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Deutsches Institut für
Entwicklungspolitik

German Development
Institute

Cash-for-Work programmes in Jordan: Effects on social cohesion, gender roles, and local economic development in communities hosting Syrian refugees

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1 Research question

- CfW programmes and their direct impacts are **well researched** in **non-fragile countries**
- Limited evidence on
 - on fragile countries and contexts of **flight and migration**
 - on **indirect effects** on the **community level**

⇒ **Is CfW an effective instrument to promote (i) social cohesion, (ii) local economic development, and (iii) changes in gender roles in contexts of flight and migration.**



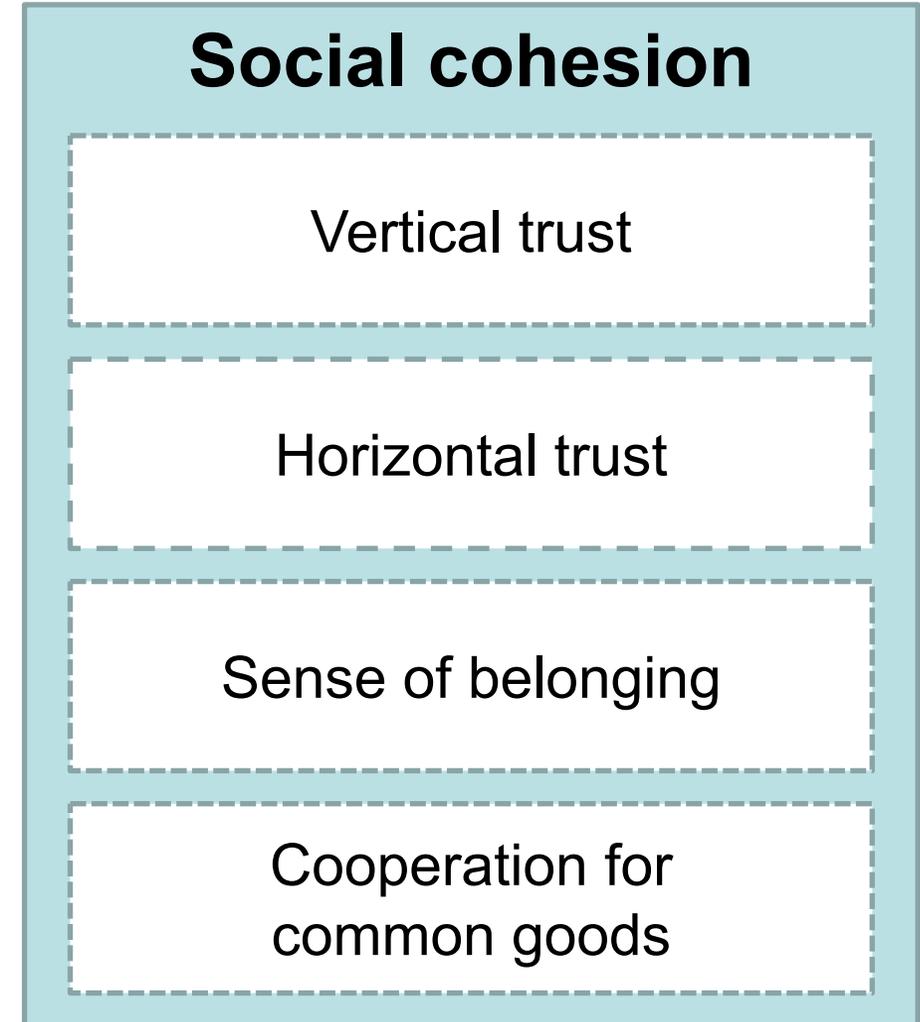
2 Theoretical framework



*"the **glue** that holds **society** together.*

*It refers to both the **vertical** and the **horizontal** relations among members of society as characterised by a set of attitudes and norms that includes **trust**, a **social identity** associated with the **community** or state one lives in, and **cooperation for the common good**."*

(DIE SC working group, forthcoming)





"a social system which structures hierarchical power relations that shape individual identities and lives."
(Definition by Carol Cohn)



