

IN MY OWN HANDS

A MEDIUM-TERM APPROACH TOWARDS SELF-RELIANCE AND RESILIENCE OF SYRIAN REFUGEES AND HOST COMMUNITIES IN JORDAN

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

BACKGROUND

As the Syrian conflict enters its ninth year, innovative and durable solutions are needed to address the needs of refugees and host countries in the midst of a protracted crisis. Jordan currently hosts 654,568 Syrian refugees and a total of 2.7 million refugees, making it the world's second largest refugee-hosting country per inhabitants.¹ Approximately 80% of Syrian refugees live outside camps, primarily in Northern governorates of Jordan and Amman.² There are also several significant camp populations, principally in Zaatari in the north-east of the country and in Azraq, in central eastern Jordan.

As the Government of Jordan (GoJ) and the international community navigate the "humanitarian-development nexus", this report seeks to identify useful entry points and strategies, focusing on three critical areas - education, livelihoods and social assistance - as the lens through which to examine policy and practice in this area.

Whilst the arrival of Syrian refugees has placed additional strains on host communities in Jordan, our research suggests that structural vulnerabilities affect the lives of Syrians and Jordanians through similar and parallel pathways. This creates a unique opportunity for policy-makers to craft policies and strategies that can simultaneously benefit both Syrian refugees and the host population. At the same time, refugees experience unique vulnerabilities which will continue to require policy-makers' attention.

1 UNHCR. Jordan October 2019 Fact Sheet. Amman, Jordan: UNHCR: The UN Refugee Agency; 2019

2 Amjad R, Aslan J, Borgnäs E, Chandran D, Clark E. Examining barriers to workforce inclusion of Syrian refugees in Jordan: Better Work Discussion Paper 25. 2017: 97

METHODOLOGY

This study employed three primary approaches to answer the research questions:

1. A systematic literature review
2. Key informant interviews with stakeholders including civil society leaders, government officials, donors, intergovernmental organizations, and national and international NGOs (n=42)
3. Focus group discussions involving Syrian refugees (n=73, from camp and urban settings) and vulnerable Jordanian host populations (n=20)

EDUCATION: LEARNING FROM SHARED CHALLENGES

One third of Syrian refugees in Jordan are school-aged children and their arrival has placed demands on an education system that was already strained by demographic growth. The GoJ committed early on to inclusive education for Syrian refugee children, enabling them to enroll in formal Ministry of Education (MoE) schools in host communities and camps. The Government has sought to meet this increased demand through the reintroduced double shift system, added lesson times, Saturday classes and additional teachers and administrators. In addition, MoE-certified non-formal education programs, and uncertified informal education programs, supported by various donors, NGOs and local organizations, aim to capture refugee children outside the formal school system.

Despite this robust response, our findings question whether the current approach adequately meets the educational needs of Syrians or Jordanians; is sustainable in the medium-term; or promotes self-reliance and resilience across their lifetime. Education quality was uniformly described as poor, particularly in boys' schools. Syrian and Jordanian focus group participants expressed concerns about teaching quality, the academic curriculum, the learning environment, and the type of education program. The second shift, attended principally by Syrian children, was generally described as offering lower quality education, poorer teaching, and shorter lessons. These findings suggest that the double shift school system, while increasing access to formal education, has resulted in unequal education opportunities for Syrians and Jordanians. Poor education quality was linked to high dropout and repetition rates and poor educational outcomes, with respondents indicating that adolescent boys are particularly impacted by these issues. Perceived education quality featured prominently in families' decision-making regarding whether to send their children to school, to withdraw them from school or even to engage them in child labor.

School violence is a widely reported problem that particularly impacts Syrian boys and contributes to negative coping strategies, including school dropout and child labor. Violence was reported to be perpetrated by other students, teachers and principals, leading to psychological harm, serious injuries, and even permanent physical impairments. School leadership is critical and can either foster social harmony, or foment social tensions and violence.

Higher education remains inaccessible to many Syrian refugees and vulnerable Jordanians, and linkages between higher education and jobs are weak. Both Jordanians and Syrians report being discouraged by high tuition costs, a lack of scholarship opportunities, limited fields of study, difficulties traveling to higher education institutions, and a lack of job opportunities upon graduation. Syrian refugees report challenges around cost-prohibitive tuition (as they must pay the full international student fee), documentation and, in some camp settings, restrictions on movement that limit their access to higher education.

