





Identifying the Causes that Increase the Pressure of Syrian Migration in Jordan on the Host community and Refugees and Formulate Solution Approaches for the Reduction of these Causes.



This academic paper is prepared as part of a research project led by the Refugee, Displaced Persons, and Forced Migration Studies Center in partnership with Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom.

This publication reflects the views of authors only, and not necessarily that of Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom.

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This study was conducted by Refugees, Displaced Persons, and Forced Migration Studies Center-Yarmouk University with the support the friedrich Naumann Foundation for freedom. Funded by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). The BMZ is not responsible for the content of the publication. The contents of this publication are the sole responsibility of the Refugees, Displaced Persons, and Forced Migration Studies Center- Yarmouk University, they do not necessarily reflect the views of the friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom.



Phase I

Introduction

After 11 years of civil war in Syria, the Syrian refugee crisis remains the largest refugee crisis in the world since the beginning of the twenty-first century. Since 2011, which marks the outbreak of the conflict in Syria, more than 6.8 million Syrians have been forced to flee their country¹. Another 6.9 million people remain internally displaced, and the vast majority - about 5.2 million refugees - have found refuge in neighbouring countries, notably in Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan. In Europe, however, Germany is considered the largest non-neighbouring host country, with more than 620,000 Syrian refugees².

According to the UNHCR report (2022), about 92% of Syrian refugees who have fled to neighbouring countries live in rural and urban areas while 5% of them live in refugee camps. Living outside refugee camps, however, does not necessarily mean success or stability to these refugees. To the contrary, more than 70% of Syrian refugees live in extreme poverty, have limited access to basic services such as education and employment opportunities, and few desire to return to their homelands³.

Refugees face growing hostility in neighbouring host countries. For instance, in Lebanon, the presence of Syrian refugees has created significant challenges between host communities and refugees due to the deteriorating economic situation in Lebanon. This has resulted in tensions, discrimination, racism, violent attacks, and abuses, along with escalation of intolerance and exploitation among both communities⁴. In Europe, due to the hardening of borders across Europe, not allowing them to emigrate, and the European countries adopting a policy of not accepting refugees, Syrians are stranded as it is still impossible to return to Syria⁵.

The refugee migration crisis to Arab and European host countries highlights the continuation of this crisis and the pressure it puts on different sectors. Chief among them are the water, energy, employment, and service sectors such as education and health. On the other hand, COVID-19 impacts on regional economies have exacerbated these pressures⁶.

Syrian refugees remain stuck between a rock and a hard place - unable to return home and facing deteriorating conditions in their host communities. Host communities often face difficult humanitarian pressures because of Syrian refugee crisis as in Lebanon and Jordan⁷.

According to a study entitled "UNHCR Projected Global Resettlement Needs 2022," it is estimated that more than 610,000 Syrian refugees worldwide need resettlement globally⁸. Syrian refugees account for 42% of total refugee resettlement needs worldwide, compared to 41% in 2021⁹.

For most Syrian refugees living in the region, some form of integration in the host countries will be the only route to a foreseeable future of security and decent living. Such an approach could signal the end of the crisis, but it must be accompanied by a significant increase in resettlement in Western countries. To this end, donors from European countries and others must find better ways to address the plight of Syrian refugees and support their host communities in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey. As the situation in these countries differs in important respects, effective policy responses must therefore provide tailored solutions to ensure refugees are not severely affected by the global economic slowdown and high inflation¹⁰.

(algabas.com) اللاحثون السوريون.. الأسياب والتداعيات

https://www.worldvision.org/refugees-news-stories/syrian-refugee-crisis-facts

Understanding (in)tolerance between Hosts and Refugees in Lebanon | Journal of Refugee Studies | Oxford Academic (oup.com)

Recent Tensions Highlight the Enduring Syrian Refugee Crisis - COAR (coar-global.org)

¹ According to news reports and published studies, one of the main reasons that forced Syrians to leave their country is the violence they have faced from the regime and ISIS. In addition, Syrians have suffered from poverty and economic stress due to ISIS' control of oil and electricity. For more information, please see:

