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SERVICES FOR SYRIAN REFUGEE CHILDREN AND
YOUTH IN JORDAN: FORCED DISPLACEMENT,
FOREIGN AID, AND VULNERABILITY

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Abstract

This report provides an overview of the current services available for Syrian refugee youth and children in Jordan, with a focus on the following sectors: education, cash assistance, nutrition, health, livelihoods, water and sanitation, shelter, and protection. Using a multi-method strategy, we describe the governance structure of the current Syrian refugee assistance program in Jordan and describe the policies central to our sectors of interest. Based on key informant interviews, we identify persistent barriers to services for Syrian young people. The report concludes with a discussion of overall governance constraints.

ملخص

يقدم هذا التقرير لمحة عامة عن الخدمات الحالية المتاحة للشباب والأطفال من اللاجئين السوريين في الأردن، مع التركيز على القطاعات التالية: التعليم والمساعدة النقدية والتغذية والصحة وسبل العيش والمياه والصرف الصحي والمأوى والحماية. استخدمنا في هذا التقرير استراتيجية متعددة الأساليب، لوصف هيكل الحوكمة لبرنامج مساعدة اللاجئين السوريين الحالي في الأردن ولوصف السياسات المركزية لقطاعات نهتم بها. وبناءً على المقابلات الإعلامية الرئيسية، نحدد العوائق المستمرة أمام تقديم الخدمات للشباب السوري. ونختتم التقرير بمناقشة القيود العامة على الحوكمة.

1. Introduction

The Syrian conflict has driven a large influx of refugees into Jordan. As of November 2017, there were over 660,000 Syrians registered with the United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees (UNHCR) in Jordan. While 21% of those registered live in formal camps, 79% reside in host communities (Jordanian cities and villages) and informal settlements (UNHCR, 2017a). Estimates based on the 2015 Jordanian population census place the total number of Syrians in Jordan at approximately 1.3 million persons. Many refugees in Jordan require direct assistance in terms of food and cash and rely on safety nets for the fulfillment of basic needs and services.

This report seeks to understand the services currently available for Syrian children and youth (ages 6-29) facing protracted displacement in Jordan.[4] Need levels are high across all ages of Syrians, but children and youth face unique risks that may negatively affect present and future wellbeing. Later life outcomes are a function of early life experiences (Cunha & Heckman, 2007). Low human capital accumulation or health problems at younger ages have lasting consequences. For many young people, the disruption caused by protracted displacement also interrupts or distorts important life transitions such as the shift from school to work, or the passage into marriage and family formation (Dhillon & Yousef, 2009).

Poor early development translates not only into poverty and vulnerability at the micro level, but also challenges at the macro level. For those young people who may someday go back to Syria, their country's future depends on this generation being physically and mentally healthy, educated, and capable of rebuilding Syria's economy and institutions. Alternatively, some Syrian youth currently displaced in Jordan may stay there for the remainder of their lives. These young people could either contribute to Jordan's future economic growth and development, or may remain reliant on assistance indefinitely. The outcome will depend on how well they are financially and institutionally supported during childhood, adolescence, and early adulthood.

To make this report as comprehensive as possible, our examination of services for Syrian refugee youth includes three components.[5] First, in Section 2 we review the institutional setting for aid provision to Syrian refugees in Jordan. The current aid environment for Syrian refugees is funded through foreign aid channels. It is thus a product of international, national, and local processes that bring together nonprofit and governmental actors with various interests and strategies. Section 3 reviews service provision in the following sectors: education; cash assistance; livelihoods; protection; health and nutrition; shelter; and water and sanitation (WASH). The scope of this collection of services covers emergency and developmental initiatives and also captures program-based and infrastructural projects. While programs within these areas may not exclusively target young Syrians, each of these sectors does affect some dimension of wellbeing for children and youth.[6] Following our discussion of the policy and service environment, in Section 4 we examine sources of vulnerability among young refugees in relation to their access to services. We conclude by discussing some institutional challenges in the current policy environment that compromise service delivery for children and youth.

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[4] "Youth" is defined with a wide age range in order to capture children first entering in school as well as young adults. The challenges that this group faces vary by age, but both children and youth groups are at a unique disadvantage from a life course perspective.

[5] This study excludes Syrians residing in the Berm refugee camp located just outside of Jordan's northeastern border and non-Syrian refugee groups in Jordan.

[6] Of course, these sectors also directly affect non-youth, and for this reason we believe that many of our findings could be generalized to adults and the elderly.

1.1 Context

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is a middle-income country with considerable economic challenges, some of which affect the government's ability to provide services to refugee populations. Since its founding in the early 20th century, the country has relied on foreign aid to offset budget deficits (Sharp, 2017). Jordan's economic growth has also depended on remittances over the last several decades, especially from Jordanian migrants working in the Gulf (Knowles, 2005). These jobs are responsive to fluctuations in the international oil market and thus susceptible to shocks (Jaber, 1995). Domestically, the economy faces challenges due to Jordan's lack of natural resources and small industrial base (Sharp, 2017).

Jordan's short history has been characterized by refugee inflows: Palestinians were forcibly displaced to Jordan throughout the 20th century (most notably in 1948 and 1967), and the violence and instability of the Iraq War propelled hundreds of thousands of Iraqis to seek refuge there during the early 21st century. Yet Jordan is not a signatory of the United Nations 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees or the 1967 Protocol (UNHCR, 2011). To establish a legal framework, Jordan and UNHCR signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) in 1998. Within this MOU, Jordan provides UNHCR with the mandate to screen asylum-seekers, administer refugee status to those who qualify, and provide assistance to refugees based on needs. Jordan also pledged to respect the principle of *non-refoulement*[7] to those granted refugee status. In terms of restrictions, the original MOU requires that any refugee working in Jordan secure a legal work permit before they can be employed (UNHCR, 1998). The MOU provides no blueprint for long-term integration or naturalization; refugees are to remain refugees, return to their country of origin, or seek third country resettlement (Davis, Benton, Todman, & Murphy, 2017).

1.2 Distribution of the refugee population

Syrian refugees began arriving in large numbers to Jordan in early 2012, and by February 2014, there were close to 600,000 Syrian refugees registered with UNHCR in Jordan (UNHCR, 2017a). Registered Syrian refugee counts began to plateau after 2014, in part due to border policies that made crossing the border increasingly difficult.[8] In 2016, the Jordanian government closed its border with Syria entirely (Su, 2017).

UNHCR statistics from November 2017 show that approximately one-fifth of the registered Syrian refugees (approximately 140,000 persons) reside in one of three formal camps: Za'atari, Azraq, and the Emirati Jordanian Camp. Small populations are also located at two transit centers in the north: Cyber City and King Abdallah Park. Residents can only leave the camps on a temporary basis and with official approval. At present, camp-based refugees have limited prospects for formal migration into a host community (see Section 3.1). The majority of Syrian refugees registered with UNHCR are residing outside of camps in *host communities*, existing villages and cities where they live alongside Jordanian citizens. Additionally, over 16,000 Syrian refugees live in informal tented settlements where they lack access to basic infrastructure and services (Mixed Migration Platform, 2017).

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[7] *Non-refoulement* is a reference to Article 33 of UNHCR's 1951 Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, which states that "no Contracting State shall expel or return ('refouler') a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion" (UNHCR, n.d.).

[8] By early 2015, most formal border crossings had been closed to refugees, forcing Syrian asylum-seekers to travel to remote desert areas of eastern Jordan to cross "informal" border crossings. These crossings were forced shut in March 2015 (Human Rights Watch, 2015).

We illustrate the geospatial distribution of Syrians in Jordan using a series of maps. Map 1 uses data from UNHCR to examine the distribution of Syrians registered as refugees with UNHCR (see Table 1). Mafraq governorate is hosting one of the largest registered refugee populations (~150,000), which includes approximately 80,000 residents of the Za'atari camp. Large registered refugee populations are also located in Amman (~180,000) and Irbid (~134,000). Zarqa, which is hosting approximately 108,000 refugees, contains two additional camps, the Azraq Camp (~54,000) and the Emirati Jordanian Camp (~7,000).[9]

UNHCR's tally of registered Syrians does not account for all Syrians living within Jordan (see Section 3.1). To compare UNHCR's registration count to the number of Syrian nationals in Jordan, Map 2 examines the distribution of Syrian households by governorate as reported by the 2015 Jordanian Population and Housing Census. Both maps suggest that the largest share of the Syrian population (registered with UNHCR or not) reside in the Amman, Irbid, Zarqa, and Mafraq governorates.

Using the Population and Housing Census Map 3 illustrates the *percentage of households that are Syrian* out of all resident households within each sub-district and hence highlights areas where the incoming population is substantially changing residential numbers overall. As expected, sub-districts where the percentage of Syrian households among all households was highest had refugee camps in them. Sub-districts in the Irbid and Mafraq governorates exhibited the most considerable residential change, with Syrian households representing 14.5-36% of total households in several sub-districts. In the sub-districts of Amman, Syrian households represented a smaller share of overall households, which is due to the larger population size in the capital city.

1.3 Methods
This is a multi-method study that gained insights through desk review, analysis of assistance project and donor commitment-level data, and qualitative interviews. UNHCR's Syria Regional Refugee Response Inter-Agency Information Sharing Portal was a primary resource for the desk review component of our study. The portal's document library includes a relatively comprehensive collection of publicly available assessments and reports prepared by stakeholders such as NGOs, UN agencies, and Jordanian ministries. We reviewed all documents listed under our sectors of interest in UNHCR's document library uploaded prior to November 2017. We pursued broader online searches when we identified topics that were not sufficiently documented in this document library. These documents varied in quality, and some only focused on an issue within a particular context. Therefore, it is difficult for us to verify the representativeness of each document. As we compared the information in the documents, we also noticed gaps and some inconsistencies. Because we cannot independently verify all of the information, we include as much as possible in this report in order to depict the current policy discourse as driven by stakeholders. When necessary, we reached out to key informants to help clarify information as well.[10]

For each sector, UN agencies manage at least one working group and/or task force. These entities keep monthly or bimonthly records of their work and progress, which are publicly available via UNHCR's data portal. To draw insights from these groups about services, stakeholder priorities, and challenges for providers, we reviewed the terms of reference for all relevant task forces and working groups, as well as the previous year's meeting minutes and quarterly reports for these

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[9] All UNHCR registered refugee population statistics based on October 2017 (UNHCR, 2017a). Emirati Jordanian Camp not shown in maps.

[10] For example, we reached out to the Food Security Task Force when we were unable to find any reports that clearly laid out the structure of food assistance services.

groups (UNHCR, 2017a). We additionally reviewed the dashboards managed by several working groups and task forces, which provide beneficiary counts and other general statistics broken down by sector for the present year (UNHCR, 2017b).

For descriptive statistics, the study uses the Jordan Response Information System for the Syria Crisis (JORISS) data. Since January 2015, all approved humanitarian and development projects that target Syrians and/or Jordanians in host communities have been listed in a public-access database called the Project Search Portal.[11] This database includes key indicators at the project level, including sector, response type, duration, implementing partner organization (IPO), and grant size. We use project-level data from January 2015 to March 2017, which covers 612 different JRP-approved initiatives (JORISS, 2016, 2017). After dropping the ten ministry projects,[12] this sample of 602 projects gives us descriptive insights into the numerous nongovernmental organizations involved in the refugee response. The JORISS also provides donor-level data that describe the characteristics of financial commitments. Data for 2015 is available, along with summary statistics for 2016 and 2017.[13]

Finally, our analysis includes a qualitative component derived from two separate studies. The more recent study took place from March to May 2017, during which our team conducted one-time key informant interviews with 21 stakeholders at international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), local non-governmental organizations (NGOs), UN agencies, and government ministries in Amman.[14] Our interviewees worked on projects and policymaking within our sectors of interest and offered insights into programmatic approaches, institutional dynamics, and persistent gaps in reaching beneficiaries. Interview participants were identified using a snowball sampling approach. The earlier qualitative wave took place in December 2015 and consists of key informant interviews with 10 JRP stakeholders operating in the education sector. [15] These interviews were all prearranged prior to the arrival of a short-term study team and no snowballing was conducted. We conceal names and personal identifiers for study participants throughout the report. Counts of our respondents by sector are included in Table 2.

2. The organizational environment for service provision
The purpose of this section is to identify the various actors involved in service delivery for Syrian refugees in Jordan. Programs are tied to foreign aid flows (Table 3), and funding passes through governmental and non-governmental channels. These channels influence the distribution of

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[11] The Project Search data was disabled for public use in March 2017. We were fortunate to have downloaded our dataset from JORISS in March 2017.

[12] These data have one particular shortcoming: only 10 ministry-led programs are accounted for, which suggests that most were unregistered in the data system. For the purpose of our analysis, we drop the 10 ministry-level projects from the data and focus exclusively on IPOs and UN agencies. We are more confident in the representativeness of the project-level data from these entities since we know they are required to submit into the JORISS system.

[13] Cross checking the 2015 data source against the JRP's reporting corroborates our data's representativeness. The JRPSC claims that 2015 contributions summed to $1.1 billion as of November of that year, a figure they derived using the same Financial Tracking data (JRPSC, 2016b). From the 131 observations we have in our Financial Tracking data, total contributions tally to approximately $1.2 billion. We suspect that our discrepancy in accounting is due to a missing data issue on the "date" variable. Nevertheless, we are confident in the representativeness of the Financial Tracking data for 2015 and use this to gain a stronger understanding of the donor environment and the channels through which aid is flowing.