LIVELIHOODS: THE KEY TO SELF-RELIANCE

Access to livelihoods is an important route to self-reliance and resilience for Syrian refugees and host communities. Syrian refugees represent one tenth of Jordan's total population and one fifth of the country's non-Jordanian workforce. Jordan's labor market is highly informal, segmented, and reliant on migrant workers. Labor standards and regulations are applied unevenly – in law, policy and practice – to different nationalities residing in Jordan. High unemployment, particularly in northern governorates hosting large numbers of Syrian refugees, contributes to social tensions. Women and youth are particularly impacted by unemployment and female labor force participation is low, particularly among Syrians.

The livelihoods space in Jordan has been transformed by the Jordan Compact of 2016, which aimed to convert the Syria crisis into a development opportunity for the nation; and the 2019 London Initiative, a 5-year pathway that renews focus on economic growth and jobs. Several national policy formulations, including the Jordan 2025 Vision and the 5-year Reform and Growth Matrix, have emphasized economic growth and job creation, with a focus on Jordanian citizens. The GoJ pledged to create new jobs in Special Economic Zones and to provide 200,000 work permits to Syrian refugees under the Jordan Compact. While more than 159,000 work permits have been issued to Syrians to date,³ only an estimated 40,000 of these are in active use, and our research reveals ongoing challenges around access to livelihoods and decent work.⁴

The current focus on work permits masks the protection risks and decent work deficits experienced by both Syrian refugees and Jordanians. It also overshadows the socio-political dynamics and vested interests that fuel Jordan's significant informal sector. Syrian refugees continue to seek their livelihoods in a confined – and shrinking – legal and policy space. Closed employment occupations and sectors, nationality quotas, and restrictions on home-based businesses and business ownership (including prohibitive investment capital requirements and the need for a Jordanian business partner) were identified as key livelihoods challenges. The GoJ limits employment of non-Jordanians to a small number of occupations and sectors, with work permits concentrated in low-skilled occupations, mainly in the construction, agriculture, manufacturing and service sectors. The list of closed professions was recently expanded to include vocations such as hairdressing which have been a traditional focus of job training programs for refugees." Refugees generally expressed a strong desire to work, to achieve self-reliance and to positively contribute to their host community. This led them to question the rationale for labor regulations that left them dependent on humanitarian aid and unable to use their skills to benefit Jordan's economy.

Both Jordanians and Syrians reported difficulties accessing decent work, which they conceptualize as fair wages, workplace safety, and freedom from exploitation. Hazardous work conditions and a lack of occupational health and safety measures were reported by both Jordanians and Syrians, resulting in serious work-related injuries in factories and agriculture projects. Exploitation was commonly reported by both Syrian refugees and vulnerable Jordanians, including: wage theft, excessive working hours, illegal deductions from pay, being made to pay fees that should be legally borne by the employer, unfair dismissal (e.g. after taking sick leave) and denial of entitlements (including sick leave, vacation and Social Security). Jordanian male focus group participants suggested that Syrian refugees were more willing to accept lower pay and exploitative conditions, contributing to an overall decline in labor conditions. Many Syrian refugees reported being threatened with deportation, detention, physical violence or harassment when they attempted to recover unpaid wages or entitlements.

3 UNHCR. Jordan October 2019 Fact Sheet. Amman, Jordan: UNHCR: The UN Refugee Agency; 2019

4 Lenner K, Turner L. Making Refugees Work? The Politics of Integrating Syrian Refugees into the Labor Market in Jordan. Middle East Critique 2019; 28(1): 65-95

Vocational training is not sufficiently linked to livelihood opportunities, labor market demands, and individuals' lived reality. Common complaints about livelihoods programs and vocational training related to a focus on sectors where few jobs were available, or skills that were not in demand, and an inadequate training duration. Both Jordanians and Syrians struggled to capitalize on their training due to a lack of investment capital, raw materials, social networks or other livelihoods support. Structural issues limit the type, duration and quality of vocational training, particularly for refugees. Key challenges include restrictive regulations, an unstable policy environment, and a mismatch between participants' needs and donors' priorities, funding cycles, and reporting metrics.

SOCIAL ASSISTANCE: FROM FRAGMENTATION TO COORDINATION

For many Syrian refugees and vulnerable Jordanians, social safety nets are an important support on the path to self-reliance. Around 80% of Syrian refugees in Jordan live below the poverty line, compared to 14.5% of the national Jordanian population.⁵ However, both Syrian refugees and Jordanians experience high levels of poverty, debt and unemployment, which are key drivers of vulnerability.