² "Syria Refugee Crisis Explained"—UNHCR Report, July,8 2022. <u>Syria Refugee Crisis Explained (unrefugees.org)</u>

³ ibid

⁴ "Understanding Tolerance and Intolerance between the Host Community and Syrian Refugees in Lebanon. (Khairaldin, Soares, and Rodrigues, 2021). *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Volume 34, Issue 1, 2021. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feaa056

⁵ "Recent tensions Highlight the Enduring Syrian Refugee Crisis." 13-6-2022

⁶ "Testimony by Hardin Lang on the Humanitarian Impact of the Ongoing Conflict in Syria." 18-3-2022

<u>Testimony by Hardin Lang on The Humanitarian Impact of the Ongoing Conflict in Syria — Refugees International</u> 7 ibid

⁸ UN High Commissioner for Refugees, "UNHCR Projected Global Resettlement Needs 2022," https://www.unhcr.org/protection/resettlement/60d320a64/projected-global-resettlement-needs-2022.html ibid

^{10 &}quot;Testimony by Hardin Lang on the Humanitarian Impact of the Ongoing Conflict in Syria." 18-3-2022
<u>Testimony by Hardin Lang on The Humanitarian Impact of the Ongoing Conflict in Syria — Refugees International</u>

Syrian Refugee Crisis in Jordan

According to the UNHCR (2022), the number of refugees registered with UNHCR is 676,164 thousand;13,111 thousand refugees settle in the camps compared to 543,053 outside the camps¹¹. More specifically, 201,128 refugees live in Amman, 170,104 in Mafrag and 136,158 in Irbid, while the rest are scattered across different towns and villages in the Kingdom¹². 20% of Syrian refugees live in refugee camps in Jordan, while the rest are displaced in cities and rural areas across the Kingdom, including Amman, Irbid and Mafraq governorates, which host more than 75%13. According to statistics, most of the Syrians registered in Jordan are from the governorates of Daraa (39.9%), Homs (16.2%), Aleppo (11.4%), and Damascus countryside (11.3%)¹⁴. Regarding the financial situation of Syrian refugees, 38,700 families receive monthly cash assistance according to UNHCR 2021 statistics¹⁵. According to a study conducted by UNHCR and the World Bank in 2020, the poverty rate among Syrian refugees has reached 18% although "their poverty rate is already high." ¹⁶ Meanwhile, Syrian refugees living in camps struggle with opportunities to find work inside or outside the camps. For example, access to employment opportunities for refugees varies between camps, with most residents of Azraq camp reporting working within the camps, whereas Zaatari camp residents were more likely to find job opportunities outside the camps¹⁷. A quarter of Zaatari workers work in the agricultural sector outside the camps. Employment in the two camps relies heavily on incentive-based volunteer programs (57% in Azraq and 42% in Zaatari). When it comes to working in this sector, Zaatari camp workers complain most about the unsafe working conditions. According to what was mentioned in "Population Report for Refugees in Camps: Jordan 2022," "a quarter of respondents said they were paid below the minimum wage, and more than half of them lived in camps. and admits working in extreme temperatures."18 COVID-19 has had a noticeable impact on camp residents, with employment dropping by 8% in Azraq camp and 7% in Zaatari since the pandemic began. World Food Program (WFP) assistance continues to be the main source of income for more than half of the families in both camps, and the average monthly income per family is about the same regardless of camp. Families without working members reported that their monthly income was significantly lower than those with at least one working member, with an average of 162 JDs lower in Azraq and 163 JDs lower in Zaatari¹⁹. Syrian refugees outside the camps face more challenges than those inside. This is due to major economic and housing problems, especially in cities facing economic inflation and high prices, which are also affecting Jordanian citizens²⁰.

