the study was prepared in 2014.

tests are not carried out, which has led some inmates to contract the common conditions associated with pregnancy⁵³. Furthermore, the medical clinic of the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center lacks the basic medical equipment needed to examine pregnant women. As regards diet, pregnant inmates are not supervised by a nutrition specialist, and there is no preferential dietary treatment for pregnant inmates. Nor is the pregnant inmate given the necessary psychological attention before and after delivery, even though women in such circumstances are highly vulnerable to depression, particularly post-natal depression.

According to the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center, most deliveries take place in a public hospital and the pregnant woman is not restrained while being transferred to hospital for delivery; in emergencies, however, delivery takes place in the center's medical clinic⁵⁴, and the child's birth certificate does not record the correctional and rehabilitation center as the place of birth. In this regard, it must be emphasized that the center's medical clinic must be upgraded and its capabilities developed so that it becomes suitable for emergency deliveries, and that it must be provided with medical staff capable of handling such cases.

The Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center has a care home for inmates' children aged from one day to three years, whereas the Women's Detention Center in Umm Al-Lulu has no nursery attached to it. The nursery attached to the Juweideh center is supervised by the Ministry of Social Development through a Ministry employee, and the Ministry supplies the children with clothing, the necessary food and suitable toys. According to the person in charge of the home, the child remains with his mother in the nursery until five o'clock in the evening and then moves with her to a special dormitory called the "incubation dormitory". However, questions arise as to whether it is actually possible to provide a special dormitory for mother and child in light of the overcrowding, the number of inmates exceeding the center's capacity, and the shortage and inadequacy of dormitories.

The following table shows the number of children accompanying their mothers in the years 2011–2014:

Year	Number of children
2011	10
2012	10
2013	6
2014 ⁵⁵	1

As for the physical conditions of the nursery, it lacks some health requirements: it has no windows and therefore lacks natural lighting and ventilation⁵⁶. It should be noted that once the child reaches the age of three years, he is sent to one of the care homes or to the inmate's family, according to her wishes and the actual circumstances and surrounding conditions. The difficulty of separating the child from his mother

⁵³Some pregnant inmates suffered from infections owing to the failure to carry out periodic medical examinations, which forced one of them to go to hospital as an emergency case with acute infections.

⁵⁴On the other hand, some inmates indicated that many deliveries took place inside the medical clinic of the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center.

⁵⁵This figure is for 2014, as at the date the study was prepared.

⁵⁶The children's bed covers appear worn. It should be noted that there was no child in the nursery accompanying his mother while the study was being prepared.

at this age is evident, yet at the same time keeping the child with his mother is a difficult option with many repercussions, which leads us to emphasize the need to provide alternatives to detention and to imprisonment in order to protect the family and preserve the best interests of the child. It should be noted that a child born of a relationship outside marriage is placed in one of the social care homes.

Fifth: Social Care

Article 2 of the Instructions on Social Services Provided by Social Service Offices to Inmates of Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers defines social service as "any service or activity provided by the social service office that would improve the standard of the inmates and their families materially, culturally, educationally, in terms of health, in sports or socially".

The social care or social service office in correctional and rehabilitation centers, affiliated to the Ministry of Social Development, provides social services to inmates through social researchers; each center has two social researchers who study the inmates' social situation and problems and provide them with the necessary assistance. Article 5 of the Social Service Instructions⁵⁷ sets out the tasks entrusted to the office as follows:

- Participating in the inmate classification committee and informing inmates of the services provided by the Ministry.
- Conducting the initial social study of each inmate requesting social service in order to determine the type of service required for him or his family.
- Facilitating visits by children placed in social care institutions to their fathers and mothers in correctional and rehabilitation centers.
- Preparing the necessary social reports on the conditions of inmates.

Within the framework of social service, the National Aid Fund provides a monthly cash allowance to each inmate and also provides aids and prosthetic devices to needy inmates⁵⁸.

It is noted that Article 5 of the Social Service Instructions makes the initial social study conditional on the inmate's request, whereas a social study should be conducted for every inmate entering a correctional and rehabilitation center, in order to understand the inmates' social circumstances and to provide social services in accordance with the results of the study. The information derived from these social studies would also contribute to establishing a database on inmates and on the reasons that drive them to commit crime, which would help in devising solutions and policies to reduce the commission of crimes; such studies would also contribute to developing rehabilitation programmes appropriate for the reform of inmates.

There are two social researchers in each of the Juweideh Women's Correctional and Rehabilitation Center and the Women's Detention Center in Umm Al-Lulu, a small number compared with the number of inmates, which prevents the role of the social researcher from being activated as provided for by law.

⁵⁷ Instructions on Social Services Provided by Social Service Offices to Inmates of Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers of 2008, issued pursuant to the Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers Law.

⁵⁸ Article (6) of the Social Service Instructions.

Moreover, some of the researchers do not hold academic qualifications appropriate to the profession of social researcher⁵⁹.

It is evident that social care in its broad sense aims to help the inmate adjust to the new life from the first day of entering the correctional and rehabilitation center, to help him resolve the challenges and problems he faces with other inmates or with the outside community, particularly his family, and to help him achieve harmony with himself, in addition to helping him obtain the various services. In view of these broad objectives of social care, we find that the social care services provided to inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers remain limited and traditional and are not provided within a clear and integrated programme capable of meeting the requirements of social care for inmates in a manner that contributes to their reform and rehabilitation.

The following table shows the number of social studies conducted on inmates in the years 2011–2014; these studies are conducted for various purposes, including reconciling family relations, providing urgent cash assistance or placing inmates' children in alternative care institutions.

Year	Number of studies
2011	120
2012	125
2013	130
2014	50

It is worth mentioning that civil society organizations play an active role in providing services to inmates, such as the Prisoners Care Society, which has provided inmates with various forms of assistance, such as eyeglasses, clothing, shoes and women's necessities, in addition to financial assistance in the form of incentives and help in paying court fines⁶⁰.

Sixth: Protection of the Children of Female Inmates

The care of inmates' children is a matter of the utmost importance in view of the difficult psychological and family circumstances from which they suffer, particularly since the mother's absence from the home has negative effects on the family and in most cases leads to the loss and homelessness of the children and their entry into the world of crime, as became clear from interviewing inmates and asking them about their children's situation.

In this framework, Article 7 of the Social Service Instructions provides that:

"The Ministry of Social Development, in cooperation with the relevant bodies and according to the available capabilities, shall provide the following services to inmates and their families:
(a) protecting the children of inmates who are at risk and placing them in social institutions that care for such children if they need that".