Both Syrian refugees and vulnerable Jordanians reported that their income, including employment and transfer income, is insufficient to meet their basic needs. Common coping strategies included incurring debt, selling household belongings, redeeming food vouchers for cash, or forgoing necessary expenses, such as gas or healthcare. Syrian refugees also commonly described withdrawing children from school to work, while some returned to Syria (or considered doing so) due to the deprivation they experienced in Jordan. Several Syrian refugees described the importance of social assistance when social networks and other financial coping mechanisms have been disrupted by displacement. However, many Syrians and Jordanians valued decent, sustainable work over social assistance.

Social assistance is a pillar of the social protection system. Two largely parallel social assistance systems operate in Jordan, with different vulnerability criteria and benefits packages for Jordanians and Syrian refugees. While humanitarian organizations and international NGOs provide a variety of cash and assistance programs for both populations, refugees are largely excluded from national social assistance programs, including the National Aid Fund (NAF). These parallel systems were viewed by vulnerable Jordanians and Syrian refugees as similarly cumbersome, lacking in transparency, and operating in an inequitable manner. Respondents conveyed widespread confusion regarding both access to and eligibility for social assistance programs, revealing deeper concerns about the equity and coordination of the system. Perceptions of inequity - whether real or based on misconceptions - contribute to social tensions within and between Syrian refugee and Jordanian host communities.

Looking to the future, there is growing interest in improving the coordination and efficiency of the national and international social assistance systems. The GoJ plans to consolidate the various government social assistance schemes into a single entity under the NAF, while the 2019 Jordan Response Plan outlines the government's intention to integrate Syrian refugees into "strengthened national protection systems." Some have suggested that a unified, coordinated social assistance system (for example, through an expansion of the NAF) with effective information sharing will improve targeting and potentially strengthen social cohesion.

⁵ Agulhas Applied Knowledge. Independent Monitor's Assessment Report: Jordan Compact and Brussels Meeting. Geneva: Agulhas, 2019

Harmonization of these parallel systems is a worthy goal and could be achieved through, for example, “aligning” the two systems, or piggybacking, in which the humanitarian response uses elements of the national system. The Joint Comprehensive Vulnerability Assessment (JCVA) – a project of the GoJ, World Bank, UNHCR, UNICEF, and WFP seeking to harmonize targeting systems so that they are based on vulnerability rather than status – is an important step forward in this regard. While an integrated social protection system would address many of the current challenges, including transparency and coordination, any integration framework must be carefully evaluated to ensure the safety and protection of refugees. Long-term and sustained support from international donors will be key to making this option feasible.

CROSS-CUTTING CHALLENGES

This research identified vulnerabilities that cut across the livelihoods, education and social protection sectors, many of which uniquely affect refugees, such as legal and civil documentation. The GoJ and UNHCR have cooperated on multiple efforts to rectify documentation for Syrian refugees, including the establishment of Shari’a courts and mobile judicial services, urban verification exercises, and waiver periods to facilitate legal marriage registration. However, documentation issues continue to have profound and far-reaching consequences that impact refugees’ access to education, social assistance, and services. Of particular concern, the MOI’s recent requirement for Syrian children to present an MOI card in order to enroll in school, will likely negatively affect their access to education.

Freedom of movement emerged as a key concern that constrains access to education and livelihoods opportunities. Syrian refugees face additional procedural barriers than can limit their freedom of movement, including the inability to own or drive a car; and leave restrictions in camp settings, particularly Azraq camp. Both refugees and vulnerable Jordanians are impacted by a lack of affordable, acceptable public transportation.

Distinct vulnerabilities also emerged around gender and age. Boys appear vulnerable to violence and bullying from teachers and other students, which was linked to school dropout and the risk of child labor. For girls, concerns were expressed around safety on the journey to and from school. Women remain marginalized in the workforce and face gender-specific barriers relating to transport, childcare, and the workplace. A programmatic focus on youth unemployment, while justified, appears to have excluded many working-age adults from livelihoods and higher education opportunities.

CONCLUSION

With the prospect of returns to Syria appearing remote, significant numbers of Syrian refugees will remain in Jordan for the foreseeable future. Enabling Syrian refugees to live full and productive lives while in exile, through investments in education, livelihoods and social assistance, will help them to achieve self-reliance, while also promising wider benefits to Jordan’s economy and society. Looking forward – if and when repatriation occurs – such investments will help to secure the future stability of Syria, by building and sustaining its human capital.