Meanwhile, refugees living outside the camps are increasingly forced to rely on substandard conditions and unsafe shelters. Most refugees also do not have written leases, and some have been threatened with eviction in 2021²¹. According to the World Food Program (WFP) for the year 2021, refugee families living outside camps who meet the criteria for "Vulnerable Families" are the ones who receive food aid in the form of cash vouchers due to lack of funding²². Thus, "extremely vulnerable families outside the camps receive a monthly allowance (23 JDs) per person, whereas refugees classified as 'vulnerable' outside the camps receive a monthly allowance (15 JDs) per person"23. Syrian refugees of primary, secondary, and tertiary education age face additional challenges related to educational opportunities. Syrian student enrolment in Jordanian schools has reached over 33,400 Syrian children from

¹¹ Situation Syria Regional Refugee Response (unhcr.org)

¹² https://data.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/94587

أنهة اللاجئين في الأردن - مركز كارنيغي. Syrian Refugee Crisis in Jordan" 09/21/2015. Malcolm H. Kerr-Carnegie Middle East Center: أنهة اللاجئين في الأردن - مركز كارنيغي

<u>(unhcr.org) المقوضية - الأردن</u>

¹⁶ ibid

^{17 &}quot;Population Survey of Refugees Residing in Camps: Jordan 2022" 29-6-2022. Document - 2022 VAF population report for refugees in Camps (unhcr.org)

¹⁹ ibid

<u>لاجئون سوريون خارج المخيمات؛ حياة أصغر من خيمة |</u> .2022-19 "Syrian Refugees Outside the Camps: A Life Smaller than a Tent" 19-5-2022. (ammannet.net) موقع عمان نت

يعيش 64% من اللاجئين في الأردن على أقل من 3 دنانير 30-2-203 "64% of Refugees in Jordan Live on Less than 3 dinars Per Day." 30-3-2022 UNHCR Jordan – في اليوم

<u>لاجئون سوريون خارج المخيمات؛ حياة أصغر من خيمة |</u> .22°3yrian Refugees Outside the Camps: A Life Smaller than a Tent" 19-5-2022. المحتون سوريون خارج المخيمات؛ حياة أصغر من خيمة | (ammannet.net) موقع عمان نت

kindergarten through secondary school for the 2020-2021 school year²⁴. This percentage is believed to be high compared to the percentage since Syrian refugee crisis started in Jordan. This is due to efforts done by the Ministry of Education, donors, and international organizations to increase enrolment of Syrian students in schools inside and outside camps²⁵. On the other hand, many students who have completed high school rely on grants provided by UNHCR or international organizations to complete their university education. For example, the Syrian-Jordan Education Program (EDU-SYRIA/EDU-JORDAN) funded by the European Union through the Union Regional Trust Fund has provided 70 fully funded scholarships for Syrian refugees to enrol in international diploma programs at Luminus Technical University College as well as undergraduate programs at Zarqa University, for the second semester of the academic year 2022/2021²⁶. However, refugees who want to complete tertiary education but have repeatedly failed to receive scholarships for university admission often choose not to complete tertiary education because of the high cost of education especially since they are subjected to parallel international programs.

As for the Jordanian host community, the unprecedented influx of Syrian refugees into Jordan has led to social and economic instability. There is growing concern among locals that Syrian refugees, who have been residing in Jordan for an extended period in Jordan, may seek permanent residence, exacerbating demographic instability. As Jordan's past experience with Palestinian refugees has shown, the longer Syrian refugees stay in Jordan, the higher their chances of permanent settlement²⁷²⁸.

Hosting more than one million Syrian refugees has undoubtedly had increased the population by 7-9% and has a major impact on the Jordanian economy. The influx of refugees has strained the country's resources and infrastructure, widened the budget deficit, and raised rent and food prices. Many jobseeking Jordanians are creating a job deficit that leads to lower wages, exacerbating the employment situation. With the suspension of all trade activity between the two countries, Jordan lost its Syrian market, while Turkey and Europe lost important trade routes in Syria, which had to be replaced with routes through Iraq²⁹.

As mentioned above, since the refugee crisis began, Jordan has provided shelter to Syrian refugees, represented by the Zaatari refugee camp near the city of Mafraq and the Azraq camp near the city of Zarqa. Large numbers of refugees subsequently settled outside these camps, continued to consume resources, compete with Jordanians for occupations related to various skills, and continued to escalate tensions with local populations³⁰.