⁵⁹ At the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center, one of the researchers holds a diploma in sociology, while the other holds a bachelor's degree in class teaching.

⁶⁰ Another association that also provides various services to inmates is the "Al-Insan Aghla Ma Namlik" (Man Is Our Most Precious Asset) Society.

It is noted that the provision of Article 7 on the care of inmates' children is linked to the capabilities available to the Ministry of Development and the relevant bodies, and this linkage opens the door to the non-application of the provision on the pretext of insufficient available capabilities.

The inmates interviewed explained that in their absence their children are exposed to numerous psychological and family problems, and confirmed that there is no genuine and serious follow-up and study of their children's situation, which leads their children's behaviour to take abnormal paths, particularly since the husbands of some inmates have criminal records and are held in men's correctional and rehabilitation centers at the same time as the mothers are detained in these centers. This calls for concerted efforts to limit the negative effects of mothers falling under the criminal justice system and for serious consideration of providing alternatives to imprisonment and enshrining them in national legislation.

Seventh: Education and Vocational Training

A. Education of female inmates

Education and vocational training programmes are of great importance in the rehabilitation of inmates and their reintegration into society, since most inmates have a low educational level owing to their coming from social environments that suffer from both poverty and ignorance.

Within the framework of the right to education, correctional and rehabilitation centers, in cooperation with the Ministry of Education, provide education for inmates who have not had the opportunity to learn, through literacy classes. The Ministry of Education is responsible for providing the teacher and paying his salary, and sometimes a qualified inmate is chosen to teach for a fee. The Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center has a classroom for inmates from the first to the sixth primary grade that accommodates forty-eight inmates; the level of each inmate who wishes to join these classes is assessed and the appropriate grade for her is determined, and the Ministry of Education's curricula are adopted for teaching purposes. An inmate who wishes to complete the secondary stage does so at her own expense, and the center's administration works to provide the necessary assistance through civil society. As for the Umm Al-Lulu Center with regard to joining these classes and determining the appropriate grade [T.N.: sentence incomplete in the original]. An inmate who wishes to complete her secondary education does so at her own personal expense, although the center's administration provides the necessary assistance to inmates who cannot afford it. As for the Umm Al-Lulu Center, it has no classrooms. It is noted that the number of inmates benefiting from educational programmes is small, since enrolment in them does not depend on an integrated programme applied to the inmate from the moment of her admission to the center.

The following table shows the number of beneficiaries of literacy programmes in the years 2011–2014 at the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center:

Year	Number of participants	Supervision
2011	18	Ministry of Education
2012	20	Ministry of Education
2013	22	Ministry of Education
2014	24	Ministry of Education

As for computer and English language courses, they are held on the basis of an announcement that is circulated, and interested inmates register for them. It is also noted that few training courses are held in this field and that the number of beneficiaries is limited, owing to their dependence on the inmates' desire to participate and the absence of a clear training programme, applied to inmates from the moment of their admission to the center, aimed at equipping them with life skills in all fields. The following table shows the number of computer and English language courses held from 2011 to 2014 at the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center:

Year	Type of course	No. of courses	Implementing body	No. of participants
2011	ICDL course	1	Ministry of Education	8
2012	English language course	1	King Abdullah Training City – Language Institute	9
2012	ICDL course	1	King Abdullah Training City – Language Institute	9
2013	Basic personal computer course	1	King Abdullah Training City – Language Institute	11
2013	English language course	1	King Abdullah Training City – Language Institute	11
2013	Training of trainers course	1	Communications and Information Technology Department	7
2014	English language course	Under way	King Abdullah Training City – Language Institute	–
2014	ICDL course	Under way	King Abdullah Training City – Language Institute	–

B. Vocational training

Vocational training is one of the means that contribute to the rehabilitation and reform of inmates by equipping them with particular trades and various skills that help them to set up their own projects or to find employment after leaving correctional and rehabilitation centers. This provides the inmates with a source of income and enables them to enjoy financial independence, which contributes to their not reoffending; in other words, vocational training strengthens the aftercare process for inmates.

The Juweideh/Women Correctional and Rehabilitation Center has workshops for training women in certain trades; however, the center lacks a specialized vocational school, like the vocational schools found in the Kingdom, through which inmates could receive theoretical vocational education and practical or applied vocational training. The Umm Al-Lulu Center, for its part, has no workshops, training halls or courses.

As with education, the inmate receives vocational training according to her wish to enrol in it, and there is no specific programme to which she is subject from the moment of her admission to the center aimed at training her in a trade within an integrated vocational training programme that ultimately leads to her acquiring a trade. According to the Instructions for the Administration of Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers and the Guarding of Inmates and their Rights, the Vocational Training Corporation is responsible for providing trainers and training equipment, pursuant to Article (11/T) of the Instructions. It should be

noted, however, that the Vocational Training Corporation has not held any training course for inmates for nearly five years, which constitutes a violation of the inmate's right to receive training that would rehabilitate her and help her, after leaving prison, to be self-reliant and to find a source of income. The Vocational Training Corporation attributes this to a lack of the necessary capabilities and resources.

A group of inmates work in the workshops of the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center, from half past eight in the morning until twelve noon, in return for a monthly wage ranging from (20) to (25) dinars. These wages are meagre in relation to the work performed by the inmates, especially as the inmates' products are sold, and it should be emphasized that the inmates' products are not marketed in the optimal manner required.

The following table shows the number of inmates working in the various trades at the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center in 2014:

Trade	Number of working inmates
Embroidery	33
Sewing	30
Confectionery making	2
Beauty care	3
Cleaning	1
Production of prayer beads and candles	25
Total	94

Eighth: Religious, Cultural and Sports Care and Leisure Time

According to the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, every prison shall have a library for the use of all categories of prisoners, adequately stocked with both recreational and instructional books, and prisoners shall be encouraged to make full use of it⁶¹. The same Rules also affirm that, if the prison contains a sufficient number of prisoners of the same religion, a qualified representative of that religion shall be appointed or approved for this purpose. They further affirm the need to provide physical and recreational training for prisoners during the periods allotted to exercise, and to provide the necessary installations and equipment for this purpose⁶².

In this framework, religious guidance sessions are provided for inmates in cooperation with the Ministry of Awqaf, and religious guidance sessions are also held specifically for interested inmates. These sessions are held from time to time and at irregular intervals, are not held within integrated and comprehensive programmes of reform and religious guidance, and do not follow any specific curriculum or guide.