[14] This study was IRB approved by the University of Minnesota in March 2017.

[15] These data were collected as part of the University of Chicago's International Policy Practicum program, in which the lead author was a study team member. Respondents were asked more general questions for this study as compared to the 2017 data collection, but we use these data because of the various moments in 2015 interviews when respondents spoke to the topics central to this report. This study was not IRB approved, as the PI did not think that the key informants who participated required any formal consent. Although these respondents were willing to go on the record under their own names and organizational titles, we de-identify their comments for this analysis.

funding by sector as well as the structure of programs upon delivery. The central actors leading the response are Jordan's Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation (MoPIC) and its recent offshoot, the Jordan Response Platform for the Syria Crisis (JRPSC). Our qualitative data and desk review suggests that while some decision-making authority still falls into the domain of UN actors, and while INGOs and NGOs may exercise some control over program design, Jordanian ministries hold considerable authority over the service environment.

2.1 Government institutions

The Jordanian government has been highly involved in steering the distribution of foreign aid for Syrian refugees. Building on the foundations of its National Resilience Plan (2013-2015), the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation (MoPIC) launched the Jordan Response Platform for the Syria Crisis (JRPSC) in late 2014. This quasi-governmental entity describes itself as a "strategic partnership mechanism between the government of Jordan, donors, and UN agencies" (JRPSC, 2015a).

In terms of policy, JRPSC and ministry leadership emphasize the importance of foreign aid investments in public works and governmental bureaucratic support. In qualitative interviews, government actors criticized non-governmental agencies for allocating too many resources towards temporary projects and focusing heavily on emergency relief. Under the JRPSC, government actors prioritize the allocation of aid funding towards state infrastructure and ministry budgets and successfully lobby foreign donors to address the service needs of Jordanian citizens residing in host communities.

The JRPSC strengthens the Jordanian government's authority over foreign aid inflows through two mechanisms. First, the JRPSC manages the production of the annual Jordan Response Plan (JRP), a report that defines project priorities within each service sector. Although nongovernmental stakeholders are involved in strategic planning for each annual JRP iteration, some qualitative respondents indicated that the preferences of government decision-makers, including the JRPSC, tend to outweigh that of non-governmental stakeholders in the framing of the JRP.

The Jordanian government additionally influences foreign aid allocations through project approval requirements. Since 2015, any nongovernmental organization that receives a grant to conduct a project must first apply for JRP approval through the Jordan Response Information System for the Syria Crisis (JORISS). Once submitted, project applications must gain approval from MoPIC, the sector-relevant line ministry, and the Jordanian Prime Minister. According to our interviewees, it takes approximately 5-6 months to complete this process, though respondents also spoke of delays and longer response times. An application has to show that a project meets JRP objectives and is within the boundaries of the organization's official mandate. Reviewing ministries have veto power over programs and can ask applicants to modify projects to better meet governmental priorities.

Jordanian ministries also receive foreign aid directly (Table 4), and while some of this funding is used to offset budget deficits, a large percentage is directed towards ministry-led projects. To the best of our knowledge, the majority of these programs undergo no screening process akin to the JORISS mechanism, and there is little to no public reporting on how this funding is being implemented by ministries (Human Rights Watch, 2017a).

2.2 The Jordan Compact

One of the most important policy developments related to Syrian refugees in Jordan has been a series of agreements between Jordan and the European Union (EU) that followed the February 2016 *Supporting Syria and the Region Conference* in London; these accords are known as the Jordan Compact. The first agreement provides greater access to European markets for Jordanian exporters in exchange for the reform of Jordan's labor policy regarding refugees. The EU pledged to temporarily relax the rules of origin[16] for certain goods produced in Jordan's *Development Zone and Industrial Areas,*[17] under the condition that firms benefitting from the policy have at least 15% of their workforce be made up of Syrians (European Commission, 2016). Concurrently, the Jordanian government committed to initiate a new formal work permit system for Syrians. This program's application process is described in detail in Section 2.3, and the program's early implementation experience is presented in Section 3.1.

Two more agreements came out of the London conference. First, EU countries promised to increase their annual contributions to the JRP budget, with an exclusive focus on resilience programming.[18] Additionally, the IMF approved a $723 million Extended Fund Facility[19] for Jordan, to which EU partners will contribute (Government of Jordan, 2016).

2.3 UN and non-governmental actors

UNHCR maintains authority over the assignment of refugee status, the designation of resettlement, and the management of formal camps. As outlined in the 1998 MOU, UNHCR oversees the refugee application and registration process for all asylum-seekers in Jordan, providing those who qualify with official certification as a "person of concern." UNHCR also manages a database of registered refugees in the country and directs the third-country resettlement process for the small percentage of refugees extended this opportunity (Oxfam, 2016).[20] In partnership with Jordanian security services and other government entities, UNHCR also steers formal refugee camp oversight.

UN agencies such as UNICEF also influence the programs of smaller nongovernmental organizations to some extent. The primary channel through which this takes place is funding. An INGO or NGO may struggle to attract foreign aid directly from a donor government but can apply for a grant that is being managed by a UN agency. This enables the UN agency to make use of INGO and NGO capabilities in achieving its goals. Additionally, the UN agencies have made efforts to improve collaboration among the numerous nongovernmental organizations operating in Jordan through sector-level working groups and task forces, which meet regularly. During these meetings, representatives of nongovernmental stakeholders involved in that particular sector's response discuss their projects and exchange advice and information. Our evaluation of the meeting minutes of these groups suggests that their collaborative processes often operate with

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[16] Rules of origin aim to prevent distortions from free trade agreements. They specify the conditions required on the production of a good for this good to be deemed as originating from a given country (Smith, 2014). The EU agreement states that processing that uses non-originating materials as inputs can obtain originating status so long as it is completed in one of Jordan's Development Zones and Industrial Areas (European Commission, 2016). This policy will help many export-oriented firms take better advantage of the preexisting free trade agreement between Jordan and the EU as defined by the Euro-Mediterranean Agreement as of 2002 (European Commission, 2002).

[17] The agreement lists eighteen of such zones located in cities including Amman, Sahab, Aqaba, Zarqa, Mafraq, and Karak (European Commission, 2016).

[18] See Section 4.3 for more information on the delineation between "resilience" and "refugee" programs.

[19] The International Monetary Fund's Extended Fund Facility provides additional loans to countries that are struggling with loan repayment "because of structural impediments" or slow growth. For more background, see IMF (2017)

[20] Oxfam found that only 3% of the 5 million Syrians displaced in countries bordering Syria had been resettled as of 2016 (Oxfam, 2016).

some distance from government stakeholders,[21] yet participants are still bound to the strategic direction laid out in the JRP.

While UN agencies provide some services directly (such as WFP food vouchers) nongovernmental organizations oversee many projects for service delivery. Table 5 presents statistics on the share of funding these different entities receive, as well as their average funding per project. There are three primary types of nongovernmental, non-UN organizations. First, international nongovernmental organizations are numerous. Among non-ministry actors, these entities manage the most projects and have the largest average grant sizes. Second, royal charities – national organizations that are technically registered as NGOs but hold politically advantageous ties to government figures – maintain a role in the current response environment. Finally, grassroots NGOs manage fewer projects than INGOs do, and our estimates suggest that their projects obtain about half of the average budget of a royal charity. These differences in project frequency and grant size translate into a larger presence for international organizations in the service environment relative to local non-governmental entities.

Although not reflected in our project-level data, the majority of the non-governmental organizations we spoke to for our study affirmed that they collaborate with community-based organizations (CBOs) when operating in host communities. CBOs can offer the physical space, social legitimacy, and local knowledge that larger organizations need to run successful programming. Identifying good partner CBOs is important to a nongovernmental partner, who must ensure that the CBO in question will comply with the project mandate and has no potential biases towards our against any local groups. For example, one respondent, a program director, stressed the importance of avoiding partnerships with tribally oriented CBOs out of concern for the partisan use of resources.

The funneling of resources down to the CBO level may create some distortions. IPOs may have to compete over a CBO in good standing, and small but reliable CBOs may struggle to carry out the objectives of numerous partner organizations at a time. According to one of our respondents, the high demand and the relatively low supply of CBOs that meet the criteria of most NGOs gives CBOs some leverage. For example, one of the respondent's partner CBOs had once demanded more money to run a project based on what a different organization was offering them to run a second program.

2.4 Summary
To summarize the relationships between actors, Figure 3 depicts the flow of foreign aid, from donor commitment to local implementation. Donors (primarily foreign governments) allocate aid to nongovernmental organizations, UN agencies, or government ministries. The funding allocated to the Jordanian government is directed either to ministry budgets (to offset deficits) or to projects. To the best of our knowledge the use of this funding is not subject to evaluation by a second party.

For the numerous nongovernmental agencies involved in services for Syrians, government approval via the JORISS system is required prior to program implementation. This means that

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[21] For example, between December 2016 and November 2017, the Food Security Working Group's meeting minutes do not reference the attendance of any representative of a relevant ministry (Food Security Sector Working Group, 2016, 2017b, 2017c, 2017d, 2017e, 2017f). By contrast, the Education Sector Working Group's May 2017 meeting references the Ministry of Education's Mafraq representatives attending their working group (Education Sector Working Group, 2017c), and the Education sector working group makes other references to Ministry of Education representatives attending as speakers (Education Sector Working Group, 2017d). Regardless of the frequency with which ministry representatives are involved with their meetings, both of these groups reference their efforts to understand the JRP and operate within the JRP structure.

government actors maintain influence over the shape of the service environment beyond the programs that ministries are directly managing. While some nongovernmental organizations may be successful at attracting donor commitments directly, others must apply through UN agencies. For these organizations, their programs may have to match the priorities of both the original funding source and the awarding UN entity. Many nongovernmental organizations with funding and JORISS approval then rely on a community-based organization for local implementation.

3. Review of the service environment by sector

Based on our desk review and qualitative interviews, we next examine the service environment for Syrian refugees within our sectors of interest. While we can identify some of the major policies, as well as the types of programs that have been in operation, we cannot perfectly track where every service is available and where it is not. The reader must keep in mind that just because a particular type of program exists, this does not mean that that access to the program is universal or that program quality is standardized across implementing entities.

3.1 Documentation and services

Before examining each sector, we first must clarify some necessary prerequisites for Syrians applying to receive assistance. Syrian refugees in Jordan are required to hold two forms of documentation. First, they must register with UNHCR. Within camps, UNHCR issues a "Proof of Registration" document to refugee residents (NRC, 2016). Outside of camps, UNHCR issues refugees with an asylum-seeker certificate that confirms the holder as a "person of concern" (Amnesty International, 2016; NRC, 2016). The asylum-seeker certificate must be renewed on an annual basis (NRC, 2016).

Syrians in Jordan – regardless of their registration status with UNHCR – must also obtain a Ministry of Interior (MOI) service card at their local police station (UNHCR & JHAS, 2014). Since 2015, the service card application process requires submission of the following documents. First, applicants must submit their Syrian identity document,[22] which often means they must formally request to obtain documentation that was confiscated by the Jordanian authorities when they crossed the border (Amnesty International, 2016). Second, applicants must formally confirm their place of residence, either by presenting a certified lease and the landlord's identity document, having the landlord attest to their tenancy in-person (at the police station), or through a UNHCR-issued proof of address document. Third, the applicant must obtain a certificate from a Ministry of Health authorized medical facility indicating that they do not have an infectious diseases (Amnesty International, 2016). Since late 2015, the health certificate has cost 5 JD (7 USD) per applicant. Syrians must re-apply for an MOI service card if they move to a new district (NRC, 2016). As shown in Table 7, many services and programs require that a refugee hold UNHCR refugee status, an MOI card, or both.

3.2 Education

The education of Syrian refugee children is a high priority for the Jordanian government, and hence the Ministry of Education has been working to absorb the Syrian population living in host communities into preexisting basic and secondary public schools, where they study the Jordanian

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[22] A valid identity document for adults would be a Syrian passport or identity card. For children born in Syria, a passport or a "family book" (a government-issued document that a couple receives when they legally marry, which includes records of children) serve as proof of identity. Children born in Jordan must have a birth certificate issued by the Jordanian Civil Status Department to prove identity.

national curriculum. As of August 2017, there were 126,127 Syrian children enrolled in formal schools, both in and out of camps (UNICEF & MECI, 2017).

School-age children whose learning level is less than three years behind the appropriate level for their age who additionally hold UNHCR refugee status are eligible to register in formal schooling (UNICEF, 2015a). Until recently, children were also required to hold an MOI service card to enroll in school, but this requirement was dropped for the 2017-2018 academic year as part of a recent policy reform (Education Sector Working Group, 2017a).

In formal refugee camps, UNICEF has led an effort to provide education infrastructure and supplies for resident children, while the Ministry of Education provides the teachers, all of whom are Jordanian. In host communities, a common misperception (even among our respondents) is that the majority of Syrian children are segregated into evening shifts while Jordanians attend morning shifts. Indeed, some schools have established a double shift system to respond to growing demand (with Syrians attending second shifts), but many schools that serve Syrians have not done so. In 2016, about 63,000 Syrian children were enrolled in integrated, single shift schooling while 49,000 were attending the second shift (Human Rights Watch, 2016). Although second shift attendance is common, it does not appear to represent the majority of experiences of enrolled children, even outside of camps.