Currently, there is a unique opportunity to think ambitiously about the future of Jordan and to craft a sustainable refugee response that strengthens national systems and supports self-reliance and resilience of both Syrians and Jordanians. Jordan has been an incubator for innovative strategies that seek to address the needs of refugees alongside those of host populations, and the GoJ has been an entrepreneurial partner in this process. However,

Jordan’s rapidly shifting policy space constrains longer-term development planning. risks, Moreover, the GoJ’s understandable desire to prioritize the needs of its own citizens risks downplaying the needs of refugees.”

As the GoJ and international community navigate the humanitarian to development transition, there is a need to focus strategically on refugees over the medium and longer-term – whether by ensuring that refugee children are able to access quality education, graduating refugees from social assistance to decent work, or factoring the needs of vulnerable refugees into the national social safety net. International donors and development actors must ensure that space is created – through targeted and designated funding – for refugee needs to be incorporated into development planning and, above all, to avoid “shocks to the system” through the abrupt withdrawal of aid.

Our research shows that Syrian refugees and Jordanians experience many of the same structural challenges and vulnerabilities, and they share similar hopes and fears for their families and their future. While there were flash points for the Jordanians and Syrians who we interviewed – for example, around competition for jobs, classroom overcrowding, and perceptions of inequity – the levels of social solidarity and empathy displayed were truly exemplary. This provides a solid foundation on which to build societal resilience. Navigating the complex path ahead requires a shared vision and a more harmonized policy approach – one that better integrates the perspectives of refugees in programming and policy-making, and that takes its lead from local champions in the Jordanian host community who foster social cohesion through an inclusive approach. The full research report illuminates some areas where strategic investments to ensure refugee access to education, livelihoods, and social assistance can be leveraged to elevate access and better lives for all.

EDUCATION RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Strengthen data collection and coordination to improve education access and quality.

This approach requires the **GoJ** to invest in collecting more accurate data on school capacity, enrollment, attendance and other important education indicators and demographics; this could be facilitated by more coordinated and timely data monitoring through the EMIS and linking it more closely to the civil registry database and databases managed by UNHCR to better track education outcomes and to identify areas of need. **Donor governments and education partners** should also support the collection of data on meaningful education outcomes, that are effectively age and sex-disaggregated, in order to assist these efforts. Data on education outcomes are an important complement to metrics on enrollment.

2. Focus on the evidence-based needs of adolescents and other vulnerable populations.

The **GoJ**, supported by **international and national partners**, should prioritize interventions that address the educational needs of vulnerable subgroups, such as adolescent boys, which emerged strongly in our research as a group requiring more tailored interventions to reduce school violence and dropout rates, improve literacy and combat child labor. This requires evidence, including age and sex-disaggregated data, which may be assisted by the data coordination efforts recommended above.

3. Invest in school and transportation infrastructure to increase education access, with an emphasis on integrated schools.

Our research has indicated that the **GoJ and international donors** should invest in school transportation, as a way of reducing the reliance on double shift schools; this will enable the distribution of students more efficiently within the school system, and maximize the use of existing school capacity in integrated schools. Safe, affordable school transportation could link students to under-subscribed schools, reduce pressure on crowded urban schools, and may encourage girls' school attendance by addressing concerns about safety. Better data coordination, as noted above, is also critical to this approach. In the medium and longer-term, expanding and building schools is necessary to increase capacity and accommodate demographic growth in Jordan. **The GoJ and international donors** are encouraged to pursue a phased approach of school expansion, together with longer-term construction of new schools, in order to meet both immediate needs and future demands. Approached strategically, this can also create livelihood opportunities, including short-term cash-for-work positions, in project management and construction.

4. Prioritize teacher training and promote teaching as a profession, particularly for men, in order to improve education quality.

Further investments in teacher training by the **GoJ and international donors** are necessary to address widespread concerns about teachers' qualifications and teaching quality. QRTA's teacher training program, which emphasizes conflict resolution and leadership skills, is an example of the type of initiatives which could be scaled up to serve this goal. Competitive salaries are crucial for attracting qualified teachers, particularly male teachers, given the deficiencies in education quality that are reported in boys' schools. In addition, working to shift social norms is necessary to elevate respect for the profession of teaching, and to recognize teachers' valuable role in society.

5. Foster social cohesion in and through school communities.

Social cohesion must be advanced at a national level and strengthened at the community level. Cultivating a shared sense of community among students, school staff and families may help to increase social cohesion and prevent issues with violence in schools. **Education actors** are encouraged to view schools as a communal space to engage families and build bridges between host and refugee communities, through the use of initiatives such as Parental Councils. Perceptions of inequity - for example, around the allocation of students to schools - fuel social tensions. The **GoJ and MoE** could address this through greater accountability and transparency in decision-making, and more consistent implementation of education policies, from the national to governorate levels.