As regards cultural care, the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center has a library with very modest furnishings and books. The books lack diversity and clearly were not selected on the basis of clear criteria that meet the cultural needs of the inmates and are consistent with their cultural and educational level. A review of the library's holdings showed that most of the books are duplicates (multiple copies of

⁶¹See the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (Rule 40).

⁶²See the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (Rules 21 and 41).

the same book), and that they are clearly old books collected from more than one source⁶³. Furthermore, no events or activities are held to encourage inmates to read inside or outside the library. The Ministry of Culture holds cultural activities for inmates during the holy month of Ramadan; however, these activities are held at long intervals, lack continuity and consistency, and are linked to specific occasions only. It should be noted that during the years 2011–2014 only five plays were staged for inmates at the Juweideh/Women Correctional and Rehabilitation Center.

As regards physical exercise, the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center has a sports hall containing eight exercise machines and table-tennis and chess tables. No specific sports activities are held in the hall; it is simply opened at certain hours for the inmates⁶⁴. As regards leisure time, it was observed during the field visits that the inmates spend their time in the dormitories or corridors without undertaking any productive work that would benefit them and their future.

The Umm Al-Lulu Center holds no religious lectures or cultural activities and lacks a library, a sports hall and other important facilities.

Ninth: Contact with the Outside World

The international standards governing the rights of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers affirm the importance and necessity of the inmate's contact with the outside world. In this framework, the United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-custodial Measures for Women Offenders provide that "women prisoners' contact with their families, including their children, and their children's guardians and legal representatives shall be encouraged ..." ⁶⁵. The Rules further affirm that "visits involving children shall take place in an environment that is conducive to a positive visiting experience, including with regard to staff attitudes, and shall allow open contact between mother and child. Visits involving extended contact with children should be encouraged, where possible" ⁶⁶.

International standards have paid special attention to the ties, visits and communications that link the inmate to the outside community, as these involve two important dimensions, one social and the other economic. The visits and communications received by the inmate are usually accompanied by material support that helps meet the inmate's material needs, in addition to the great moral role they play in supporting the inmate psychologically. Consequently, deprivation of visits, or the failure to carry them out or receive them in the required manner, leads to the inmate's isolation from society and to a deep sense of isolation.

In this context, the inmates receive visits from family and relatives three days a week; each visit lasts between a third of an hour and half an hour and takes place in booths designated for visits. The inmate is permitted to make one telephone call a week lasting five minutes, and four telephone booths have been allocated for this purpose⁶⁷. The inmate may make another telephone call during the week, exceptionally, upon a request submitted to the administration. It should be noted that some inmates receive no visits and

⁶³For example, the book "The Great Arab Revolt" is repeated on three shelves of the library. Examples of the books present include "Instructional Design", "Operations Research", "Principles of Surgery" and "The Psychology of Play", all of which are unsuitable for this category of readers.

⁶⁴The person in charge of the hall holds the General Secondary Education Certificate.

⁶⁵Rule (26) of the United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-custodial Measures for Women Offenders.

⁶⁶Rule (28) of the United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-custodial Measures for Women Offenders.

⁶⁷One of the booths at the Juweideh Correctional Center was out of order on the date of the visit, 3/3/2014.

some receive only limited visits, either because of the distance between the correctional center and their families' and relatives' place of residence or because their families have abandoned them on account of the crime committed.

Among the challenges and problems from which the inmates suffer are the short duration and inadequacy of the calls, particularly in light of the severe crowding at the booths⁶⁸ and their small number, which does not allow the inmate to communicate as required with her family or with the body she wishes to contact. On another level, the inmates' calls do not enjoy the necessary privacy and confidentiality.

Children's visits to their imprisoned mothers are among the issues that require special attention and the development of their arrangements, since they take place in a manner that is inconsistent with the international standards in this framework and does not constitute a positive experience suitable for the child. Children visit their mothers on the designated visiting days and in the designated places and may, exceptionally, visit in an office in the correctional and rehabilitation center upon a request submitted to the center's administration, in which case the visit lasts between (15–30) minutes. The inmate meets her children in prison clothing, and the inmates' children are searched by traditional methods without regard to the negative effects this has on the children's psychological well-being. Some inmates indicated that they refuse to be visited by their children in the aforementioned circumstances.

As for lawyers' visits to inmates, three days a week have been allocated for them. It was observed that the places designated for these visits do not provide the necessary privacy and confidentiality. In view of the manual search procedures, some lawyers refrain from visiting their clients, considering these procedures an affront to the legal profession. In this framework, serious consideration must be given to providing electronic search equipment and to monitoring interviews using modern technical devices.

As regards other means of communication, such as newspapers and television, which play a role in the inmate's contact with the outside world, the inmates' dormitories have television sets⁶⁹, whereas the inmates are not provided with daily newspapers, which are instead sold in the grocery.

As regards the inmates' right to vote, which is one of the forms of contact with the outside world and makes inmates feel that they have value in society, the Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers Law contains no provision on the inmate's right to exercise political rights, in particular the right to vote and the conditions necessary for its exercise. Inmates do not exercise the right to vote inside correctional and rehabilitation centers.

It should be noted that correctional and rehabilitation centers do not grant inmates what is known as temporary release or leave, one of the means that help to prevent the inmate's isolation from the outside community and to maintain her ongoing contact with her family, especially her children; this means is therefore one of the important factors in the rehabilitation and reform of the inmate in the long term.

⁶⁸ Particularly at the Juweideh/Women Correctional and Rehabilitation Center.

⁶⁹ The television set in one of the dormitories of the Umm Al-Lulu Center was out of order. It is generally noted that the television sets in the dormitories of the women's correctional and rehabilitation centers are mounted very high.

Section Three: Aftercare and the Role of Civil Society Organizations and the Business Sector in the Care of Female Inmates

International standards have affirmed the importance of aftercare for inmates in general. The Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners point to the requirement that "from the beginning of a prisoner's sentence consideration shall be given to his future after release and he shall be encouraged and assisted to maintain or establish such relations with persons or agencies outside the institution as may promote the best interests of his family and his own social rehabilitation". The same Rules also provide that "the duty of society does not end with a prisoner's release"⁷⁰. On another level, the United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners affirm that additional support shall be provided to women released from prison who need psychological, medical, legal and practical help to ensure their successful social reintegration, in cooperation with services in the community⁷¹.