Despite current efforts, attendance has not reached a universal level among Syrian children (REACH, 2014a). Table 5 provides statistics on the enrollment of school-aged (aged 6-17) children by location, based on data from the MOE and UNHCR (Education Sector Working Group, 2017b). Overall enrollment is especially low in Za'atari camp, and nearly one-half of refugee children in host communities (aged 6-17) are not in school. Evidence suggests that school participation declines with age: in a 2015 study of refugee households in host communities, UNICEF found attendance to be at approximately 70% for boys and girls aged 6-11, but only 50% for those aged 12-17 (UNICEF, 2015a). Some of the lowest rates of participation in formal schooling are among Syrians living in informal tented settlements. In 2014, REACH found an enrollment rate of only 3.5% for households with school-aged children in informal areas in Mafraq (REACH, 2014b), and a 2014 study of informal settlements in the Jordan Valley encountered almost no children attending school (EMPHNET & UNHCR, 2014).

Several IPOs have launched campaigns to encourage children to return to school (ex: Save The Children; UNICEF, 2015). The *Learning for All* campaign, initiated as part of the 2017-2018 academic year, is trying to increase enrollment by offering additional catch-up programs to help children integrate back into the formal system (Education Sector Working Group, 2017a).

Other initiatives for improving education aim at training teachers and education facilitators, improving the built environment of schools, and providing various education support and alternative education programs to Syrian children. The latter programs fall under the following categories:

1. **Catch-up classes, or accelerated learning** programs target children aged 7-15 whose educations were interrupted by war and need temporary educational support so they can then enroll in formal school.
2. **Remedial education** programs operate alongside formal schooling and offer tutoring support for students (aged 6-17) struggling to transition into public schools after education disruptions or because of differences in educational curriculum.
3. **Non-formal education** captures all government-certified programs outside of public schools. Curricula for children (aged 12-18) are approved by the MOE, and programs allow

students to achieve grade-level equivalence through options such as evening studies, summer studies, and home schooling. Adult education and literacy programs for those age 18 and above also officially fall under non-formal education.

4. **Informal education** programs can vary broadly in terms of age groups and focus. These programs are not certified by the MOE and fall under the general categories of: basic learning, technical skills and post-basic education, and recreational activities (Education Sector Working Group, 2014).

Syrian students are allowed to take Jordan's *Tawjihi* secondary school exit exam (which determines university eligibility), but most require scholarships and financial support in order to afford enrollment in a Jordanian university or postsecondary institute (Christopherson, 2015). Several IPOs are encouraging the expansion of higher education opportunities for Syrian youth in Jordan, but so far, such initiatives have remained extremely limited (ARDD-Legal Aid, 2016).

School accessibility is an issue for children with disabilities, as the infrastructure in many schools does not meet their needs. IPOs specializing in disability mainstreaming are currently working to provide services such as physical rehabilitation, teacher support, and transport to and from school for students with physical, mental, or sensory impairments, though efforts are mostly concentrated in urban areas (Disability Task Force, 2017). Family counseling is another important service, as parents are often nervous about enrolling their children in mainstream schools due to lack of inclusion efforts (Handicap International, 2014). Implementing individual education plans for students with learning disabilities has met some resistance, though IPOs have pushed for this practice (Disability Task Force, 2017). A lack of formal training for working with children with disabilities extends to child friendly spaces as well, with most facilities ill-equipped for these students and teachers who are not trained to recognize or accommodate them (UNICEF, 2015a).

3.3 Livelihoods and cash assistance

Many Syrian refugees are highly reliant on direct support for basic needs, be it cash or in-kind. Basic needs programs target Syrians as well as Jordanians in host communities, but overall we find that more Syrians are served (UNHCR & PU-AMI, 2017). Syrians must be registered with UNHCR and have a service card with the MOI to be considered for cash assistance. To determine eligibility and household need, UNHCR uses guidelines from UNHCR's Vulnerability Assessment Framework (VAF); monthly cash assistance is distributed accordingly (UNHCR, 2016a). Until recently, these programs primarily targeted Syrians in host communities. However, a cash assistance program was launched in Za'atari in 2016, which enables cash poor families to participate in the camp's small economy (BNWG Za'atari Camp, 2016).

In 2016, monthly cash transfers in host communities generally ranged between 80 to 155 JD ($112-$218) per household. Refugees receive cash using ATM cards or, more recently, biometric recognition via iris scans (UNHCR, 2016a). This financial support is indeed helpful, yet the majority of recipients surveyed by UNHCR claim that their allowance is not enough to fully cover basic needs (UNHCR, 2016a). Moreover, due to financial constraints, not all eligible families receive support, and some remain on waitlists. In 2015, about 11,000 families were queuing for UNHCR cash assistance (NRC, 2015a). Other temporary and informal cash support mechanisms are at work. A seasonal emergency cash assistance program provides temporary financial relief for critical cases. Winterization cash support aims to help families purchase heaters and other winter necessities (Winterization Task Force, 2017).

Until the Jordan Compact, service providers described some tensions surrounding their livelihoods operations. After all, programming in technical and vocational skills (which livelihoods operations

focused most on) appeared to be encouraging the informal labor market participation that the Jordanian government was attempting to block. Nevertheless, some livelihoods programs did operate. For example, the NRC managed in-camp youth centers that offered technical skills in fields such as such as tailoring, cosmetology, and basic mechanical repair (Chaffin, 2016; JORISS, 2017).

Perhaps the most common livelihoods opportunities that predated the Jordan Compact were through cash-for-work (CFW) schemes. CFW encompasses the many market activities that IPOs operating within formal refugee camps can offer Syrian residents, such as teaching at non-formal education programs, collecting garbage, crafts-making, tailoring school uniforms, or childcare work (ACTED, 2016; Women, 2015). According to UNHCR guidelines established for Za'atari in 2015, wage rates for CFW workers ranged from 1 JD per hour for semi-skilled positions to 2-2.5 JD per hour for the highly and technically skilled (Basic Needs Working Group, 2015). For those higher-skilled workers, this rate exceeds the national minimum wage.

The 2016 creation of a work permit application program for Syrian refugees, with application fees waved as part of a "grace period" has resulted in the issuing of work permits to Syrian refugees in large numbers for the first time. For those interested in obtaining a work permit, both UNHCR status and a MOI card are prerequisites. The applicant also must have an employer sponsor his or her application with the Ministry of Labor – the employer must verify that the firm is in an "open sector" as opposed to a sector that is "closed" to non-citizens (Kelberer, 2017). Although the official policy states that the employer must prove that the firm is registered, evidence suggests that many permit-holders are still working without a contract (ILO, 2017).

It remains unclear how many permit-holding Syrian workers there are. The Jordanian MOL reported the issuing of over 70,000 work permits as of October 2017 (Yacoub, 2017), but this estimate counts the number of permits issued, not the number of permit holders: some workers may have received multiple permits under different sponsors (Lenner & Turner, 2018). The establishment of legal work opportunities brought in new services aimed at raising awareness of the permit program, educating Syrians about local labor law, supporting entrepreneurship, and spreading information on job opportunities (Livelihoods Working Group, 2017a). Initiatives that seek to monitor the quality of employment for permit-holding Syrians are also in operation.

A recent report from the ILO suggests that the main advantage of participation in the labor permit program relates to personal security, as permit-holding workers do not face the risk of being forcibly sent to a refugee camp or deported to Syria. Based on the ILO's data on working Syrians, they estimate negligible wage gains for permit-holders as compared to non-permit-holders with comparable skills. This finding is likely because the permit system is intended to funnel Syrians into low-skilled jobs formerly held by migrant workers, which are similar to jobs in the informal economy that non-permit workers take up. Moreover, the ILO found that two-thirds of permit holders do not have formal contracts with their employers, so while they are working legally, they are not engaged in the formal private sector as it is conventionally defined (ILO, 2017).

For Syrians in host communities with UNHCR and MOI documentation, the formal work registration made available via the Jordan Compact was intended as a major breakthrough. Nevertheless, recent evidence suggests that many eligible Syrians may not participate in this program. The downsides of working legally that Syrians cite are as follows: first, in many sectors, work permits tie the employee to a particular employer, which represents a reduction in flexibility as compared to an informal job (Kelberer, 2017). With no clear advantages in terms of bargaining with employers or challenging mistreatment, workers tied to employers are at a higher risk of

exploitation (ILO, 2017). Additionally, an employer outside of the agricultural sector is required to register the permit-holding worker in the social security system. While many employers are finding ways around this requirement (ILO, 2017), Syrians worry that the cost of participation in social security could fall entirely on them, resulting in direct reductions in their salary for benefits they may never receive. Finally, many Syrians worry that if they register as workers through the new scheme, they will lose aid benefits such as UNHCR cash assistance, though UNHCR argues that this is untrue (Bellamy, Haysom, Wake, & Barbelet, 2017; Razzaz, 2017). To many Syrian laborers, the greater security acquired through legal work does not offset the aforementioned concerns (REACH, 2017). Hence, while many have registered for formal permits, we should expect unwillingness to participate to persist among some workers.

3.4 Health and nutrition

Health care for refugees is provided at public, private, or NGO/charity clinics and hospitals.[23] Services are available on a pro-bono basis for camp residents but may prove expensive for host community residents without access to a charity clinic. Prior to the 2014 policy amendment, Syrian refugees could access public health facilities at the same rates as uninsured Jordanians (Amnesty International, 2016). Since 2014, the policy has been such that Syrians holding MOI service cards have been treated like uninsured Jordanians at public facilities and additionally pay a "foreigner's rate" which is 35-60% higher than for uninsured Jordanians (Amnesty International, 2016). Syrians without UNHCR status or MOI cards are ineligible for treatment at government health clinics (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2016).

Health services for refugees are strengthened by numerous initiatives aimed at providing new equipment and supplies, preventing the spread of diseases through immunization, awareness-raising about service access and preventative behavior, and targeted training of medical staff (JRPSC, 2015b). There are several other programs that seek to enhance access to healthcare. For example, Medair is incentivizing health-seeking behavior through cash-for-health programs in host communities. Additionally, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and the Noor al-Hussein Foundation (NHF) manage mobile clinics that serve rural-based populations (Health Sector Working Group, 2017). In certain locations, health screening programs monitor child health and flag cases of malnutrition (Nutrition Sub-Working Group, 2017).

Reproductive and family planning services are available through public facilities and some nongovernmental clinics. For example, the NHF's Institute of Family Health is operating in all formal refugee camps and numerous host communities. Aside from family medicine services, their clinics provide antenatal and postnatal care, family planning consultations, screenings for breast and cervical cancer, as well as testing and treatment of STIs (Nour al-Hussein Foundation, n.d.). Campaigns to promote reproductive health practices run by organizations such as Medair offer knowledge to expecting mothers on maternal and newborn care and breastfeeding. Campaigns also promote the use of family planning methods among women as well as men in and out of camps (Reproductive Health Sub-Working Group, 2017).

Health services for those with disabilities prioritize early identification and the prevention of further deterioration. The policies surrounding the distribution of mobility aids for the physical disabled target refugees with conditions that may deteriorate without the use of the item and for patients under the age of 18 (Disability Task Force, 2016). Psychological disabilities are primarily addressed through psychosocial programming (Section 2.5).

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[23] Services range from general to specialized care.

Food assistance is available for Syrians who qualify for programs with the WFP and other partner organizations. JRP food assistance programs additionally distribute support to Jordanian nationals who qualify (ACTED & WFP, 2017). For potential beneficiaries, UNHCR registration and MOI service cards are necessary for consideration. Documented Syrian refugees with expenditure per capita of less than 68 JD per month are eligible for food assistance. Refugees who are registered with UNHCR, hold a service card and fulfill the "vulnerability characteristics" laid out by the WFP are also eligible (World Food Program, 2015a).[24] Beneficiaries receive cash-based food vouchers either in the form of paper coupons or "E-cards." Both the cards and coupons can be used at contracted shops to purchase food. According to an interview respondent, the WFP is also piloting an unrestricted cash program for households that are food insecure.

WFP assistance to targeted families in host communities is generally valued at 10 JD (14.1 USD) per person per month. The one exception is for households where income is less than 30 JD (42.3 USD) per capita per month. These host community-based households receive 20 JD (28.2 USD) per person per month in food assistance (World Food Program, 2015a). In camps, Syrians are provided in-kind and voucher-based support valued at about 20 JD (28.2 USD) per person per month. Camp residents also receive daily distributions of free bread (World Food Program, 2016). Additionally, school feeding programs are becoming increasingly available in camps (ACTED & WFP, 2017).

The food security sector has faced funding issues in the past. Insufficient funds forced the WFP to severely cut its food assistance to Syrians in host communities in 2015 (Reuters, 2015; World Food Program, 2015b). The sector has advocated for better financial resources, which have expanded their scope since then. However, the sector is currently struggling to reach its targets for Azraq Camp, and funding limitations have stalled the implementation of nutrition awareness programming (Food Security Sector Working Group, 2017a).