- Organisational practices
- Laws

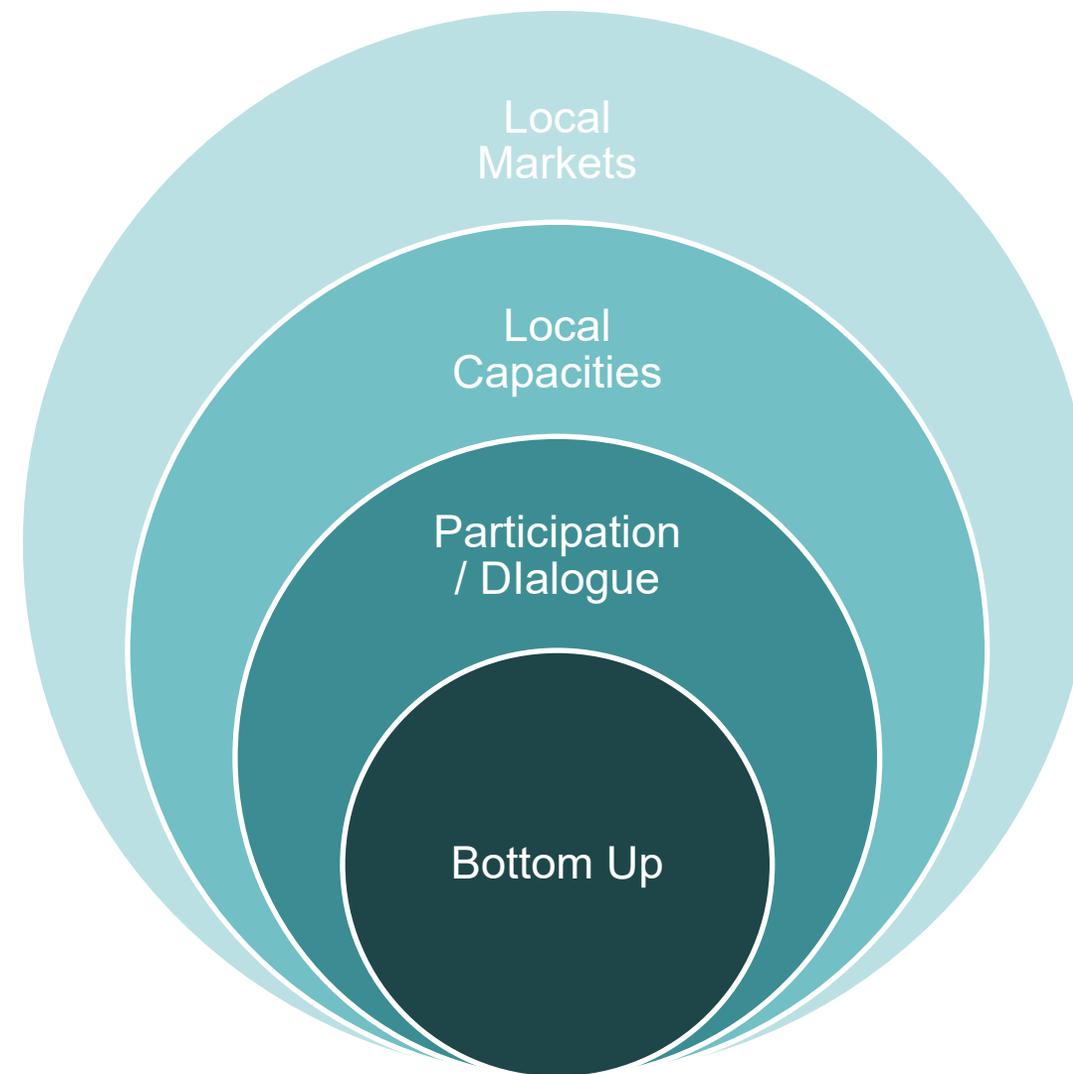
- Expectations
- Harassment

- Socialisation
- Internalisation

Local economic development (LED)