Aftercare is the natural complement to the rehabilitation and correction efforts made during the execution of the sentence. Studies⁷² have shown that graduates of correctional institutions who are left alone after their release face various societal challenges, including society's non-acceptance of them, with the result that a large proportion of them return to crime; there is a strong relationship between weak or non-existent aftercare and a high rate of recidivism (repeat offending) among inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers.

It is well known that the most dangerous period faced by graduates of correctional institutions is the months immediately following release, during which the fate of the released person is determined. There is no doubt that, during this period in particular, the released person is generally well disposed to accept assistance and guidance, because the experience of prison is still vivid in his mind⁷³. In general, aftercare for inmates pursues two basic objectives: the first is material, consisting of the assistance provided by the relevant bodies, whether direct or indirect; the second is moral, consisting of the provision of moral and psychological support to inmates facing what is known as the post-release crisis, represented by the stigma of shame that attaches to inmates and leads to their social isolation, and the resulting deterioration in their psychological state and the suicidal thoughts that occur to some of them.

In this framework, the Juweideh/Women Correctional and Rehabilitation Center has established a preparation programme that aims to prepare inmates before their release, including holding dialogue sessions with inmates on self-acceptance, acceptance of others and ways of dealing with the societal challenges they may face, and strengthening their religious motivation in order to limit their return to crime. This programme is considered part of the aftercare programme.

Although Article (30) of the Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers Law provides that "the Ministry of Social Development shall undertake, according to the available capabilities, the provision of social services and aftercare to inmates through special offices opened in the centers in accordance with instructions issued by the Minister of Social Development for this purpose", it is in fact civil society organizations that provide aftercare services. They have taken it upon themselves to care for a group of inmates after their release by helping them find employment, helping them set up their own projects,

⁷⁰See Rule 80 and Rule 30 of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners.

⁷¹See Rule 47 of the United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-custodial Measures.

⁷²See Abu Al-Nasr, Medhat, *Correctional and Penal Institutions*, Nile Group for Publishing, 1st ed., 2008, p. 347.

⁷³See the same reference, p. 348.

providing them with suitable housing and providing some cash or in-kind assistance to inmates and their families.

The organizations providing aftercare services to inmates include Penal Reform International and the Sisterhood Is Global Institute (SIGI), the latter also providing legal aid to inmates under the "Access to Justice" programme. Some other organizations, such as Mizan for Law, provide legal consultation services to inmates and train a group of lawyers to handle inmates' cases, in addition to providing various services, such as following up on children in care homes and helping mothers to see their children. Some other organizations also provide assistance such as securing air tickets for foreign inmates.

However, the absence of any role for the business sector (companies and private institutions) in contributing to the care and rehabilitation of inmates has been observed, particularly in the field of aftercare, including providing employment for inmates after their release and entering into partnership with the government in order to entrench the concept of the business sector's social responsibility and human rights. This requires raising the sector's awareness of the need to contribute effectively within the framework of its social responsibility, which should be given a specific provision in its internal regulations and instructions.

It should be noted that aftercare services in their current form are limited. In this framework, it must be emphasized that, given the importance of aftercare for released persons as a link in the chain of reform and rehabilitation of inmates and its contribution to limiting their return to crime, this care must be institutionalized, and the efforts of all relevant official bodies and of civil society organizations must be unified under a single umbrella in order to broaden the scope of aftercare and strengthen the services provided through it to inmates, their families and their children. It is worth mentioning that among the most important elements of aftercare is providing inmates with medical aftercare and supplying them with the necessary medicines that were dispensed to them while they were in the correctional and rehabilitation center.

Chapter Three: Practical and Legal Challenges in the Care of Female Inmates

A number of practical and legal challenges constitute an obstacle in the field of the care and rehabilitation of female inmates. In this context, this chapter addresses the most prominent of these challenges, namely the problem of detained inmates and requests for return, the recurrence of crimes committed by inmates (recidivism), inmates' awareness of their rights and duties, the issue of inmates sentenced to death and, finally, the subject of alternatives to detention.

Section One: Detained Female Inmates and Requests for Return

Women's correctional and rehabilitation centers hold two types of detained women: administratively detained women and judicially detained women.

First: Administratively Detained Women and Requests for Return

Administrative detention is one of the most prominent challenges in women's correctional and rehabilitation centers. It is detention carried out by a non-judicial authority (the administrative governor),

without any crime being attributed to the person and without prior investigation, pursuant to the Crime Prevention Law, which does not specify the duration of administrative detention.

Juweideh Prison holds (233) administratively detained women out of (476) inmates, while Umm Al-Lulu Prison holds twenty-one administratively detained women out of (37) inmates⁷⁴; that is, a total of (254) administratively detained women out of (513) inmates in the two centers, a proportion of 49.5%. This figure is particularly high when compared with the number of judicially detained women, which stood at (137) in the Juweideh Center and five in the Umm Al-Lulu Center on the date the study data were compiled. It should be noted that the number of administratively detained women reached 2,098 in 2013.

Administrative detention constitutes a violation of the international human rights standards, which affirm that everyone has the right to liberty and security of person, and that anyone who is arrested shall be informed of the reasons for his arrest, shall be brought promptly before a judge and shall be tried within a reasonable time⁷⁵.

The subject of administrative detention in general, and of the administrative detention of female inmates in particular, raises great challenges: it aggravates the problem of overcrowding in correctional and rehabilitation centers, which affects the level of the services provided and places a burden on the security administrations. Such detention also burdens the State budget, especially since the cost of an inmate in correctional and rehabilitation centers is close to (700) dollars per month.

The seriousness of this measure for women is evident in the psychological and social effects it has on the inmate's life. Such detention, which may extend over long periods, frequently leads to the break-up of the family and the neglect of the children, not to mention the psychological disorders suffered by the administratively detained woman and her social rejection after leaving the center, in addition to her being negatively influenced by the patterns of some criminal inmates and learning new criminal patterns. Administratively detained women often resort to hunger strikes as an expression of their protest against administrative detention, in which case they are placed in solitary confinement.

Administrative detention takes place for various reasons, the most prominent of which are the preservation of public order and security, homelessness, begging, or the issuance of a circular against the detained woman because of her absence from the family home, or failure to comply with a forced residence order, or pending the implementation of deportation orders against foreign nationals.

In addition to the legal problems fundamentally raised by administrative detention, the length of such detention, which may continue for years, increases its negative effects on inmates, particularly since some inmates are administratively detained for their own protection, out of fear for their lives at the hands of their families and relatives⁷⁶. In other words, the correctional and rehabilitation center has become a shelter, which is an extremely serious matter, especially as these girls mix for long periods with inmates who have committed various crimes, with the resulting possibility that their behaviour will take an

⁷⁴This figure is as at the date the study data were compiled, as referred to earlier, and is the figure adopted as the sample for this study.