3.5 Shelter and WASH
In host communities, shelter programs respond to poor quality housing, insufficient supply of housing units, and relatively high rental costs for Syrian refugees. These programs additionally serve Jordanians. The NRC's Urban Shelter Program is the largest effort to address supply-side issues. In several areas in Irbid, Ajloun, and Jerash governorates, the organization offered financial incentives and technical support to landlords to finish partially constructed housing and build new units to house Syrian renters. Syrian refugee households were also provided with temporary (12-14 month) rent-free housing, as well as relocation assistance. Beside the NRC's program, Syrians have access to temporary rent assistance on a need basis, and they can access awareness-raising programs focused on housing and property rights (Shelter Sector Working Group, 2016).

In camps, Syrian households have access to emergency tents (Shelter Sector Working Group, 2017) and are allocated a caravan for longer-term stays. Caravan upgrades also take place, as households are provided with better-designed units and shelters are connected to electricity grids. Households frequently move their caravans within the Za'atari camp, often rearranging them such that they form a courtyard space for extended families that offers some outdoor privacy and aligns with cultural customs (Ledwith, 2014). However, UNHCR is working to maintain the master plan of the camps based on a grid system. Their goal is to ensure that every household is optimally

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[24] The following are examples where (service card and UNHCR registration-holding) households are automatically included in partial assistance of 10JD per capita per month: households where over one-third of members are children, single elderly applicants over the age of 60, families with a member who has a physical or mental handicap. For the full list, see World Food Program (2015a).

situated in terms of streets and services and to avoid clustering near communal toilets and kitchens (UNHCR, 2016b).

Water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH) programs focus on clean water access and waste management. In host communities, water-related activities include drilling and maintaining boreholes, strengthening infrastructure (such as pump stations and pipeline networks) and monitoring water quality. Wastewater systems are also expanded and rehabilitated (WASH in HC Task Force, n.d.). These projects serve both refugees and Jordanians in host communities (WASH Sector Working Group, 2017a).

Camp residents have access to public toilets connected to maintained septic tanks, and solid waste is removed on a daily basis, while potable water supplies are brought in on trucks daily. In Za'atari, internal boreholes provide additional access to water supplies (UNHCR, 2016c). In Azraq, a nearby borehole connected to a pipeline pumps into storage stations within the camp (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, 2017). Hygiene awareness programs in camps promote hand-washing and sanitary behavior and aim to mitigate the spread of disease (WASH Sector Working Group, 2017b).

3.6 Protection
The term "protection" captures various activities intended to support the beneficiary community's mental health and physical and mental safety. Protection programs strive to inform refugees of their rights, offer psychological support services, protect women and children from abuse, reunify families separated during displacement, and pursue resettlement possibilities for specific cases (Protection Sector Working Group, 2016a). Protection services will often target multiple dimensions of the sector's mandate simultaneously and frequently intersect the goals laid out by health, education, or livelihoods programming.

Programs targeting children and women extend safe spaces in and out of camps and often offer a mix of psychological, social, legal and/or educational services. One safe space model for children that is being promoted in Jordan is the Makani (Arabic for "my space/place") program (UNICEF, 2015b). Makani centers offer alternative education, skill building programs, psychosocial support, as well as space for recreational and social activities. The main beneficiaries are those aged 5-24, but Makani also targets parents with awareness raising on topics such as education and child labor (UNICEF, 2015c). Other safe spaces, such as the UNFPA's program in Karak, target women and offer psychosocial counseling as well as reproductive services (SGBV Sub-Working Group, 2017a).

Targeted services are also available to survivors of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), including those who have experienced domestic violence, early marriage, and sexual violence (SGBV Sub-Working Group, 2015). For example, the Arab Women's Union and UNICEF provide case management and referral services that connect survivors to health resources and legal aid. Due to stigmas surrounding SGBV, reaching survivors requires additional efforts on the part of the service providers. Organizations use educational campaigns to raise social awareness of the problem among government officials, service providers, and male community members (UNHCR & NRC, 2017a). Efforts have also been taken to promote quality assurance standards for survivors of sexual assault and domestic violence in the Jordanian health sector (SGBV Sub-Working Group, 2017b). For SGBV survivors, UNHCR additionally manages a hotline that offers support and referral five days a week; however, awareness of this resource appears to be low (Villanueva, 2015).

3.7 Services in informal tented settlements

Over 16,000 Syrian refugees reside in informal tented settlements (ITS) and the highest concentration of these settlements is near Za'atari camp in Mafraq. REACH has conducted the most comprehensive study of this population, focusing on Mafraq, Balqa, and Irbid governorates. They found that many households in these settlements are attached to the agricultural sector. Approximately 30% of ITS households in Mafraq and 70% in Balqa governorates received income from agricultural wage labor. Household heads tend to have comparably low levels of educational attainment. The populations of these areas are also rather young. REACH found that 78% of ITS residents were below the age of eighteen as of 2014 (REACH, 2014b).

Residence in an informal settlement presents unique challenges, as public works and basic infrastructure are often lacking or nonexistent. According to REACH (2014b), some of the greatest obstacles are related to hygienic practices. They found that 40% of ITS households did not have access to a latrine and that unsanitary water storage practices were common. As a result, ITS households reported high rates of diarrhea and fevers.

ITS residents do benefit from some services and programs. Reliance on food vouchers is common. REACH found that 80% of informal tented settlement-based Syrian refugees in Balqa rely exclusively on WFP assistance or on a combination of WFP vouchers and additional food support from other NGOs for their food consumption. Humanitarian actors have additionally targeted informal tented settlements during vaccination campaigns (REACH, 2014b). According to a respondent whose organization works in these settlements, non-governmental actors also establish temporary facilities that offer education and psychosocial programs and distribute winterization kits to ITS residents.

4. Vulnerability and barriers to services

In UNHCR's Vulnerability Assessment Framework (VAF) conducted for Jordan in 2015, they define vulnerability as:

> The risk of exposure of Syrian refugee households to harm, primarily in relation to protection threats, inability to meet basic needs, limited access to basic services and food insecurity, and the ability of the population to cope with the consequence of this harm (UNHCR, 2015).

This exposure may be defined in relation to an exogenous shock, such as the illness of an adult household member or a job loss (Birkmann, 2006). But exposure to such shocks may also be chronic, as in the case of extreme poverty traps (UNDP, 2014). Exposure and coping capacity are a function not only of an individual or household's characteristics, but also of their social and institutional environment (Cutter, Boruff, & Shirley, 2003).

This section seeks to evaluate sources of vulnerability by examining what phenomena are driving refugees into unsafe conditions where they are more exposed to hazards and/or are less able to cope with extreme events (Blaikie, Cannon, Davis, & Wisner, 1994). We organize this evaluation by driving mechanisms; hence, instead of asking "why are Syrian children not attending school?" we ask, "how does fear and insecurity affect school attendance, and what other outcomes does it affect?" Through this framework, we shed light on problems that cut across traditional aid sectors, an exercise that demonstrates the importance of cross-sector collaboration to address challenges that affect numerous dimensions of wellbeing.

4.1 Lack of documentation

At the moment it is near impossible to accurately estimate the number of Syrians who qualify as refugees in Jordan and are unregistered with UNHCR and/or MOI. Of the 520,000 out-of-camp Syrian refugees registered with UNHCR in 2016, 30% were not registered with the MOI (Albarazi & Van Waas, 2016). This statistic still does not provide us with any idea of how many Syrians lack both UNHCR status and MOI cards. For those without proper documentation, many vital services are simply off-limits, as shown in Table 6.

There are various factors that influence documentation. First, awareness of requirements may still be insufficient for some sub-populations. In 2016, youth were found to be three times more likely to not be registered with UNHCR, often because they were unaware of registration requirements and procedures (CARE International, 2016). Another group with insufficient documentation consists of those who leave refugee camps without formal approval. Before 2014, the official channel to exit camps consisted of a "bailout" system under which Jordanian nationals could pay for the release of a Syrian from a camp.[25] This program has been tightened in recent years. Since 2014, a refugee has to be sponsored by a relative in order to be bailed out (CARE International, 2015). After formal bailout became more difficult, several thousand[26] camp-based Syrians have chosen to depart without authorization. When a refugee does so outside of the bailout system, she must also abandon her UNHCR asylum-seeker documentation. Documentation policies for those who depart camps without authorization were enacted parallel to the new bailout rules. In 2014, the Jordanian government instructed UNHCR not to allow camp runaways to re-apply for asylum-seeker status in Jordan. The MOI also refuses to issue them documentation (Human Rights Watch, 2016). Without the required documents from UNHCR and the MOI, these refugees are incapable of accessing numerous forms of humanitarian aid that they are eligible for on a needs basis.

Another group whose documentation remains precarious in Jordan is the Palestinian-Syrians, the "twice refugees" of the conflict. Since 2012, the Jordanian government has established a policy in which Palestinians who legally resided in Syria at the onset of the conflict were not allowed to cross into Jordan. Jordan's Royal Court justified this decision by arguing that if admitted, Palestinians from Syria would settle in Jordan permanently, increasing the size of the Palestinian population in Jordan and negatively affecting Jordan's security (Human Rights Watch, 2014).

Nevertheless, many Palestinians from Syria managed to cross the border to Jordan, either by claiming that their documentation had been destroyed and feigning Syrian citizenship, using forged or inauthentic forms of Syrian identification, or paying smugglers to take them over unofficial crossings.[27] UNRWA estimated that approximately 14,000 Palestinians from Syria successfully crossed the border between 2012 and 2014 (UNRWA, n.d.). Because formal registration with UNHCR and MOI could result in deportation, many of these refugees remain undocumented and therefore have extremely limited access to services.

Children born in Jordan to Syrian refugee parents who are legally married can obtain birth certificates and Syrian citizenship. However, some struggle with the obstacles to birth registration, leaving their children born in Jordan stateless. Couples with no official proof of marriage (or who were married outside of official procedures) are unable to register a child's birth (Albarazi & Van

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[25] As of 2014, the bailout 15 JD (22 USD) per refugee, and in the event that the sponsored refugee breaks local laws outside of the camp, the sponsor was required to pay up to 5,000 JD (about 7,000 USD) in penalties (Sullivan & Tobin, 2016).

[26] In 2015, UNHCR claimed that 160,000 Syrians had left Za'atari camp without formal authorization (NRC, 2015b)

[27] Some Palestinians from Syria did have Jordanian passports and/or identification cards that were expired or up to date. The effectiveness of these forms of identification at the border varied in the early years of the war, with many being denied entry despite Jordanian documentation (Human Rights Watch, 2014).

Waas, 2016). In some cases, confusion about requirements for birth registration has resulted in delays that complicate the process of obtaining a birth certificate. If a family waits more than one year since the birth to register the child, the family must file a lawsuit in the Jordanian Magistrates courts in order to obtain the certificate (NRC, 2016).

4.2 Poverty

A large percentage of Syrian refugees residing in host communities face chronic poverty. The 2015 Vulnerability Assessment Framework (VAF) found that 86% of Syrian refugee individuals were living below the Jordanian poverty line of 68 JD per month[28] (UNHCR, 2015). Rent costs weigh heavily on families (CARE International, 2016; REACH, 2014a; Un Ponte Per, 2012), and families may resort to sharing apartments to cut costs, resulting in overcrowding (UNHCR, UNICEF, & WFP, 2014). The expense of public health facilities restricts access to needed care for some poor refugees, especially for specialized care (Bellamy, Haysom, Wake, & Barbelet, 2017; Doocy, Lyles, Akhu-Zaheya, et al., 2016; REACH, 2014a). Cash assistance helps for enrolled households, but most families find that current allocation levels are not enough to cover their basic needs (UNHCR, 2015). After several years displacement, many families have depleted their savings and fallen into debt[29] (UNHCR, 2016a).

The persistent poverty observed among Syrians in Jordanian host communities is associated with numerous adverse outcomes. CARE International has noted a reduction in expenditures among Syrians. While there are currently no signs of starvation, Syrians do report cutting food costs by skipping meals periodically and reducing food intake (CARE International, 2016; UNICEF, 2013).

Another coping strategy for some households is child labor. In 2014, UNHCR, UNICEF, and the WFP estimated that there were 30,000 children engaged in child labor (UNHCR, UNICEF, & WFP, 2014). Because the consequences for illegal labor can be severe and child labor is not as easy to detect as adult labor, many families have resorted to sending their children to work, often earning a few JD per day by distributing tea and drinks in the cities, or by working in the agricultural sector in rural areas (UNICEF, 2013). For these children, the need to provide for their families blocks regular attendance of formal school, resulting in lower human capital accumulation (REACH, 2014b). Female-headed households are especially likely to have children who are foregoing school for work (Terre des Hommes 2013). Community centers such as the Makani safe spaces also struggle to reach working children because of their schedules and obligations.

Poor families may also resort to marrying off a female child, as marriage can provide the child with financial security through her spouse and slightly alleviate the household's burden (UNICEF, 2014; Women's Refugee Commission, 2014). Married girls are likely to drop out of school, and child marriage is associated with numerous negative economic and social outcomes for the married girl and her children (Lee-Rife, Malhotra, Warner, & Glinski, 2012). CARE International reported an increase in reported marriage among Syrian minors in Jordan between 2015 and 2016 (CARE International, 2016).