“Promoting **participation** and **local dialogue**, connecting **people** and their **resources** for better **employment** and a higher **quality of life** for both **men** and **women**.”
(ILO Definition)

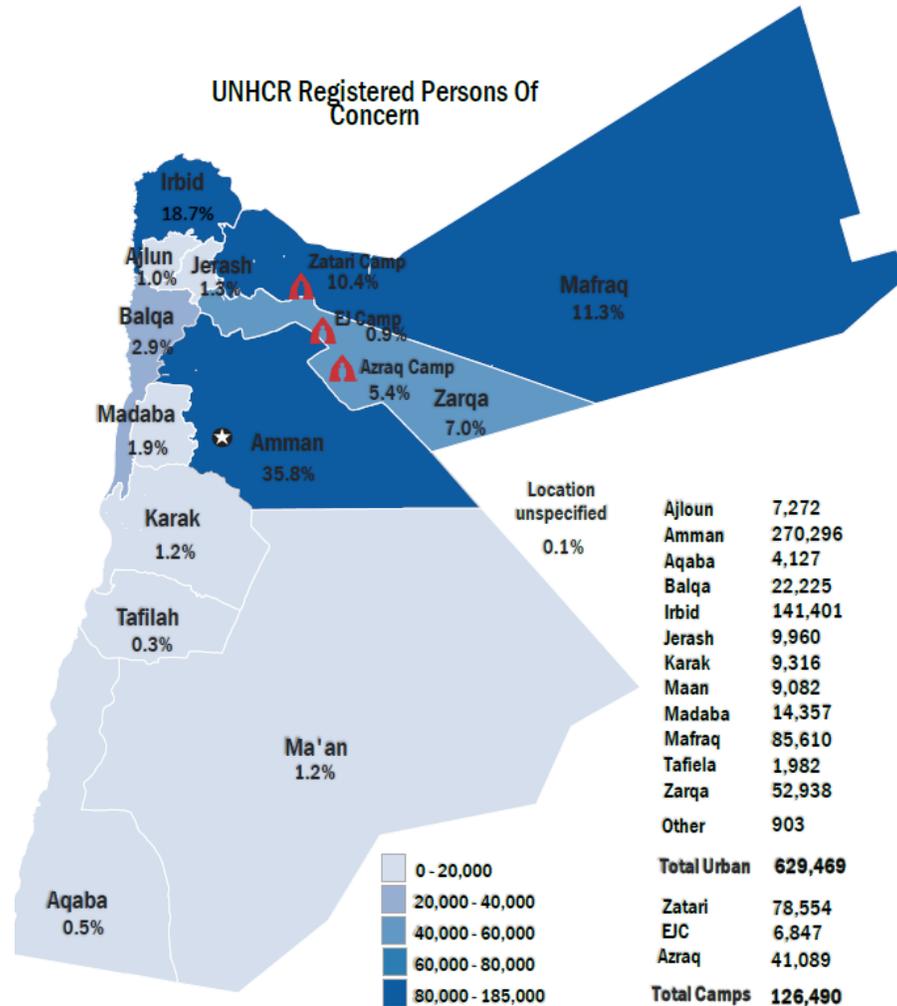




3 CfW in Jordan: case study and field research



3 Refugees and host communities in Jordan



Coloured map only reflects refugees living outside camps.

- **Hosting Syrian and other refugees** (ca. 756.000 registered with UNHCR in August 2018)
- **Social cohesion:** Different population groups (Palestinian vs Transjordanian origin; tribal affiliations)
- **Economic development:** Pressures on public service provision and labour/housing markets