⁷⁵See the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Articles 3, 9 and 11) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Article 9).

⁷⁶Inmates administratively detained for the protection of their lives are "women and girls who have committed adultery, run away from home or become pregnant outside marriage; some of them are married and others unmarried. These women are detained in the women's sections of correctional and rehabilitation centers by order of the administrative governor pursuant to the Crime Prevention Law No. (7) of 1954, owing to the existence of a threat to their lives if they are released". See: Working Paper on the Care and Rehabilitation of Administratively Detained Inmates, Collection of Working Papers, The Human Forum for Women's Rights, p. 6.

abnormal course after they leave the center. In such cases, this category of women should be placed in a shelter that protects their lives and, at the same time, develops their social and economic skills so that they enjoy the necessary independence.

The proportion of administratively detained women of foreign nationalities⁷⁷ is high; most of them are held in the centers either because they are unable to provide the required bond or pending the completion of deportation procedures and the provision of travel tickets by their embassies⁷⁸. During the interviews, these inmates expressed their dissatisfaction with the way their embassies deal with their problems, the slowness of the procedures and the failure to provide tickets to those in need.

Inmates of foreign nationality	Number	Total number
Administratively detained women of foreign nationality / Juweideh	155	233
Judicially detained women of foreign nationality / Juweideh	62	137
Convicted women of foreign nationality / Juweideh	34	106
Administratively detained women of foreign nationality / Umm Al-Lulu	16	37
Convicted women of foreign nationality / Umm Al-Lulu	1	37

The following table shows the number of administratively and judicially detained women and convicted women among the (476) inmates of the Juweideh Center in 2014, as well as the administratively detained and judicially convicted women of foreign nationality in the Umm Al-Lulu Correctional Center⁷⁹:

Inmate category	Total number	Number of repeat offenders	Percentage
Convicted women	106	75	70.7%
Administratively detained women	233	150	64.3%
Judicially detained women	137	95	69.3%
Total	476	320	67.2%

Another challenge facing inmates is what are known as "requests for return". In some cases, the security center that arrested the inmate records a notation requiring that the inmate be returned to that same security center after her release if she is convicted, or after her release on bail if she is detained; that center then examines her case and either refers her back to the administrative governor or releases her. During the interviews, the inmates described the negative effects of this procedure on them.

Second: Judicially Detained Women

The most prominent problems suffered by judicially detained women are the length of time before they are brought before the court, the frequent adjournment of hearings, the length of judicial detention and the slowness of trial proceedings, in addition to delays in summoning witnesses. Moreover, some lawyers

⁷⁷ Most of them are of Sri Lankan, Filipino and Bangladeshi nationality.

⁷⁸ It should be noted that a single inmate costs the State an amount far exceeding the price of the travel ticket awaited by the foreign inmate.

⁷⁹ These figures are as at the time the study data were compiled.

deliberately prolong the trial, and some lawyers do not pursue the cases of detained women as required, which forces the women to change lawyers more than once, with the attendant financial burden on them and their families, not to mention that some detained women are unable to appoint a lawyer because they cannot afford the lawyer's fees.

It is worth mentioning that most detained inmates do not enjoy the same opportunities for training, work or education as convicted women, since they are regarded as being present only temporarily and as not requiring enrolment in the various programmes, which precludes any contribution to their rehabilitation and reform.

Section Two: Repetition (Recidivism)

Recidivism is defined as a repeated conviction after having entered prison once or more. A recidivist is a person who commits criminal acts after having been convicted of one or more previous crimes⁸⁰.

Repetition, or recidivism, is a widespread phenomenon among inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers despite the small number of female inmates in Jordan in general; most female inmates are repeat offenders. The following shows the number of repeat offenders and their proportion among the inmates present in the Juweideh Center at the time the study was prepared, totalling (476) inmates⁸¹.

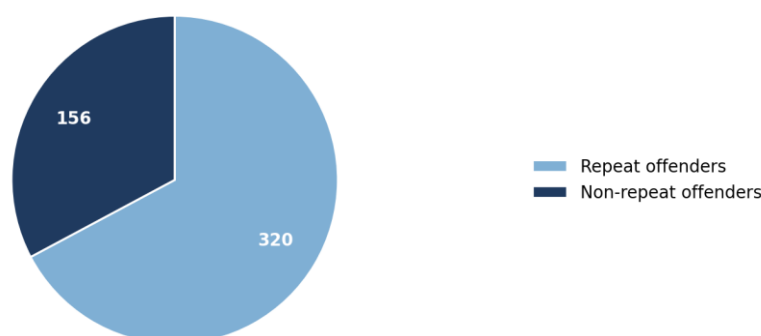


Figure: Number of repeat offenders among the total inmates of the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center in 2014

During the interviews, the inmates indicated that family disintegration, family violence and the disputes they suffer from, scarce financial resources and the absence of a stable source of income, and in some cases being pushed by their husbands to commit certain crimes, in addition to their non-acceptance by the surrounding community and the absence or weakness of aftercare services, drive them to reoffend.

This phenomenon reflects the weakness of the rehabilitation programmes for inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers and of the aftercare programmes for them, as well as the scarcity of the institutions needed to follow up on them after their release from the centers and, in most cases, the ineffectiveness of those institutions.

⁸⁰ Al-Dabbas, Mohammad Nour, *Alternatives to Prison*, Dar Yafa for Publishing and Distribution, 1st ed., 2006, p. 35.

⁸¹ This information was obtained from the Juweideh/Women Correctional and Rehabilitation Center.

Section Three: Inmates' Awareness of their Rights and Duties and of Grievance and Complaint Mechanisms

Inmates rely mainly on other inmates to learn about their rights and duties, which does not give them accurate legal awareness of their rights and duties. There are no special programmes to inform inmates of their rights and duties as soon as they enter correctional and rehabilitation centers, and no booklets or leaflets on this subject are distributed to inmates upon their admission.

As regards the mechanism for submitting complaints and grievances inside correctional and rehabilitation centers, inmates show a clear lack of knowledge in this respect, and they receive no awareness sessions on this aspect, not to mention that the grievance system in correctional centers is marred by numerous problems; many inmates indicated that some of the complaints they submit are not taken into account and are sometimes not referred to the relevant bodies.