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[28] This study's sample draws from Syrians registered with UNHCR and therefore may be biased because it misses cases of undocumented families with limited access to humanitarian assistance. Or, if many of those unregistered choose not to do so because they do not need financial support, then the bias would go in the other direction.

[29] A 2014 study found that Syrian households outside of camps had accrued an average of 500 JD worth of debt (Zetter, Ruaudel, Miller, et al., 2014). Average debt today may be even higher among families who continued to borrow.

4.3 Fear and insecurity

While they may have escaped the horrors of the civil war, many Syrian families in Jordan do not feel safe. In and out of camps, low levels of security keep many youth at home, especially girls and young women (REACH, 2014c; Terre des Hommes, 2013; UK Aid, UNICEF, & IMC, 2014; Un Ponte Per, 2012; UNHCR, UNICEF, & WFP, 2014; UNICEF, 2013, 2015b). Fears surrounding the commute from home to a program or service stymies participation in recreational, educational, and psychosocial programs for eligible young people. The additional fear of what may happen once within an institution further blocks integration into programs such as formal schools.

Syrians are fearful of the Jordanian authorities and of harassment from Syrians and Jordanians alike. Some of our interview respondents suggested that Syrians do not always feel that the Jordanian police forces genuinely care about protecting them. Sexual harassment has been a persistent issue as well. Fear of such abuse begets social isolation and depression. This fear disproportionately affects females who are more likely to be kept at home by family members hoping to protect them from harassment (CARE International, 2015).

Insecurity is context-specific. For example, a UNHCR evaluation of the Emirati Jordanian Camp (EJC) found that female residents felt safe there. Respondents who were transferred to EJC from another camp actually contrasted the security they have experienced at EJC to the lack of security they felt at Za'atari (UNHCR, 2013). Evidence from Aqaba and Tafilah suggests that Syrian refugees there are more comfortable approaching local authorities for help (Terre des Hommes, 2013). Based on reports such as Ledwith (2014), UNHCR (2013), Amnesty International (2016) and our qualitative evidence, it appears that insecurity is quite high in Azraq and Za'atari camps, though it is difficult to accurately capture variations in self-perceived security in host communities.

To understand the persistent fear among Syrian refugees, we first must understand the severity of the social interruption that forcibly leaving Syria represents. As one respondent pointed out, many Syrians lost generations-old community ties that they relied on in everyday life. This likely contributes to perceptions of individual and family safety. Additionally, as a respondent working in Azraq camp pointed out, it also ruptures the informal code of community accountability such that verbal harassment can take place in public spaces without fear of repercussions for the harasser. In some spaces, Syrians do continue to benefit from shared familial ties with those around them, but this could lead to abuse from the majority group towards the minority. For example, research in Za'atari suggests that family clans from Dara'a – who represent the majority of the camp residents – will intimidate and harass camp residents from other parts of Syria (Zetter, Ruaudel, Miller, et al., 2014).

In terms of local security forces, there have been considerable investments from UNHCR and INGOs to train police officers in conduct with refugees (Sullivan & Tobin, 2016). Nevertheless, security forces are often perceived as strangers who can wield tremendous power against refugees through punitive measures such as forcibly sending out-of-camp populations to a camp or deportation back to Syria (Hayden, 2017).

It remains difficult to accurately estimate how many refugees have been deported back to Syria, or to fully understand the specific violations that can lead to deportation. We know that those caught working illegally are at risk of being sent against their will to a refugee camp, and in some cases these laborers are deported to Syria. Refugees lacking required documentation in host communities also fear deportation at the hands of local police (NRC, 2016). Additionally, we have heard of cases in our qualitative interviews where the grounds for *refoulement* were either problematic or highly vague (Human Rights Watch, 2017b). As one of our respondents pointed

out, such practices result in the perception among refugees that they could be subject to forced deportation at any time, for any reason. Regardless of how common deportation is, the lack of clarity surrounding what Syrian refugees may or may not do to protect their status in Jordan exacerbates fear and mistrust towards the Jordanian authorities.

4.4 Effects of war: trauma and life interruption

The consequences of the civil war in Syria have been devastating. Many Syrian refugees have witnessed tremendous violence and have suffered the loss of family members. Refugees have been forced to abandon networks, businesses, property, and plans to fulfill a desired life course trajectory. We argue that this interruption, and the violent nature of it, places many at a disadvantage when attempting to transition into new lives in Jordan.

Trauma among refugees is often concentrated among those who did not flee preventatively and were forced to leave home once the violence had reached their community, often at a moment's notice (George, 2010). These experiences can lead to post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and clinical depression (Questscope, 2013). Reports have touched on youth behavior that is symptomatic of these ailments, such as nightmares, self-cutting, "troublemaking behavior" (UK Aid, UNICEF, & IMC, 2014), self-isolation, and intense periods of fear, anger, and hopelessness (IMC & SIGI-JO, 2015). While many organizations are trying to support Syrians with trauma-related mental disorders through psychosocial programming (UNHCR & NRC, 2017b), access to professional mental health services is ultimately limited by the lack of qualified mental health workers.

Mental health challenges can interfere with a refugees' access to services. Without treatment, depression can lead to withdrawal such that those at need are discouraged from social interactions and programming offered at safe spaces (Questscope, 2013; UNHCR, UNICEF, & WFP, 2014). Maternal depression is also linked to poor outcomes for children such as school absenteeism (Claessens, Engel, & Curran, 2015). Children with an experience of trauma struggle in classrooms where teachers are not adequately trained to understand their needs.

War leaves a psychological scar, but it also alters the life trajectory. This sudden disruption of an individual's dreams and aspirations likely feeds into the mental health disorders mentioned. The disruption can also result in other long-term negative outcomes when refugees struggle to get back on the track that their lives were previously on. Education is perhaps the most salient example of this disruption. For many children who relocated to Jordan, years of displacement and uncertainty passed before the prospect of returning to formal school was viable. Those who missed three years of school or more no longer have the option for regular enrollment. Many others struggle to transition back into schooling due to the discontinuity between when they dropped out in the academic year and the level of re-entry available (REACH, 2014a; UNICEF & REACH, 2014).

While the psychological effects of war may be widespread, the physical consequences can even more deeply affect formerly healthy children and youth. Injuries from war are prevalent in Jordan, with 1 in 15 refugees having such an injury (Handicap International, 2014). While injuries are more prevalent in men aged 30-50, children and youth have also sustained injuries, often sustained in damaged homes or in fleeing attacks. Rehabilitation and care are necessary for those with injuries to prevent or minimize permanent health conditions or disability (Handicap International, 2014).

3.5 Low social integration

In some cases, Syrian refugees report positive relationships with their Jordanian neighbors, and Syrian refugees sometimes benefit from shared tribal ties with Jordanians in the areas they settle.[30] However, tensions between Jordanian and Syrian communities persist. Much of this friction is tied to anxiety over the competition for resources such as public schools (REACH, 2014c), water, and health facilities (REACH, 2014d). The belief that Syrians are "stealing jobs" from Jordanians and driving rent prices up additionally contributes to frictions between the two groups (Razzaz, 2017). Jordan's media has further encouraged the practice of blaming Syrians for Jordan's economic, institutional, and social ailments (REACH, 2014d).

In terms of services, the frustration felt towards Syrians can lead to issues at the delivery level. For our qualitative work, we met many young Jordanian service providers working for IPOs who had no problematic assumptions or stigmas against the refugee population. Frontline staff bias is perhaps most common in schools. In and out of refugee camps, there have been numerous reports of physical abuse and mistreatment at the hands of Jordanian teachers (UNHCR, UNICEF, & WFP, 2014).

Frictions between Jordanian and Syrian adolescents are also at play. In schools, Syrian families report instances of bullying and harassment (REACH, 2014c; UNHCR, UNICEF, & WFP, 2014). This makes Syrians feel less welcome at schools, which can influence absenteeism and dropouts. Outside of schools, Syrian young people also report harassment (UNHCR, UNICEF, & WFP, 2014; Women's Refugee Commission, 2014). These incidents make Syrian youth feel less safe and lead to restrictions in mobility, particularly for girls and young women. These social integration issues are also likely to cause confusion among parents and combined with other factors, such as the use of different curriculum, may lead to family members feeling increasingly apathetic about the benefits of children attending school (Women's Refugee Commission, 2014).

3.6 Poor infrastructure and limited resources

State infrastructure in many areas of Jordan had challenges prior to 2011 (Huser, 2015), and water supply problems are not new to the country. However, the population influx places strain on public school buildings, hospitals, water supplies, sewage systems, and electricity grids. In some cases, infrastructure simply cannot accommodate the new population. Some Syrian children still do not have access to education because there is insufficient space for them at local schools[31] (UNHCR, UNICEF, & WFP, 2014). Primary and secondary health care facilities sometimes struggle to meet increased demand (Handicap International, 2014).

For disabled refugees, the built environment is often not sufficient for their needs. For example, school infrastructure often serves as a barrier to education. Many stairwells, doorways, and bathrooms are inaccessible to those with mobility impairments. (Handicap International, 2014).

Water resources are also insufficient. Jordan's water resource availability per capita is among the lowest in the world, and water availability is only expected to worsen in the coming years (WASH Sector Working Group, 2017a). Population growth associated with refugee inflows has affected the water availability, with many host community residents reporting lower water availability. UNICEF found that while Syrian refugees in host communities have access to water, half of those

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[30] For example, Questscope (2013) points out that some former resident of Homs have tribal ties with Jordanians in Mafraq, and there are also tribal ties between Dara'a, Syria and Ramtha, Jordan.
[31] It is difficult to quantify how many Syrians are out of school because of the lack of open spaces at their nearby public school. In a 2015 interview with the principal of an Amman public school, the principal explained that Syrian students were enrolled until the school met its maximum capacity and that they were unable to accommodate all applicants.

surveyed said that the water was only available once a week (UNICEF, 2013). Low water access drives negative hygiene outcomes, and conserving water in between access days increases the likelihood of contamination from waterborne illnesses.

WASH resources also overlap with school infrastructure issues to exacerbate barriers to education, with many schools lacking enough bathrooms or janitorial staff, to accommodate a large influx of students. In a 2013 assessment of 474 schools, UNICEF found that only 37 percent of mixed-gender schools with both Syrians and Jordanians enrolled had gender differentiated bathrooms, only 83 of 151 schools that had disabled students had toilets disabled students could access, and 4.5 percent of schools assessed had no toilet or toilets in very poor condition (UNICEF, 2013).

Most Syrian refugees in urban areas reside in homes connected to public sewage networks (UNICEF, 2013). Despite this, the population increase puts added strain on the waste management and treatment systems. The water shortage also stresses sanitation facilities, raising public health and environmental concerns regarding contamination (WASH Sector Working Group, 2017a). Syrian refugees living in informal settlements have no access to public water or waste management networks (EMPHNET & UNHCR, 2014). These populations are at highest risk for poor health outcomes related to infrastructural access.

Within camps, low access to basic household technology results in more strenuous domestic duties. One of our respondents pointed out that in Azraq Camp, households do not have washing machines for clothes and have no direct access to hot water. Maintaining the household requires many hours of effort, and female youth may forego schooling to help their mothers with these labor-intensive tasks.

3.7 Lack of trained personnel
The increased demand for school has led to the hiring of new Jordanian teachers, and while we spoke to a respondent whose organization is working to improve the skill level of teachers, other service providers report the quality of instruction as poor. A project manager at Azraq described the teachers who are being sent to work in camps as "the worst" that the MOE has to offer, which is likely due to lack of experience in the classroom and possibly related to stigmas against Syrians.

Limited availability of trained human resources is especially a challenge in the health sector. Reports and accounts from our respondents suggest that Jordan lacks enough trained psychological professionals equipped to meet the mental health needs of Syrians and Jordanians alike (Abo-Hilal & Said Yousef, 2014; IMC & SIGI-JO, 2015; Protection Sector Working Group, 2016b). Amnesty International's research on services for the disabled and war-wounded found that rehabilitation centers serving Syrians are scarce in Jordan and that many applicants wait over a year for treatment (Amnesty International, 2016). Alianza por la Solidaridad's work in southern Jordan showed that public health providers lacked sufficient training in SGBV response (Villanueva, 2015).

3.7 Social stigma
Despite the best of intentions from service providers, social stigma can still keep potential beneficiaries from accessing programs, particularly those related to SGBV, mental health, and disabilities. In one study, UNICEF found that 60% of their interviewees refused to report on sexual violence (UNICEF, 2013). Cultural sensitivities about SGBV result in the underreporting of cases among Syrian refugees (Foreign Affairs Denmark 2014) and the containment of such issues within the home (UN Women, 2013). Cultural norms also prohibit certain types of cases from being noticed or even considered, such as SGBV against boys and men (Alianza por la Solidaridad, 2015).

Stigmas also exist around mental health needs. A 2014 report estimated that 20% of the Zarqa population (including Syrians) were affected by a "mild or moderate" mental disorder (depression, anxiety, PTSD), yet the majority of these respondents did not seek treatment (PU-AMI, 2014). Because of stigmas around mental health, mental illnesses are often not even identified by family when they manifest (Ay, Arcos Gonzalez, & Castro Delgado, 2016). Similar stigma exists around those with intellectual disabilities, likely leading to underreporting of those with specific learning needs (Handicap International, 2014).