6. Explore innovative pathways to higher education.

The **international community**, together with **private philanthropy, academic institutions and corporate actors** should expand the provision of higher education scholarship and fellowship opportunities for Syrian refugees and vulnerable host populations. Scholarships could be strategically aligned with labor needs in specific sectors to provide better linkages to livelihoods.

LIVELIHOODS RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Invest in Jordan's economic growth by supporting the GoJ's efforts to create jobs and foster a more enabling environment for businesses and investment, ensuring that these processes are inclusive of refugees.

International donors should invest in strategies that boost economic growth and job creation in Jordan, as these are critical to fostering self-reliance and social cohesion. High-impact interventions that serve cross-cutting goals should be prioritized. For example, investments in transportation and infrastructure are a key government priority and an area where donors can usefully lend their expertise and support. Policy frameworks should provide explicit guarantees that international humanitarian and development funds will be used to benefit and represent the rights of both Jordanians and refugees, including Syrians.

The **GoJ** should create a climate where Syrian businesses can thrive, by reducing regulatory and bureaucratic barriers and costs. Enabling Syrians to formalize their businesses could benefit Jordan's economy by broadening the tax base and increasing Social Security contributions. Strategies may include: decreasing fees, streamlining procedures for business registration and standardizing them across municipalities, lowering the investment threshold for investors, expanding the sectors where home-based businesses are permitted, exploring initiatives to incentivize SMEs, and reassessing the requirement for a Jordanian business partner.

2. Place the concept of Decent Work at the forefront of livelihoods interventions.

The **GoJ, donors and humanitarian actors** should integrate accountability for decent work indicators and meaningful outcomes (such as the quality and conditions of work) into livelihood interventions and policy frameworks, rather than focusing on output indicators such as the number of work permits or job placements. Occupational Health and Safety is a critical component of decent work. **International donors** should support strategies in line with the National Social Protection Strategy, including workplace inspections, enforcement, and the Ministry of Labor's complaints hotline. Training to increase awareness of workers' rights and employers' obligations and OH&S practices could also reduce work-related injuries. **Donors and the GoJ** should also strengthen access to justice for Syrian refugees and vulnerable Jordanians, by investing in and improving access to legal support services. Community Support Centres that serve Jordanians and refugees of all nationalities may be a mechanism for improving access to legal aid and information.

3. Redouble commitments to enable Syrian refugees to access the formal labor market, prioritizing growth sectors and local needs.

The **GoJ** should explore opening additional professions to non-Jordanians, prioritizing sectors with high growth potential that can serve local labor market and community needs. This will enable Jordan to more fully realize the economic benefits and contributions that Syrian refugees bring. The recent closure of additional professions to non-Jordanians is fundamentally at odds with the goal of promoting self-reliance and resilience and contributes to informality and a culture of dependency. The GoJ should also revisit the rationale for nationality quotas, with evidence suggesting that quotas do not offer sufficient protection for either Jordanian or Syrian workers, as employers who are unable to fill their Jordanian quota may resort to hiring refugees informally.

4. Facilitate refugees' freedom of movement and ensure access to safe, affordable and acceptable public transportation.

Freedom of movement is fundamental to accessing livelihoods, education, health care and other basic services. In camp settings, the **GoJ** should implement transparent and equitable procedures for granting leave permission and provide appeal mechanisms when such leave is denied, particularly in cases of hardship or medical need. Enabling refugees to renew leave permits online or at designated hubs outside of the camp may also streamline and simplify leave procedures.

International donors, in partnership with the GoJ, can play a vital role in addressing transportation barriers that limit access to livelihood opportunities.

5. Adapt vocational training opportunities to provide a clear pathway to livelihoods and better align with labor market demands.

Rigorous labor market needs assessments by livelihoods actors and corporate engagement could help to bridge the current gap between vocational training and local labor market needs. **International donors** also play an important role in supporting training that better meets participants' needs (in terms of the target age range and type and duration of training) and gives implementers scope to innovate and adapt their programming. Finally, **livelihoods actors** should ensure that graduates of vocational courses are linked to ongoing livelihoods support, including investment capital, in-kind support (e.g. raw materials/tools), mentorship and marketing support.