During the personal interviews with the inmates and the awareness sessions held to inform them of their rights and duties⁸², it became clear that the inmates have relative knowledge of their basic rights and duties in correctional and rehabilitation centers, because most of them are repeat offenders. However, there are gaps in their knowledge of their rights when pregnant or breastfeeding, their rights relating to visits by their children, and their rights during detention and at the stages of trial in general.

In this framework, an integrated programme must be developed to raise inmates' awareness of their legal rights inside the centers, their duties and the grievance mechanisms, as well as to raise their legal awareness of their rights outside correctional and rehabilitation centers and of the acts that may bring them under the criminal justice system.

Section Four: Inmates Sentenced to Death

The execution of death sentences has been suspended since 2006. There are currently nine inmates at the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center who have been sentenced to death. The interviews conducted with them showed that they suffer difficulties because their legal status has not been determined, which has had severe psychological effects on them, as they live with the feeling that the death sentence may be carried out at any moment. This constitutes a compounded punishment, and some of them considered it a form of psychological torture.

Section Five: Non-custodial Measures (Alternatives to Imprisonment)

Non-custodial measures essentially aim to avoid the negative effects of imprisonment, particularly short-term imprisonment, and consequently to relieve pressure on correctional and rehabilitation centers. These alternatives spare many people from entering prison for criminal acts that may not pose a great danger to society and, at the same time, do not reflect great criminal dangerousness on the part of their perpetrators, especially where they were committed in particular situations and circumstances.

⁸²The National Center for Human Rights held a series of awareness sessions on the rights and duties of female inmates as part of the Women Inmates Project.

These alternatives have the advantage of being economical and do not require large sums of money to implement; indeed, some of them generate financial revenue for the State through fines, while others yield social benefits for society through recourse to community service⁸³.

For women who commit crimes, recourse to non-custodial measures and alternatives to imprisonment appears to be an urgent and necessary matter, given the negative effects of imprisonment on women's social and psychological situation and their social stigmatization, which stands in the way of their reintegration into society in view of society's disparaging view of graduates of correctional and rehabilitation centers, particularly female inmates. This is in addition to the negative effects of imprisonment on the inmate's children, who in most cases take the path of crime and are exposed to various forms of abuse in the mother's absence, as well as the negative effects of imprisonment on the health of the inmate and her child where the woman is pregnant or breastfeeding, and the unhealthy general atmosphere in which a child born in a correctional and rehabilitation center grows up.

The fact that the Jordanian Penal Code lacks a broad range of alternatives to imprisonment and non-custodial measures, and the absence of institutions suitable for implementing alternatives to detention, are among the challenges that hinder the rehabilitation and reform of women through means or alternatives that would spare them and their families the adverse aspects of imprisonment and its dire effects on the children.

Findings and Recommendations

Findings of the Study

- A comparison with the international standards governing the treatment of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers, in particular the United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-custodial Measures, shows that the national legal framework governing the rights of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers, although consistent with international standards in some respects, does not fully meet or conform to the provisions of these standards. It requires a comprehensive legal review in order to amend it in a manner consistent with those standards and conducive to Jordan's fulfilment of its obligations under the international human rights standards, foremost among which is the amendment of national legislation in line with international standards.
- There is one correctional and rehabilitation center for women in Jordan, namely the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center, which is insufficient given that the number of inmates exceeds its capacity. There is another center named the Umm Al-Lulu/Women Detention Center, which, despite its name, holds convicted inmates in addition to administratively or judicially detained inmates.
- The Juweideh Women's Correctional and Rehabilitation Center was designed and built from the outset as a correctional and rehabilitation center and was therefore designed in a manner that meets the minimum requirements of the correction and rehabilitation process, whereas the architectural design of the Umm Al-Lulu Center is inconsistent with the reformative philosophy of penal institutions. It appears that the small number of female inmates in Jordan means that establishing

⁸³Care and Rehabilitation of Inmates of Correctional and Penal Institutions, previously cited reference, p. 313.

another correctional and rehabilitation center for women is not a priority for the relevant bodies, which constitutes an obstacle to the inmates' full enjoyment of their rights as required, particularly as regards correction and rehabilitation.

- There is a clear disparity between the physical and environmental conditions surrounding inmates in the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center and those in the Umm Al-Lulu Detention Center; the latter is better in terms of the nature of its dormitories, general cleanliness and the attached sanitary facilities, owing to its relative newness and to its not exceeding its capacity. The Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center, by contrast, suffers from overcrowding, deteriorating physical and environmental conditions, old attached facilities and a lack of periodic maintenance. The study showed a relationship between the weak infrastructure and physical conditions surrounding the inmates and their inability to fully enjoy the rights guaranteed to them under international standards and national legislation.
- The Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center has facilities that could contribute to the rehabilitation and reform of inmates if properly used within clear scientific programmes (the workshops, the sports hall, the mosque, the computer and literacy classrooms, and the library), whereas the Umm Al-Lulu Center lacks any support facilities and implements no educational, training or cultural programmes, mainly because, as mentioned above, the center was not originally designed and built as a correctional and rehabilitation center for women.
- The main causes of the inmates' commission of crimes are family disintegration and domestic violence. It was observed that the crimes most frequently committed by the inmates are theft, murder or attempted murder or interference therein, and moral cases.
- The classification of inmates in accordance with the Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers Law and international standards is not fully complied with, although it is the first step in the care and reform of inmates. This is due to several factors, the most important being the insufficient number of dormitories, the inadequacy of the buildings, and the failure to appreciate the importance of classifying inmates and its direct effects on their rehabilitation and reform.
- The "Tahween" (settling-in) and "Tahyi'a" (preparation) programmes have been established at the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center, which is a positive step towards contributing to the rehabilitation of inmates and forms part of the inmates' aftercare. However, difficulties hinder the effective implementation of these programmes, including the shortage of staff, the overcrowding from which the center suffers, the small number of dormitories and the non-conformity of some dormitories with specifications.
- The general and personal hygiene of the inmates is not at the required level, for several reasons, the most important being the scarcity of cleaning materials, the shortage of water and the lack of the equipment needed to ensure the cleanliness and sterilization of blankets and bedding in general.
- The health care provided to inmates does not meet the international standards in this field. The medical examination upon admission to the center is not carried out in the required manner that would ensure that inmates are free of infectious diseases, and the medical records do not include the information on the inmates' reproductive health and the other information that the international standards on the treatment of inmates require to be kept.