3.8 Institutionally neglected populations
A handful of our respondents felt that males were often neglected by the current programs in operation. Of course, male refugees may benefit from transfer programs (for food, cash assistance) and men are the primary recipients of work permits (Yacoub, 2017). However, there do not appear to be programs that target the unique psychological needs of male refugees, who also suffer from trauma and other mental health issues (Women's Refugee Commission, 2014). In fact, many psychosocial programs that could be beneficial to men and women restrict participation to females only (Turner, 2016).

One of our respondents felt that donors were less inclined to invest in male services because of the perception that females are more vulnerable in all cases. In his work in public schools, he felt that there was a greater need to invest in boys' schools, as they reported higher incidences of violence and lower achievement rates. Nevertheless, he felt that donors were unwilling to consider a redistribution of resources that would direct assistance away from girls, who were assumed to have higher needs in all settings.

Females face tremendous risks in the refugee setting, but it is important to recognize the vulnerabilities of boys and young men as well and to allocate resources towards addressing the unique challenges they face.

3.9 Interactions between driving factors
The factors listed in this section interact with each other, further limiting access to services. For example, documentation issues exacerbate poverty among those who cannot access services, and in many cases poverty can serve as a barrier to documentation when refugees cannot afford the costs of time and fees to get an MOI card. The lack of documentation exacerbates fears and insecurity. Factors that lead to coping through isolation (fear or trauma) interfere with any activities that could encourage integration. Competition over resources such as water creates tensions between Syrian and Jordanian communities, further compromising cohesion. These fissures may drive negative behaviors such as harassment, making refugees feel even more afraid to leave the home. The combination of stressors such as poverty, trauma, and fundamental shifts in social roles due to displacement are tied to domestic and sexual violence (Quosh et al 2013). The purposeless that young men experience may exacerbate traumas incurred during the war, yet stigmas surrounding mental health serve as barriers to psychosocial programs.

4. Discussion
Section 3 highlighted the substantial efforts being made by state and non-governmental stakeholders to provide services for Syrian refugees. Nevertheless, gaps in services persist, and many Syrian children and youth are not accessing the services they need. Because this report engaged with service providers, this section shares their perspectives on the different institutional challenges they encounter, as addressing these challenges may lead to more effective programming and problem-solving. Although we do not always have a clear policy recommendation, we believe

that stakeholders should keep the following findings in mind as they seek to improve the current response.

4.1 Persistent challenges in the aid sector

Some of the institutional challenges our respondents described are prevalent in the aid industry. For example, many stressed their frustrations with donors and accountability. Because of the degree of communication and compliance expected from donors, service providers often feel that "the client is not the beneficiary, the client is the donor." When service providers feel that they must answer to the donor before the beneficiary, they may implement programs that do not correspond to the realities of beneficiaries (Chambers, 1997). This restricts the effectiveness of the effort.

Another related issue concerns the capacity of local organizations. In a 2015 interview, a UNHCR director stressed the importance of transitioning responsibilities from international to local organizations to enhance the sustainability of longer-term efforts. However, the general picture our interviews depicts local NGOs and CBOs as financially constrained and lacking in technical expertise for the aid sector. There are certainly exceptions. Some of our respondents spoke proudly of their organization's efforts to help their partner CBOs in terms of management and the procuring of grants. We also spoke to a CBO transitioning into an NGO that had done so with the help of a partner INGO. Nevertheless, investments in such efforts appear limited.

INGOs and UN agencies possess the technical knowledge to navigate the logistics of humanitarian and development aid, especially when it comes to the management of large grants. However, many Jordanian service providers we spoke to were frustrated by the lack of local knowledge among INGO and UN leadership. Jordanian staff members often represent a large portion of office staff and are obtaining more influence in the JRP environment. Yet at many organizations, the barriers to entry for upper management positions lead to the under-representation of local aid professionals.

4.2 Governance, trust, and refugee response

Our evidence suggests that the current relationship between the Jordanian government ministries and UN agencies has room for improvement. On one hand, government officials at the JRPSC and MoPIC have expressed frustration with the UN's assumed leadership role. As one public servant stressed in 2017, Jordan "is not Haiti or Afghanistan," and local authorities are uncomfortable by the level of authority assumed by UN and INGO actors based on previous experiences. Another government respondent alleged that the UN is "donor driven" such that Jordan's genuine needs are not their top priority. Even after obtaining ultimate decision-making power over the response through the JRPSC, government respondents were still not confident that UN actors are willing to work directly under their leadership.

Although some of the UN representatives we spoke to understood the Jordanian government's decision to play a directing role, a forthcoming member of UNHCR's 2015 leadership expressed frustrations with the government's motivations and effectiveness. The respondent believed the JRPSC and MoPIC were trying to shift resources away from refugees and towards Jordanians. The respondent was worried that the Jordanian government would advocate for "the least refugee-oriented aspects of the JRP" at the London Conference.

4.3 Refugee vs. resilience programming in the JRP

Since its inception, the JRP has divided programs into "refugee" and "resilience" categories with separate budgets. The JRP provides no clear definition of what they mean by "resilience" projects

to other stakeholders, leading to confusion among service-providers as to what categories their programs fall into. Many of our respondents saw the push for resilience programming as a conscious effort by the Jordanian government to promote a sustainable development solution. Such stakeholders associated resilience with infrastructure-oriented initiatives (building schools, drilling boreholes, etc.). Other respondents saw refugee programming as camp-based while resilience programming is host community-based. This is not entirely consistent with JRP definitions, as many refugee programs operate in host communities. We found among other respondents that the term "resilience" was understood as "Jordanian," and that the goal of resilience programming is to ensure that the national population would benefit from aid resources currently flowing into Jordan.

The reality may fall somewhere in the middle of these beliefs. Figure 5 provides a guide for IPOs in defining their program type. All camp-based efforts, and any assistance that "primarily" targets Syrians falls in the "refugee" category, while projects that enhance public services or assistance programs with a more even mix of Jordanian and Syrian beneficiaries classify as "resilience" projects. While the outline in Figure 5 is helpful, many vital questions remain unanswered. How large must the Syrian population be in a host community for it to merit resilience program investment in public works? What does it mean for a project to "mainly" target refugees? The lack of clarity in the refugee-resilience project typology is problematic, as it creates confusion among administrators about priority areas. The classification could be more useful to stakeholders if a more specific definition of program types were introduced.

4.4 JORISS applications and programming delays

Some of the program officers we spoke to were frustrated by the delays in implementation introduced by the JORISS approval system. As mentioned, approval takes several months to complete, which is an issue primarily because organizations can apply for approval only after they have received a grant to fund the project. Donors allocate resources for a project and specify a timeline during which that funding may be spent. The JORISS application cuts into this timeline, resulting in months of potential delay while waiting for project approval. A larger organization may qualify for longer-term grants such that the delays are less costly, but for smaller organizations, donors frequently define shorter durations over which a grant may be used. We spoke to a program officer at one emerging NGO who said for their grants, which are usually capped at one year, losing half of the potential implementation time due to the JORISS application process severely compromised their effectiveness within a given project.

The JORISS system can, in some cases, introduce additional delays. One of our respondents working with an INGO spoke of a program application where their relevant line ministry, the MoE, addressed the approval letter for the INGO's program to the INGO and not MoPIC, leading to application delays that ultimately led to the dissolution of the project. An NGO worker who drafted applications for JORISS approval additionally told us that for any clarification, she had to go to the relevant ministry in person and wait for a meeting.

The JORISS is an important coordination mechanism, but the delays it introduces may affect an IPO's ability to use grants efficiently and can inhibit smaller NGOs that only qualify for short project timelines. Donors must adapt to the application requirements such that organizations have sufficient time to use resources effectively. This could be achieved through relatively straightforward policy reform. Donors could either start the count for the project timeline once JORISS approval has been attained, or they could systematically add 6 months to all project timelines for JRP efforts. Reforms within the JORISS apparatus, and improved coordination

between the ministries, could also speed up the application process, giving nongovernmental actors more time to effectively use their funding. This would require an internal review that evaluates approval bottlenecks and determines whether all three levels of approval are necessary.

4.5 Documentation and reform

As a sovereign nation facing security threats at its borders and internally, a policy of documenting Syrian refugees beyond UNHCR status recognition seems reasonable. However, the current MOI policy of refusing UNHCR and government documentation to those who left a camp without a formal bailout effectively punishes those who made the decision to depart without following the official channels. We should recognize that for some refugees, departing a camp without a bailout is a rational choice considering the challenges and limitations experienced in these settings. The policy of refusing documentation to such refugees exacerbates vulnerabilities by depriving potentially at-risk refugees of vital services and support. A pathway to registration with UNHCR and MOI for those who left camps outside of the bailout system must be established in order to effectively support all non-camp Syrians in need.

Reforms on the treatment of Palestinians from Syria are also important. It has been suggested that the Jordanian government refuses to admit Palestinian asylum-seekers from Syria due to concerns that they will not return to Syria and will become permanent residents of Jordan (Davis, Benton, Todman, & Murphy, 2017). To address these concerns while upholding its commitments from the 1998 MOU, the Jordanian government should explore the creation of a special status for Palestinians refugees from Syria that can provide these refugees with access to services and a sense of security while also guaranteeing their return to Syria once the war ends.

5. Conclusion

The JRP has characterized the situation for Syrian refugees in Jordan as one of "protracted" displacement (JORISS, 2017). According to UNHCR, a protracted refugee situation is "one in which refugees find themselves in a long-lasting and intractable state of limbo" (UNHCR, 2004). How "long-lasting" stakeholders see such a situation has direct policy implications. Milner (2014) argues that the duration of refugee displacement is, on average, now seventeen years or more. Our qualitative interviews suggest that optimism for a speedy return to Syria has been replaced with a growing sense of indefinite futures as refugees in Jordan. Notably, a UNHCR professional in 2015 pointed out that his office was concerned by the growing frequency with which Syrian refugees were selling their land assets in Syria, often at a loss. Such actions signal that Syrians are growing less hopeful about returning to their country of origin.

For now, Syrian children and youth in Jordan must spend some of the most formative years of their lives as refugees. The large international effort to provide services to these young people has improved their access to education, health, and recreational services, as well as food and cash assistance. New labor policies have additionally opened up legal pathways to employment for youth.

Nevertheless, a variety of factors negatively affect access to vital services and institutions for young people. Poverty continues to weigh heavily on many refugee households, resulting in coping strategies that negatively affect the wellbeing of young people. Youth in poor and undocumented households are especially at risk due to the prohibitions on their receipt of assistance. Additionally, the trauma, injuries, and fears that many young refugees live with on a daily basis restrict mobility and hence service access. Moreover, the social taboo surrounding certain problems, such as mental health or SGBV, keep young people who would benefit from psychological services from ever

seeking them. Even when young refugees pursue services, they may face delays and queues for obtaining a doctor visit, or a place in school. Demand for health and educational services, as well as utilities, increased suddenly, and in some cases the built environment is simply insufficient to meet demand, or current staffing of professionals such as psychologists does not meet the level of needs.

The organization of the current aid response is impressive. But the institutional challenges that our respondents highlighted should be taken into consideration. By strengthening the influence of local stakeholders over project design, organizations can better address the unique challenges they face on the ground and strengthen the programs they offer to children and youth. Adjusting funding timelines so organizations have time to obtain JORISS approval and implement programs for children and youth effectively is essential for maximizing the use of resources. New policies to provide undocumented refugees with a pathway to legal status are necessary to ensure that the most vulnerable children and youth obtain much needed support and security.