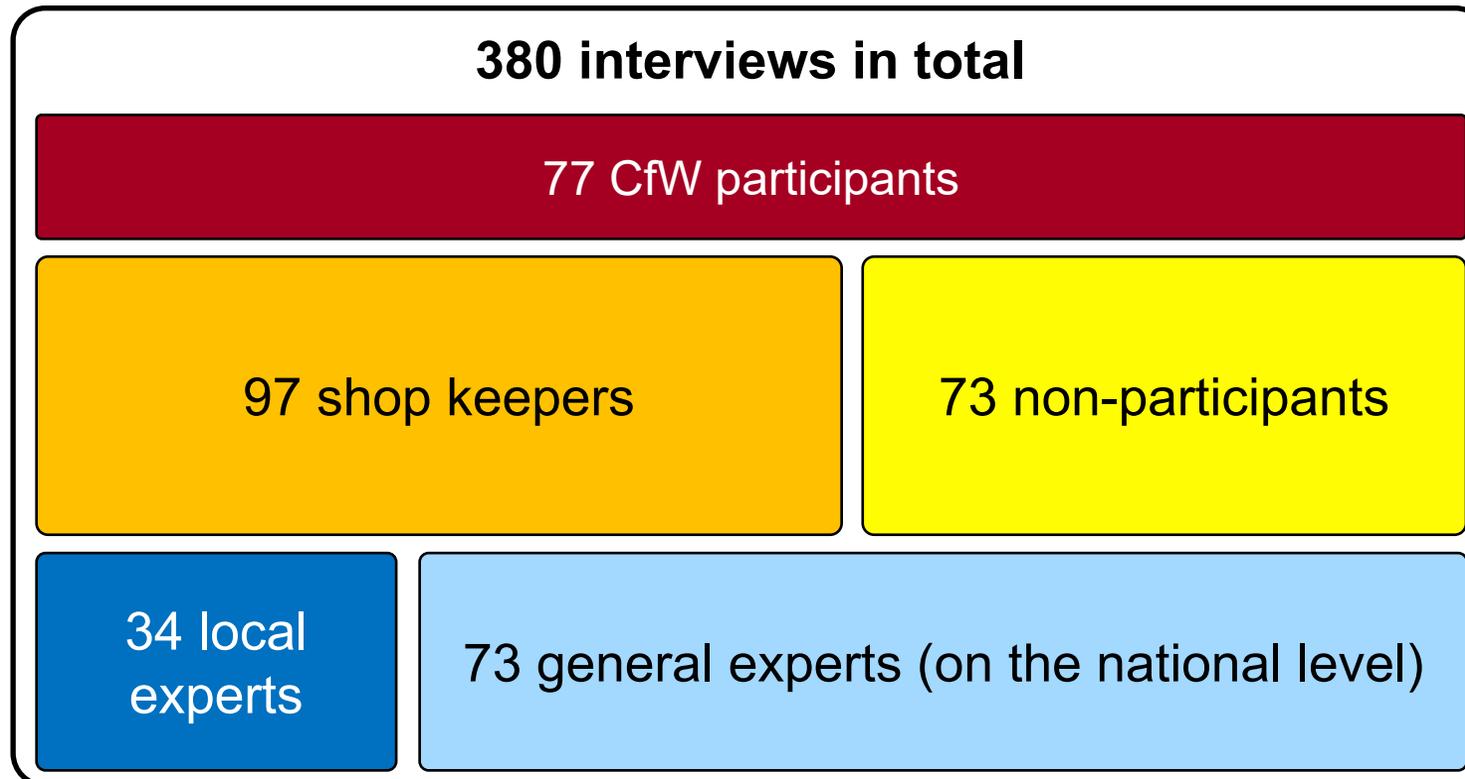
Source: UNHCR (2019). Registered Persons Of Concern Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Jordan

<https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/65323>



3 Qualitative survey (medium-n-sample)

- 6 researchers, 3-month fieldwork (Feb-April 2019)
- Semi-structured interviews (using different interview guidelines for participants, community members, shop keepers, experts)