- The inmates' preventive, curative and psychological health care needs more attention: the medical equipment is modest, there are no resident women's physicians, and there are problems relating to emergencies requiring transfer to hospital.
- The correctional and rehabilitation centers for women lack a special system for the care of pregnant and breastfeeding women in terms of diet and medical care.
- Smoking is widespread among the inmates and is permitted inside the dormitories, which makes the dormitories unhealthy places and adversely affects the inmates' health.
- Some inmates engage in immoral acts, which reflects a serious deficiency in preventive health-care services and weak sexual education among the inmates.
- The conjugal privacy system for married women provided for in the Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers Law is not applied.
- In the field of social care, the inmates' children outside correctional and rehabilitation centers are exposed to abuse and to the dangers of homelessness and crime, while there is no body that seriously and effectively undertakes the care and follow-up of the inmates' children while their mothers are in the correctional and rehabilitation centers.
- The education and vocational training of women in correctional and rehabilitation centers are not based on clear and precise scientific foundations or on programmes to which the inmate is subject from the moment of her admission to the center until her release. As a result, only a limited number of inmates benefit from these programmes, and inmates spend their free time on matters of no benefit, with dire psychological effects, since they do not engage in activities that would channel their energy into positive pursuits.
- The suspension by the Vocational Training Corporation of vocational training programmes for inmates for nearly five years, despite the existence of workshops for training in certain trades at the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center, is a step backwards in the efforts aimed at the reform and rehabilitation of inmates and an indicator of the absence of a clear policy on the economic and vocational rehabilitation of inmates.
- Religious, cultural and sports care for inmates lacks clear, consistent and well-defined scientific programmes that would help strengthen the inmates' religious motivation and raise their cultural level.
- Children's visits to their mothers inside the centers do not take place in a manner that makes them a positive experience for the child, particularly as regards the place and duration of the visit, the method of searching the children and the mother's appearance in prison clothing.
- The interviews with the inmates showed that there are problems relating to legal aid, which, even where available, may not be effective.
- The inmates' telephone calls lack the necessary privacy and confidentiality, and the necessary confidentiality is also lacking during lawyers' visits to inmates.
- Administrative detention is among the most prominent problems of women's correctional and rehabilitation centers. Such detention has negative effects on the inmate, her family and the correctional and rehabilitation centers, burdens the State budget, lacks legal guarantees and constitutes a clear violation of the guarantees of a fair trial, which must be available at all stages.

- Treating correctional and rehabilitation centers in some cases as shelters, as in the case of women administratively detained for the protection of their lives, contravenes the international human rights standards, has serious effects on this category of inmates and constitutes an obstacle to the performance by these centers of the original functions entrusted to them.
- The phenomenon of repeat offending confirms the earlier finding regarding the weakness of education and training programmes and of religious and cultural care, which lack clear frameworks and programmes, not to mention the scarcity and weakness of aftercare programmes for inmates. The phenomenon of repetition also confirms that resorting to custodial penalties does not in many cases fulfil the expected role of achieving deterrence and reform, which reinforces the need to resort to non-custodial measures.
- There is weak coordination between civil society organizations and the ministries, institutions and bodies concerned with the care of inmates, which has weakened the care services of all kinds provided to inmates, including aftercare services, despite the efforts made in this field.
- The role of the business sector in supporting the care services provided to inmates, particularly aftercare services, is weak, which reflects the absence of the principles and concepts of social responsibility and of human rights concepts in this sector.
- The number of staff in women's correctional and rehabilitation centers is small compared with the number of inmates, particularly as regards social workers and medical and psychological staff, and the incentives granted to staff in correctional and rehabilitation centers are few, which has led some of them to shy away from working in these centers.

Recommendations

At the conclusion of this study, and on the basis of the foregoing findings, the study concluded that a set of recommendations must be adopted, the most prominent of which are the following:

The National Legal Framework Governing the Rights of Inmates of Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers

- Amending the Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers Law and the relevant instructions so as to incorporate the international standards governing the treatment and rights of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers, particularly those relating to female inmates⁸⁴; and repealing the Crime Prevention Law or, at the very least, introducing substantive amendments to it so as to ensure its consistency with the international human rights standards⁸⁵.

Alternatives to Imprisonment (Non-custodial Measures)

- Adopting the provisions of the United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-custodial Measures for Women Offenders, which urge States to resort to alternative penalties instead of custodial penalties in view of the shortcomings of imprisonment, its negative effects on the inmate's children and family, and the stigma that attaches to them as a result of the execution of the penalty; and enshrining these alternatives in a clear and applicable legislative framework, drawing on the experience of States that have adopted alternative penalties such as community service.

⁸⁴See the legal provisions requiring amendment in Chapter One of the study.

⁸⁵See Section Two of Chapter One for the laws, instructions and legal provisions requiring amendment.

Infrastructure and Surrounding Conditions

- Finding radical solutions to the infrastructure problems, particularly at the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center.
- Carrying out comprehensive periodic maintenance of correctional and rehabilitation centers, so as to ensure that the inmates enjoy sound and healthy physical conditions that help them enjoy their rights.

Classification and Records

- Adhering to the classification of inmates on sound scientific bases and activating the classification process in practice; and finding radical solutions to the problem of overcrowding and of the number of inmates exceeding capacity, by establishing new centers for women or by reducing the use of administrative and judicial detention.
- Computerizing and developing inmates' records.

Health and Nutritional Care

- Strengthening the medical staff at the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center, particularly by providing a female gynaecologist and increasing the number of psychiatrists visiting the centers, and providing a specialized clinic at the Umm Al-Lulu Center.
- Carrying out the medical examination upon the inmate's admission in accordance with international standards and in a manner that ensures that she is verified to be free of infectious diseases; and establishing a medical record for each inmate setting out the aspects relating to her reproductive health and the other medical information required by the international standards, namely the United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners.
- Carrying out periodic medical examinations of inmates and providing the necessary care for pregnant and breastfeeding women, particularly by providing a special diet, adhering to periodic examinations and monitoring the health of the foetus; and providing specialized medical care for inmates addicted to drugs.
- Raising the inmates' awareness of health issues that would protect them from disease and of issues relating to sexual education, and tightening supervision of inmates, particularly at night, in order to limit the wrongful practices that may take place among them.
- Prohibiting smoking inside the dormitories and corridors and designating a special place for smoking.
- Providing inmates with safe drinking water free of charge, and reducing the prices of the drinks and goods sold to inmates in proportion to the inmates' level of income.
- Increasing the general and personal cleaning materials provided to inmates, and finding radical solutions to the problem of the insufficient supply of hot water for bathing.