SOCIAL ASSISTANCE RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Support efforts to streamline the parallel systems of social assistance, by encouraging the coordination of the provision of humanitarian aid and the national social assistance system.

Steps towards harmonizing the two systems should focus initially on alignment - for example, by crafting vulnerability criteria that complement each other - or utilizing similar platforms for coordination. Any discussion of "integrating" or "merging" these two social protection systems should proceed with caution, alert to the particular vulnerabilities of refugees. Fully integrating these two systems would require both (1) the **GoJ** to ensure adequate resource mobilization; and (2) **international donors** to commit to predictable and sustained funding over a prolonged period in order to ensure that the social protection system is sustainable for host populations, as well as refugees.

2. Manage the transition from a humanitarian to development phase with an emphasis on "do no harm."

As the international response will increasingly transition towards development, the **GoJ**, **international donors**, and **humanitarian actors** should adequately prepare for a potential reduction in humanitarian assistance. Any reduction or withdrawal of assistance must be carefully phased and managed, with an emphasis on communication (particularly with impacted beneficiaries) and coordination.

3. Resolve issues relating to Syrian refugees' civil documentation and registration, to ensure that vulnerable populations and future generations can access services and social protection.

The **GoJ**, with the support of **international donors**, should pursue strategies such as reducing or waiving fees for registering births, deaths and marriages; increasing the accessibility of legal aid, particularly in camp settings; and reducing transportation barriers to accessing services.

4. Foster financial inclusion of Syrian refugees by facilitating access to financial services.

The **GoJ**, in tandem with the **private sector**, should explore strategies to promote economic inclusion, including supporting 1) the continued expansion of access to mobile wallets and their use in the marketplace, 2) flexible approaches to proof-of-identity requirements for accessing financial services, such as permitting the use of UNHCR-issued identification, and 3) efforts by the Central Bank of Jordan to educate financial institutions on Know Your Customer regulations and correct misconceptions about risk that exclude many Syrian refugees from the formal banking system.

5. Promote integrated programming that enables graduation from humanitarian assistance and supports Syrian refugees' and vulnerable Jordanians' goals of self-reliance.

The **humanitarian sector** should redouble efforts to work across sectors, including livelihoods, education, and protection, to ensure that the individuals it serves are able to transition into training and/or decent work opportunities. The Graduation Approach provides one such model that connects social assistance to livelihoods programming. The path from graduation to self-reliance may not be linear, and approaches that acknowledge this and that are sustained, integrated, and multi-sectoral can contribute to building community resilience in the long-term.

6. Commit to providing basic social assistance – particularly income and consumption transfers – to the most vulnerable Syrian refugees and host communities.

Acknowledging that certain vulnerable Syrians and Jordanians will require ongoing assistance, international donors should continue to support the most vulnerable Syrian refugees, who often do not have another lifeline.

OVERARCHING RECOMMENDATIONS:

This research demonstrates that barriers to self-reliance and resilience often cut across sectors, and cautions against a siloed approach towards livelihoods, education and social protection. We offer up these cross-cutting recommendations in that spirit.

1. Integrate programming and policies to foster better linkages between sectors, including education, livelihoods, and social protection.

International donors and implementers are encouraged to apply an integrated approach and cross-sectoral collaboration, in order to effectively address complex issues and yield benefits of cost-efficiency and improved coordination. For example, freedom of movement is essential for access to livelihoods, education and social protection and services. Similarly, this research indicates that addressing child labor requires attention to issues of child protection, education quality and school violence, as well as improving households' economic security.

2. Develop sustainable, flexible and collaborative financing models to address medium-term needs.

International donors should explore multi-year funding, pooled funds and other financing models to enable predictable planning and effective service delivery. Short implementation timeframes, for instance in the livelihoods sector, undermine efforts to meet Syrian refugees' and vulnerable Jordanians' needs and to support strategic aims, such as graduation.

3. Prioritize the needs of vulnerable populations, avoiding assumptions, and recognize that vulnerability may vary across sectors and demographic groups.

Rather than assuming vulnerability based on fixed demographic traits, policymakers and implementers should be mindful of context, nuance and evidence when seeking to identify and address the needs of vulnerable populations. For example, this research highlights specific needs of boys, with respect to education quality, school violence and child labor, that may require additional attention.

4. Incorporate the voices and perspectives of refugees and host communities in the planning and design of policies and programming.

Interventions often do not achieve their potential due to a failure to adequately consult the communities that they are supposed to benefit. **Policymakers** should seek meaningful participation of refugees and other beneficiaries of their programs early in the planning process.



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