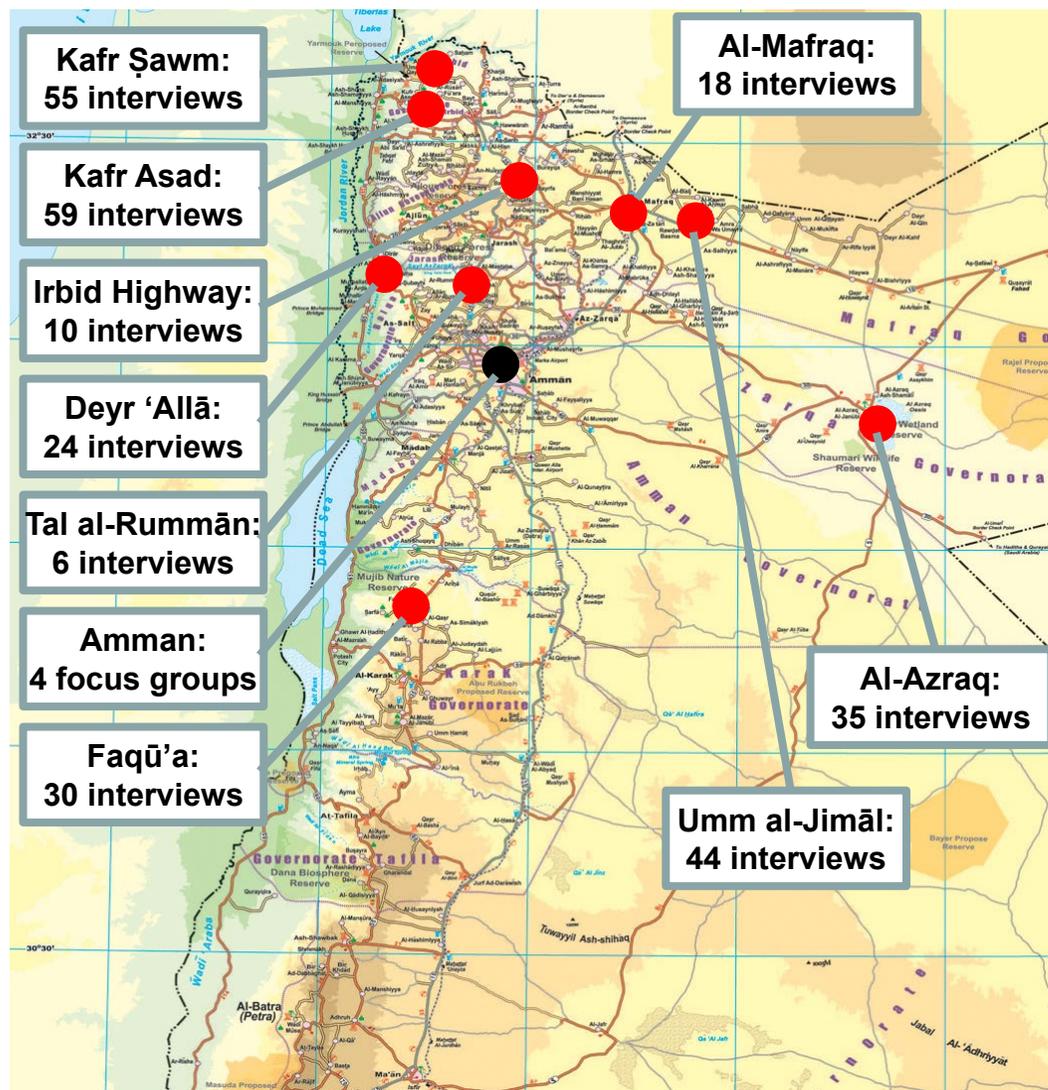


Composition of interview sample at the community level:

Females	Males
33%	67%

Jordanian	Syrian	Other
73%	26%	2%

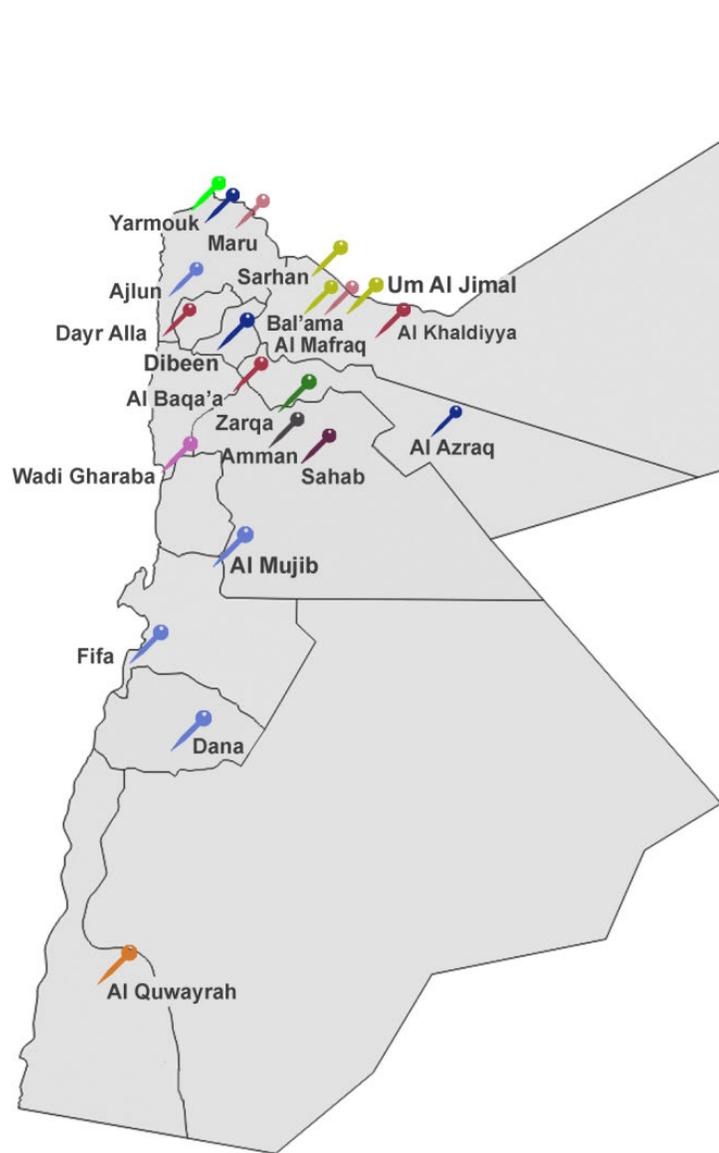
3 Qualitative survey (medium-n-sample)



Place	Donor	Implementer	Type of work
Al-Azraq	ICDF GIZ – Green Infrastructure	AAH RSCN	Waste site; awareness rising
Deyr 'Allā	GIZ – Green Infrastructure GIZ – Waste	NARC	Agricultural work
Kafr Şawm	GIZ - CfW- Water	World Vision	Cooking (women) water dams (men)
Tal al-Rummān	GIZ – Water	NRC	Water dam
Umm al-Jimāl	GIZ – Waste	Oxfam	Waste site (men) waste collection (women)
Kafr Asad	WFP GIZ – Waste	Najmah NRC	School rehabilitation, waste collection
Al-Mafraq	KfW/ILO	Local contractor	Waste collection
Faqū'a	Norway/ILO GIZ – Water	Agricultural Directorate DRC/NRC	Tree planting
Irbid Highway	KfW/ILO	Local contractor	Waste collection

Map/matrix of selected field sites/CfW activities across Jordan

3 Quantitative census of one programme (large-n-sample)



	All			Jordanians			Syrians		
	all	females	males	all	females	males	all	females	males
'Ajlūn	228	87	140	125	40	85	102	47	55
Al-Baqa'ah	65	24	41	33	12	21	32	12	20
Al-Mafrāq	23	5	18	11	3	8	12	2	10
Al-Quwayrah	93	44	49	59	28	31	34	16	18
Bal'amā	17	7	10	8	3	5	9	4	5
? ānā	119	13	105	60	0	60	58	13	45
Deyr 'Allā	50	13	36	27	8	19	22	5	17
Fayfā	73	17	56	26	5	21	47	12	35
Khaldiyyah	60	12	47	29	6	23	30	6	24
Marū	50	9	41	25	4	21	25	5	20
Mūjib	103	1	102	46	1	45	57	0	57
Sa?āb	51	11	40	24	6	18	27	5	22
Umm al-Jimāl	13	5	8	7	2	5	6	3	3
Wādī al-Gharaba	39	3	36	33	3	30	6	0	6
Total	984	252	731	513	121	392	470	131	339

Based on the first round of a GIZ post-employment survey conducted among all participants of the GIZ Green Infrastructure (GI) Programme during 2019 (GIZ 2019).