6. Maps

Map 1: Percentage of UNHCR-registered Syrian refugee individuals by governorate, 2017
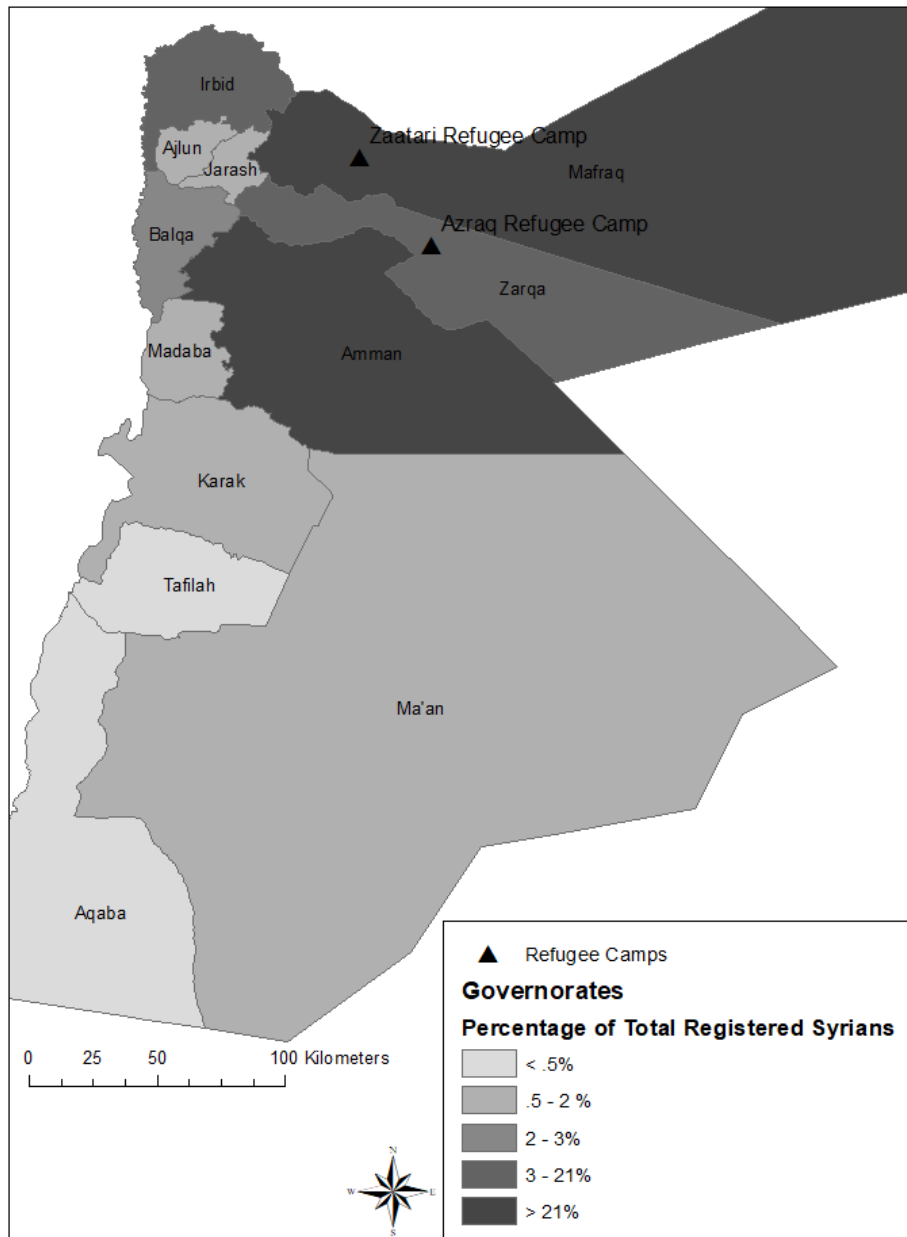
Source: Based on October 2017 counts from UNHCR (2017a). Data listed in Table 1.

Map 2: Percentage of Syrian households by governorate, 2015
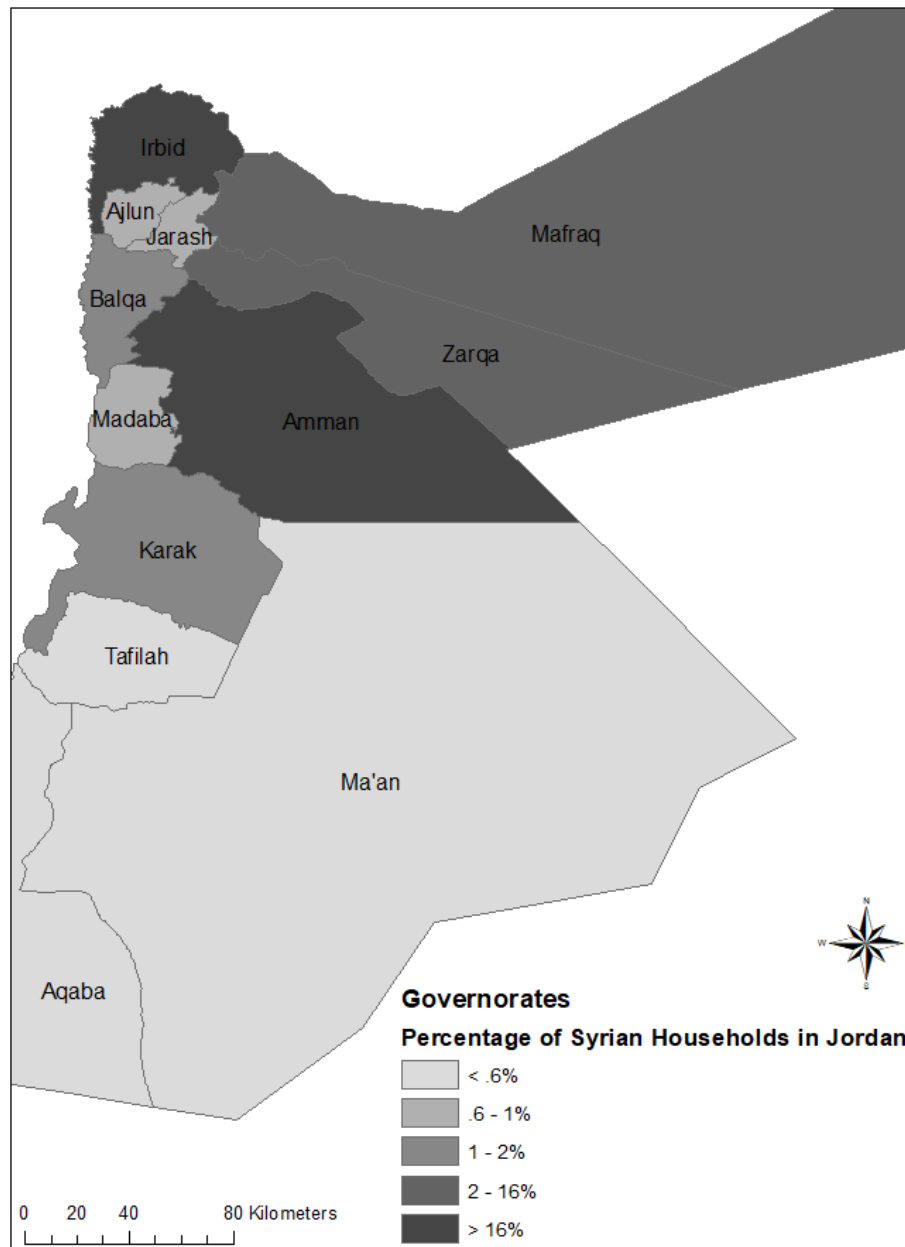
Source: Department of Statistics Population and Housing Census (2015).

Map 3: Percentage of all Resident Households that are Syrian by Sub-District, 2015
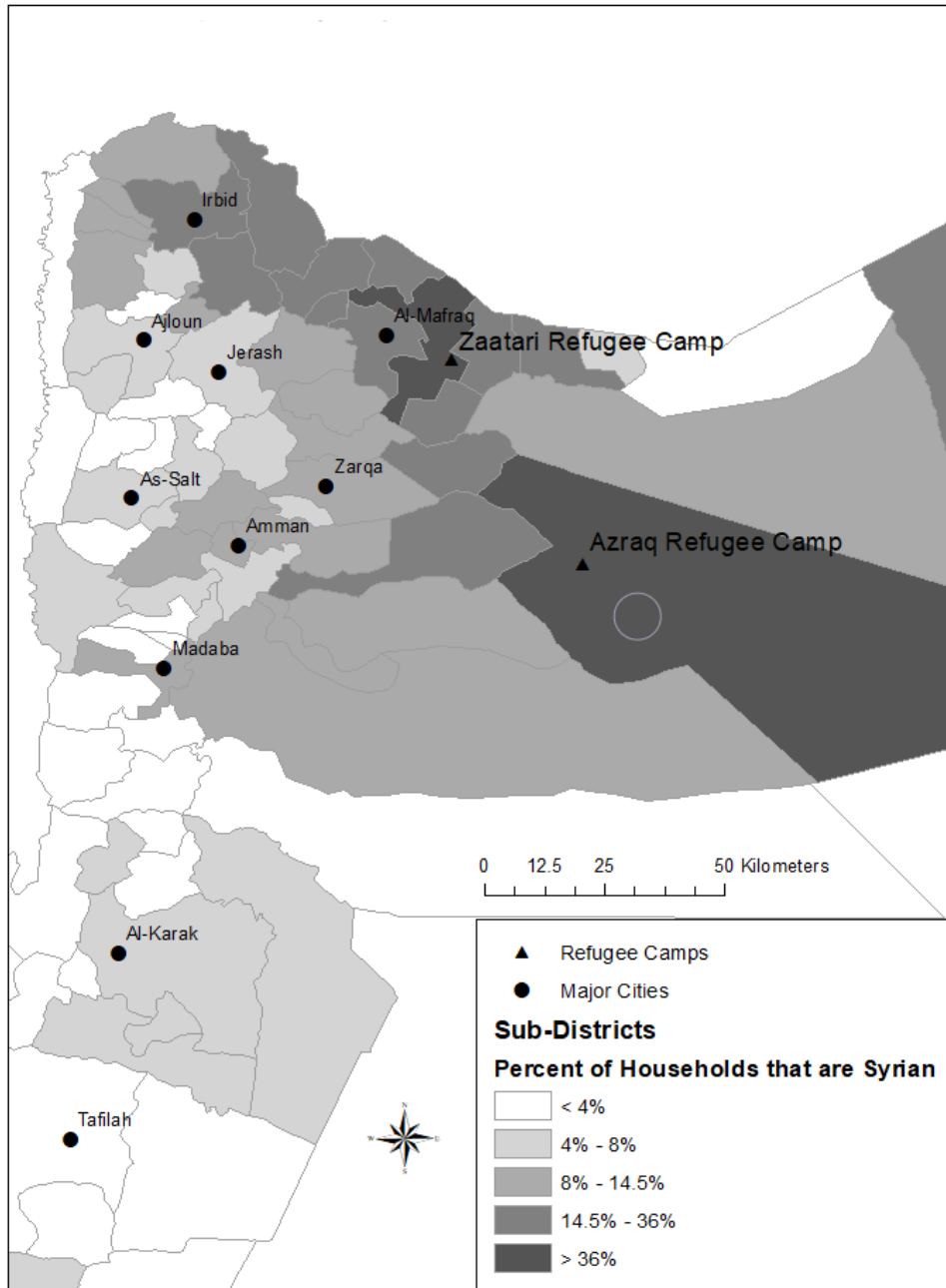
Source: Department of Statistics Population and Housing Census (2015).

7. Tables

Table 1: Number of Syrians registered with UNHCR by governorate of residence and percentage of registered Syrians in each governorate, October 2017

Governorate	Number	Percentage
Amman	179,977	27.5
Mafraq	157,709	24.1
Irbid	134,171	20.5
Zarqa	107,657	16.4
Balqa	18,622	2.8
Madaba	11,100	1.7
Jarash	9,318	1.4
Karak	8,488	1.3
Dispersed in Jordan	7,758	1.2
Ajlun	7,411	1.1
Maan	7,365	1.1
Aqaba	3,462	0.5
Tafilah	1,544	0.2
Total	**654,582**	**100.0**

Notes: counts reflect both the in-camp and out-of-camp populations in a given governorate registered with UNHCR. For example, half of the Mafraq governorate registered population represents the population of Za'atari camp (~80,000 residents). Those unregistered with UNHCR as persons of concern are excluded from this count. Source: UNHCR, 2017a).

Table 2: Organization type for qualitative respondents

2017 Study		2015 Study	
Ministry	3	Ministry	2
INGO	12	INGO	2
NGO	2	NGO	1
UN	3	UN	3
Private Company	1	Private Company	0
Royal Charity	0	Royal Charity	1
Public School	0	Public School	1

Notes: The 2015 fieldwork conducted as part of International Policy Practicum at University of Chicago. The study was not IRB approved and respondents consented to participate in advance (no snowball sampling). The 2017 fieldwork was IRB approved by the University of Minnesota in March 2017 and study team snowball sampled.

**Table 3: Financial commitments by donor
(millions of USD and percentage of total), 2015-2016**

Country	Commitments (millions USD)		% of Total Commitments	
	2015	2016	2015	2016
USA	528.2	495.5	44.2	30.1
Other countries	ND	341.3	0.0	20.7
United Kingdom	86.3	126	7.2	7.6
Germany	42.6	120.2	3.6	7.3
Multilateral	ND	116.8	0.0	7.1
Canada	65.1	73.1	5.4	4.4
World Bank	ND	52.5	0.0	3.2
Saudi Arabia	100	49.5	8.4	3.0
Kuwait	20	43.1	1.7	2.6
Japan	234.6	34.9	19.6	2.1
Switzerland	4.6	19.1	0.4	1.2
Netherlands	0.2	17.6	0.0	1.1
China	ND	11.2	0.0	0.7
Italy	6.6	4.5	0.6	0.3
Sweden	5	0.9	0.4	0.1
Korea	0.7	0.0	0.1	0.0
Russia	7.4	0.0	0.6	0.0
Spain	4.6	0.6	0.4	0.0
INGO Core Funds	13.3	ND	1.1	ND
Total	**1,195.60**	**1,647.70**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Notes: The 2015 estimates are based on JORISS Financial Tracking commitment-level data for that year, which was made unavailable in March 2017. The authors obtained a copy prior to the removal of the page from the JRP website (JORISS, 2015). The 2016 figures were provided by MoPIC through a Financial Update publication (JRPSC, 2016a). ND = no data.