Educational and Training Programmes and Work

- Providing clear and consistent educational, training, vocational, religious, cultural, social, sports and health programmes to which the inmate is subject from the moment of her admission to the center until the moment of her release, so as to ensure that the inmates' energy is channelled into positive work and that they are rehabilitated socially, economically, culturally, religiously and physically.

- Providing literacy programmes for inmates on a permanent basis, so that illiterate inmates are enrolled as soon as they enter the center.
- Providing vocational training programmes in the centers and enrolling inmates in them according to their aptitudes and wishes, rather than leaving enrolment to the inmate's personal choice, since the purpose of admission to the center is to rehabilitate inmates in all respects, including their economic rehabilitation, so that they become self-reliant.
- Resumption by the Vocational Training Corporation of training programmes for inmates, which were suspended nearly five years ago.
- Making optimal use of the facilities at the Juweideh Correctional and Rehabilitation Center, particularly the sports hall and the library, supplying the library with a range of diverse books and activating cultural activities.
- Providing training, vocational, cultural and sports programmes at the Umm Al-Lulu Center and establishing the facilities needed to implement them.
- Increasing the wages paid to inmates for their work, given their role in motivating them morally; the amount saved for them until their release also helps them meet their basic needs.
- Promoting the inmates' products through modern and diverse marketing methods, so as to ensure that their products reach the local market and, where necessary, are exported abroad.

Social Care, Aftercare and Release Arrangements

- Increasing the number of social researchers, activating the role of the social care office and broadening the range of social services provided to inmates.
- Following up on the situation of the children of women entering correctional and rehabilitation centers and providing them with protection and assistance where necessary.
- Providing aftercare for inmates after their release, with the aim of helping them adjust to society and overcome what is known as the post-release crisis.
- Institutionalizing the aftercare programme for inmates and implementing it on sound scientific bases, so as to ensure that inmates benefit from it and that their situation is continuously followed up in a manner that limits their return to crime; and entrusting this task primarily to the Ministry of Social Development, as provided for in the Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers Law, in cooperation and coordination with civil society institutions.
- Avoiding the release of inmates late at night, which may expose the inmate to danger.

Inmates' Contact with the Outside World and Legal Aid

- Providing the necessary privacy and confidentiality when inmates make telephone calls, and increasing the number of telephones.
- Providing conditions that ensure confidentiality when inmates meet their lawyers.
- Providing the conditions necessary to make children's visits to their mothers a positive experience, particularly as regards the search of children, the place of the visit and an increase in its duration, and allowing mothers to receive their children in ordinary clothes rather than prison clothing.
- Providing modern search equipment for searching visitors, including children and lawyers, in place of the traditional search method.

- Providing effective and free legal aid to inmates where necessary, while ensuring the competence of the lawyers appointed by the court.

Administrative and Judicial Detention

- Finding radical solutions, particularly from the legal and practical standpoints, to the problem of administrative detention, and placing inmates administratively detained for their own protection in shelters that provide the shelter and the economic and social programmes needed by this category of detainees.
- Expediting litigation procedures, limiting judicial detention and its extension, and providing legal aid to needy inmates regardless of the type of case.

Civil Society Organizations and the Business Sector (Social Responsibility)

- Coordinating the efforts made by civil society organizations that provide services to inmates.
- Raising the business sector's awareness of the concept of social responsibility and urging it to play a pivotal role in the field of human rights, particularly in providing aftercare services.

The Judiciary and Staff of Correctional and Rehabilitation Centers

- Urging judges to avoid ordering the detention of defendants, particularly women, in view of the dangers of short-term imprisonment, and encouraging them to apply the provision on the suspension of the execution of sentences and to take mitigating discretionary grounds into account.
- Enhancing the competence of staff in correctional and rehabilitation centers in dealing with inmates and raising their awareness of human rights standards relating to the treatment of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers⁸⁶.
- Providing benefits to staff in correctional and rehabilitation centers to encourage them to serve in these centers, and increasing the number of staff in proportion to the number of inmates.

Public Opinion

- Raising public awareness of the importance of helping graduates of correctional and rehabilitation centers to return to and integrate into society, improving society's view of them, and emphasizing that the aftercare of inmates is the responsibility of society as a whole and is not confined to a single body or institution.

Conclusion

Crime constitutes a security, social and economic challenge in every place and time, and no society is free of this phenomenon, although its incidence varies from one country and one society to another. Within the framework of combating crime, the means and methods have multiplied and diversified, some being preventive and others curative.

Placing offenders in penal institutions is one of the ways of addressing the phenomenon of crime, with the aim of achieving general and specific deterrence. However, the theory of punishment has evolved and taken on new forms and dimensions, particularly with the growth of the Social Defence movement, so

⁸⁶The number of female staff at the centers was requested and questions were put regarding their employment situation, but no answer was given, as this is considered classified information.

that attention has turned towards transforming prisons into correctional and rehabilitative institutions that work to reform offenders and reintegrate them into society as good individuals.

International standards on the treatment of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers have devoted great attention to the correction and rehabilitation of inmates and to their humane and dignified treatment, and have allocated special space within these standards to female inmates, on the basis that women's needs and requirements differ from those of men, which calls for special protection for them.

There are two correctional and rehabilitation centers for women in Jordan, and this study was undertaken to shed light on the conditions of female inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers in Jordan. To this end, it first presented a brief historical overview of the evolution of penal institutions into correctional institutions; it then analysed the national legislation on the treatment of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers, particularly women, and compared it with the international human rights standards; it then examined the conditions of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers in terms of the physical conditions surrounding them and the causes and types of the crimes they commit; it then turned to the care of inmates in all its aspects and its effectiveness in the rehabilitation and reform of inmates. A special section was also devoted to the most prominent practical and legal challenges in the field of the care and rehabilitation of female inmates.

The study concluded that, despite the small number of female inmates in Jordan, there are challenges that hinder their rehabilitation and reform and, consequently, prevent them from refraining from crime. This calls for a review of the national legislation governing the rights of inmates of correctional and rehabilitation centers and its amendment in line with the international standards in this field; for addressing the problems of infrastructure and of the physical conditions surrounding inmates that prevent them from enjoying their rights to the fullest; for the development of clear and consistent educational, training, cultural, sports, religious and health programmes, according to a sound scientific approach and within a sound policy, to which the inmate is subject from the moment of her admission to the correctional and rehabilitation center until the moment of her release; and for the care of inmates to continue after their release within the framework of the aftercare programme.

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