4 Research findings

4.1 Social cohesion: “Do you feel part of your community?”



- Jordanian-Syrian social cohesion
 - **Generally favourable**
 - historic tribal relations
 - solidarity after the Syrian war
 - **Most have a strong sense of belonging:**

Only 10 % say that they do not belong/ do not like the community
 - **Horizontal trust:**

Good relations sustain despite economic hardship

4.1 CfW and social cohesion

- Participants indicate **CfW intensifies**
 - **sense of belonging**
 - **horizontal trust**
(common work, after-work activities)
- Community members also
 - welcome CfW
 - Some critical voices (*wasta* and job competition)

“There should be more work that supports both Jordanians and Syrians [...] so we can better understand their situation. Sometimes **you feel that Jordanians are like us, they don't have income either.**”
(Participant, Kafr Sawm)

“Before everyone was a bit ignorant of each other. Now the truth was revealed that the **Syrians can also work for the community.**”
(Non-Participant, Kofr Asad)

4.1 CfW and social cohesion



Results of post-employment census (984 respondents)					
	All	females	males	Jordan.	Syrians
Would advise CfW to a friend	92%	96%*	91%*	94%	90%
Made new friendship with other nationality	86%	94%***	83%***	78%***	94%***

Based on the first round of a GIZ post-employment survey conducted among all participants of the GIZ Green Infrastructure (GI) Programme during 2019 (GIZ 2019).

4.3 CfW and gender: “Is this a suitable job for women?”



CfW as a “safe work environment”

- The closer to home, the better
- A small minority works in mixed teams

CfW offers suitable activities

- Women overcome scepticism to work outside houses
- Often women and men do different tasks

→ Similarly, CfW help to overcome shame culture (e.g. waste projects), but difficult economic situation also relevant

4.4 CfW and economic development:

“Have CfW participants spent a lot in your shop?”



Multiplier effect:

- Evidence for small increases in business activities; most participants buy locally
- Mostly on daily needs and debt repay
- Positive effect if materials procured locally, but difficult regulations

Labour market effects:

- Difficult to assess: distortions/crowding out *and* work experience

4.4 CfW and economic development:

“Have CfW participants spent a lot in your shop?”



Results of post-employment census (984 respondents)							
	No. of answers	% of answers	% of all respondents				
	all	all	all	females	males	Jordan.	Syrians
Among top three spending items							
House rent	446	26%	45%	48% **	44% **	24% ***	68% ***
Debt repay	336	19%	34%	45% **	30% **	38% **	30% **
Pay of open bills	319	18%	32%	42% *	29% *	28%	37%
Food	305	18%	31%	28%	32%	30%	31%
Health	217	12%	22%	27%	21%	17% ***	28% ***
Household items	197	11%	20%	24%	19%	29%	10%
Transportation	167	10%	17%	21% **	15% **	17%	17%
Education	75	4%	8%	9%	7%	9%	6%
Leisure	46	3%	5%	3%	5%	8% ***	1% ***
Other	65	5%	7%	6%	7%	8%	6%

Based on the first round of a GIZ post-employment survey conducted among all participants of the GIZ Green Infrastructure (GI) Programme during 2019 (GIZ 2019).



5 Conclusions

5 Conclusions: CfW in conflict contexts



➤ CfW is recommendable in non-violent conflict contexts

- Social cohesion: can reconcile groups or integrate refugees if carefully designed
- Gender: can help women, who suffer disproportionately by displacement
- LED: can unfold a multiplier effect

➤ CfW vs cash transfers

Pros:

- potential triple dividend (infrastructure, skills)
- effect on social cohesion
- effective self-targeting

Cons:

- higher costs
- In Jordan:
 - temporary (number of working days)
 - detached from existing schemes



Thank you for your attention!

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