Table 4: Donor commitments by recipient (millions of USD and percentage of total), Jan. 2015-Feb. 2017

Entity	Total Commitment (millions USD)	% of Total
Jordanian Ministries	499.4	41.8
INGOs	241.5	20.2
International Organization	172.6	14.4
UN Agency	151.1	12.6
INGO and Ministry	112.1	9.4
UN Agency and Ministry	9.4	0.8
International Org. and Ministry	4.4	0.4
International Org. and INGO	3.5	0.3
Unspecified	1.5	0.1
Total	**1,195.60**	**100.0**

Notes: The 2015 estimates are based on JORISS Financial Tracking commitment-level data for that year, which was made unavailable in March 2017. The authors obtained a copy prior to the removal of the page from the JRP website (JORISS, 2015). The 2016 figures were provided by MoPIC through a Financial Update publication (JRPSC, 2016a).

Table 5: JRP project data by organization type, Jan. 2015-Feb. 2017

Org. Type	No. Programs	JRP Approved Funding (millions USD)	Avg. funding per program (millions USD)	% of JRP Programs	% of Total Funding
Royal charity	24	28.8	1.20	3.9	3.2
INGO	438	551.7	1.26	71.9	61.9
NGO	83	59.6	0.72	13.6	6.7
Other	4	17.2	4.30	0.7	1.9
UN agency	53	234.6	4.43	8.3	26.3
Total	**602**	**891.9**	**1.48**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Notes: estimates based on JORISS Project Search Data that covers 602 JRP approved projects from January 2015 to February 2017 (JORISS, 2016, 2017).

Table 6: School enrollment of school-age children (6-17) by location, May 2017

Location	No. School-Age Children	No. Enrolled	% Enrolled
Za'atari	211,287	20,648	10%
Azraq	11,782	10,698	91%
EJC	2,912	2,570	82%
Host community	169,861	90,885	54%
Total	**211,287**	**124,801**	**59%**

Notes: Figures based on notes from Education Sector Working Group Meeting. Outcomes are based on refugees registered with UNHCR. (Education Sector Working Group, 2017c)

Table 7: Service provision by documentation requirements

Service	Requires Registration with UNHCR?	Requires MOI Card?
Public School (MoE)	Yes	Yes (before Oct. 2017) No (after Oct. 2017)
Cash Assistance (UNHCR)	Yes	No
Food Vouchers (WFP)	Yes	Yes
Public Health Facilities	Yes	Yes
MSF Health Facilities	Yes	No
Apply for Work Permit	Yes	Yes
Makani Centers	No	No
Psycho-Social Programs	Varies by Provider	Varies by Provider

Notes: based on key informant interviews. Bear in mind that the current policy environment is fluid and criteria vary across different types of service providers. For example, MSF facilities require UNHCR registration, but other non-profit health services may not. To the best of our knowledge, this table provides a general review of the restrictions on service access by documentation as of October 2017.

Table 8: INGO involvement by sector

Indicates sector involvement; *"Lead" indicates an organization leading a working group*

Name	Acronym	Basic Needs Working Group	Child Protection	Common Cash Facility Steering Committee	Education	Food Security	Health	Livelihoods	Protection	SGBV	Shelter	WASH	Winterization Task Force	Youth Task Force (Zaatari)
Action contre La Faim (Action Against Hunger)	ACF	X						X				Lead		
Agence d'Aide à la Coopération Technique Et au Développement	ACTED	X				Lead		X					X	
Alianza por la Solidaridad	APS									X				
American Refugee Committee	ARCS				X									
ARDD-Legal Aid	ARDD							X						
AVSI Foundation	AVSI				X				X					
Arab Women Organization of Jordan	AWO									X				
Business Development Center	BDC							X						
US Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration	BPRM								X					
Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere	CARE	X			X			X	X					
Caritas- Jordan	Caritas	X			X				X			X		
CFI Media Cooperation	CFI							X						
Center for Victims of Torture	CVT		X				X							
UK Department for International Development	DFID								X					
Danish Refugee Council	DRC	X		X				Lead					X	
Educate a Child	EAC				X									
European Commission	ECHO							X						
Food and Agriculture Organization (UN)	FAO					X		X						
Finn Church Aid	FCA				X									
Future Pioneers for Empowering Communities	FPEC											X		
Fundacion Promocion Social de la Cultura	FPSC													X
German Society for International Cooperation	GIZ							X						
German Red Cross	GRC	X						X	X					
Habitat for Humanity- Jordan	HFH										X			
Handicap International	HI								X					
Islamic Center Charity Society	ICCS				X									
International Catholic Migration Commission	ICMC	X		X					X					X
International Committee of the Red Cross	ICRC								X					
Institute for Family Health/Noor Al-Hussein Foundation	IFH/NHF							X						X
International Labour Organization	ILO							X						
International Medical Corps	IMC								X					
INTERSOS Humanitarian Aid Organization- Organizzatione Umanitaria par l'Emergenza	INTERSOS	X			X	X			X			X		
International Orthodox Christian Charities	IOCC	X				X		X						
International Organization for Migration	IOM				X			X	X					
International Refugee Assistance Project	IRAP								X					
International Rescue Committee	IRC							X	X	X				
International Relief and Development	IRD							X						
Islamic Relief Jordan	IRJ	X				X								
Japan Emergency NGO	JEN				X							X		
Jordan Exporters and Producers Association	JEPA					X								
Jordan Health Aid Society International	JHASI							X						
Japan International Cooperation Agency	JICA							X						
Jordan INGO Forum	JIF								X					
Jordan Hashemite Fund for Development	JOHUD				X			X	X					
Jordan Paramedic Society	JPS							X						

Name	Acronym	Basic Needs Working Group	Child Protection	Common Cash Facility Steering Committee	Education	Food Security	Health	Livelihoods	Protection	SGBV	Shelter	WASH	Winterization Task Force	Youth Task Force (Zaatari)
Jordan River Foundation	JRF		X											
Jesuit Refugee Services	JRS								X					
Jordan Women Union	JWU									X				
Children without Borders- Japan	KnK				X									
Lutheran World Federation	LWF	X			X							X		
Madrasati	Madrasati													
Mercy Corps	MC	Lead	X		X			X					X	
Middle East Children's Institute	MECI				Lead									
Medair	Medair	X	X				X		X			X		
Ministry of Education	MoE				X									
Movimiento por la Paz	MPDL								X					
Médecins Sans Frontiéres	MSF						X							
More Than Shelters	MTS							X						
Ministry of Water and Irrigation	MWI											X		
National Council for Family Affairs	NCFA		X											
Near East Foundation	NEF				X									
Norwegian Refugee Council	NRC	X			X				Lead		Lead			
Rescate International	ONG							X						
Oxfam	Oxfam							X				X		
Plan International	PI				X									
Première Urgence - Aide Médicale Internationale	PU-AMI	X					X	X	X			X		
Qatar Red Crescent	QRC							X						
Questscope	Questscope		X						X					
Reclaim Childhood	RC				X									
Regional Development and Protection Program	RDPP								X					
RedR UK	RedR UK	X										X		
Relief International	RI				X				X					
Right to Play	RtP				X									
Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation	SDC							X						
Secours Islamique France	SIF							X	X			X		
Sina Industrial Projects Co.	SIPCO							X						
Spark- Talent Beyond Boundaries Project	Spark- TBB							X						
Save the Children	STC		X		X		X	X						
Terre des Hommes- Italy	TdH		X		X		X	X	X				X	
Tear Fund	TF									X				
UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization	UNESCO				X									
UN Population Fund	UNFPA													X
UN High Commissioner for Refugees	UNHCR	Lead		Lead			Lead	Lead	Lead	Lead	Lead		Lead	
UN Children's Fund	UNICEF				Lead					Lead		Lead		
UN Office for Project Services	UNOPS							X						
UN Relief and Works Agency	UNRWA								X					
UN Women	UNW								X					
Un Ponte Per	UPP		X		X									
US Agency for International Development	USAID								X					
Vento di Terra	VDT		X		X									
Vision Hope International	VHI				X									
West Asia North Africa Institute	WANA							X						
War Child Canada/UK	WCC/WCUK		X		X									X
World Food Programme	WFP			X		Lead								
World Health Organization	WHO						Lead							
World Relief Germany	WRG	X										X	Lead	
World Vision	WV	X			X			X						
Yarmouq Al-Baqa'a Club	YBC				X				X					
Zaha	Zaha				X									
ZOA International	ZOA							X						

Notes: based on 2017 sector working group meeting minutes retrieved from UNHCR (2017a).
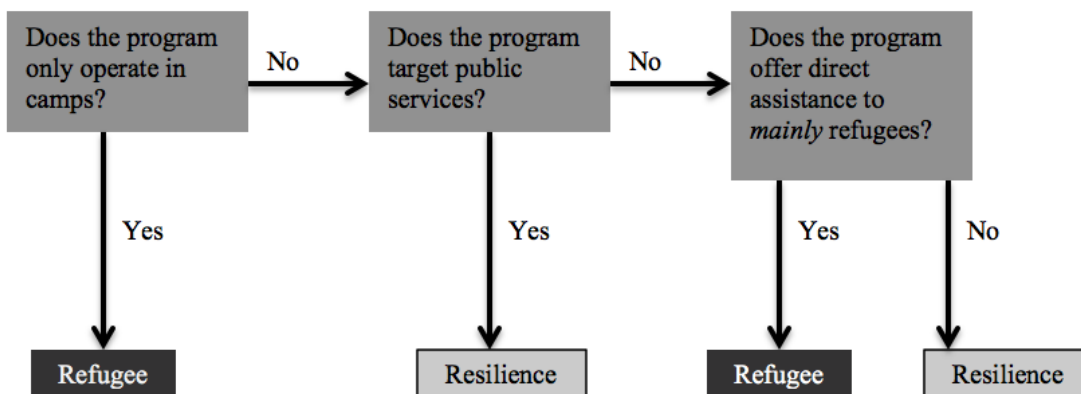
38

8. Figures

Figure 1: Financial receipt and approval processes of the JRP
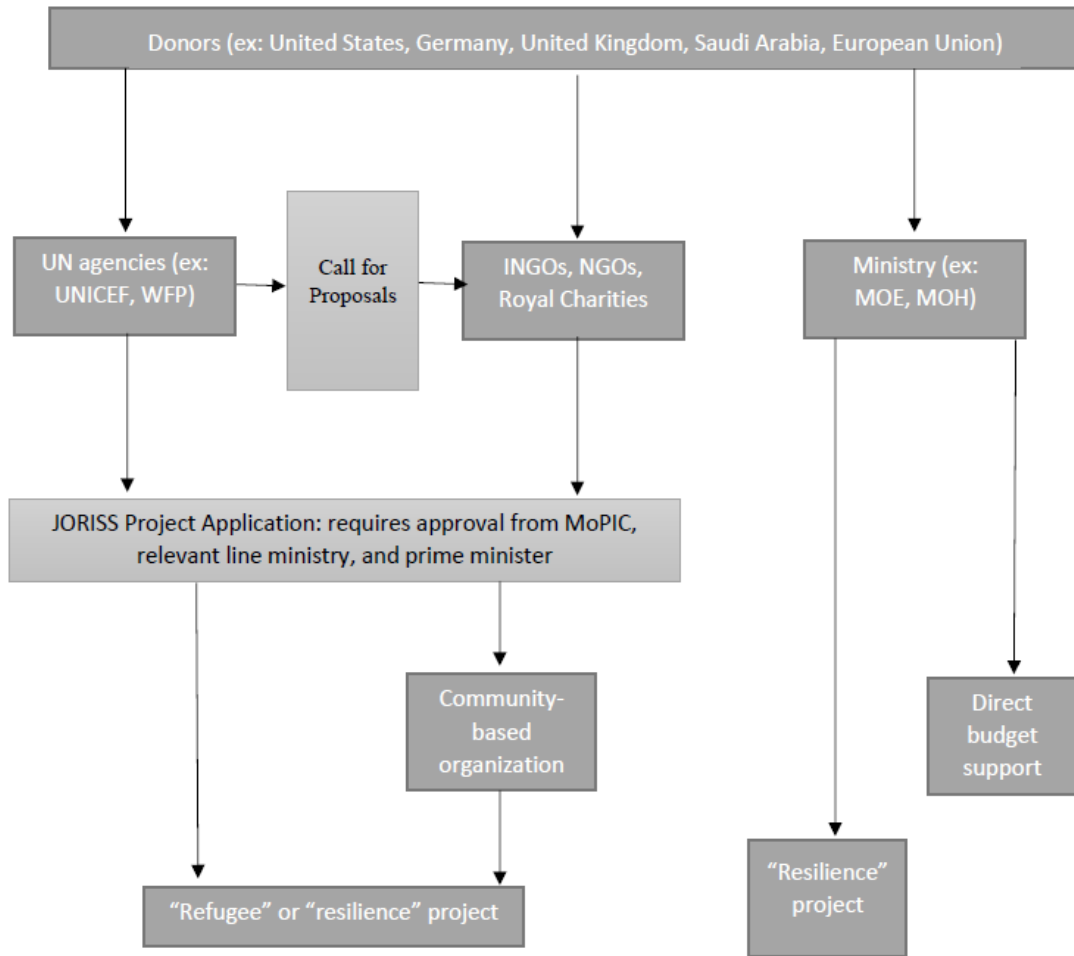
Notes: figure based on authors' interviews with service providers and evaluation of the Project Search Data (JORISS, 2016, 2017).

Figure 2: JRPSC guide for program classification

Notes: figure is a replication of a guide circulated by MoPIC (2017). Emphasis is authors'.

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