²⁶ "Results of the Syrian/Jordanian Education Program Scholarships for 2022." <u>2022 عنائج منح برنامج التعليم السوبي/الأردني</u> لعام 2022. AR.EDU-SYRIA

 $^{^{27}}$ M. Hawamdeh and A. Al-Qteishat, 2018, "The Impact of Syrian Refugee Crisis on Neighbouring Countries." Journal of political science, 20(4). DOI: 10.22363/2313-1438-2018-20-4-548-554

²⁸ According to the UNHCR report entitled "The Sixth Regional Survey on Syrian Refugees' Perceptions and Judgments regarding Return to Syria" (2021), 69% of Syrian refugees in the host communities under study wish to remain in the host communities for now. https://data.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/85739

²⁹ M. Hawamdeh and A. Al-Qteishat, "The Impact of Syrian Refugee Crisis on Neighbouring Countries." Journal of political science, 20(4). DOI: 10.22363/2313-1438-2018-20-4-548-554

³⁰ Jordan Response Plan for the Syria Crisis 2018–2020 (Final) and Annex. Available from <u>irpsc</u>.

Such pressures can be represented as follows:

- 1. Employment sector: the presence of refugees in the governorates of Irbid and Mafraq put pressure on the economic infrastructure and "weakened job opportunities for Jordanians", as unemployment rate became 22.8% in the first quarter of 2022³¹. It was found that "the participation of Syrians in the labor market is directly related to the loss of jobs for Jordanians," especially since many Syrians do not have work permits and work outside the system set out in Jordan's labor law³².
- 2. Education Sector: Since half of the Syrian refugees in Jordan are under the age of eighteen, public schools have become overcrowded due to the increase in the number of students in classrooms. Therefore, double-shift schooling has been implemented to alleviate pressure on schools' facilities. Following this system has shortened instruction time and thus "affected the level of comprehension and understanding of students."³³
- 3. Health Sector: The presence of refugees in Jordan puts pressure on the health system. This is reflected in the high demand for medicines and medical consumables and the increase in the budget allocated to the Ministry of Health which was around 95 million dinars in 2018. A number of health centers have been established in various governorates, especially in Irbid and Mafraq.³⁴
- 4. Housing Sector: Rising demand for housing in Irbid and Mafraq governorates has led to rising in rents, as more than 80% of Syrian refugees are outside the camps. The pressure to find housing has heightened tensions between host communities and refugees and delayed marriage among host community youth³⁵.
- 5. The Water Sector: Water deficit has increased in the governorates of Irbid and Mafraq due to the concentration of Syrian refugees in these two governorates. For example, there has been a fourfold increase in water deficit in Mafraq Governorate due to the pressures caused by the influx of Syrian refugees. The average daily supply of water for Syrian refugees in Mafraq governorate has been reduced to 30 liters per person per day, although 80 liters per person per day needs to be provided to meet basic needs. ³⁶
- 6. Waste Sector: Waste management in Jordanian communities is considered one of the services most affected by the influx of Syrian refugees, with a high rate of about 340 tons per day as solid waste. Waste is increasing. The amount of liquid waste reaches almost 1200 cubic meters per day³⁷.

⁽dos.gov.jo) العمالة و البطالة – دائرة الإحصاءات العامة "Employment and Unemployment- Department of Statistics."

³² Sidqi Hamdan and Maha Dawas. Third International Conference: Refugees in the Middle East. The International Community: Opportunities and Challenges, 2018

³³ ibid

³⁴ ibid

³⁵ ibid

³⁶ Ibid, "Syrian Refugee Crisis in Jordan" 09/21/2015. Malcolm H. Kerr-Carnegie Middle East Center. <u>أَزَمَةُ اللاجِئِينَ فِي الأَرِدنَ - مِركَزَ</u> كارنيغي للشرق الأوسط - مؤسسة كارنيغي للسلام الحولي (carnegie-mec.org)

The refugee burden on service resources and the labor market has increased over the past two years (2020-2021) due to the spread of Covid-19. Given that Jordan's unemployment rate is known to be between 19.3% and 23.3% (according to the previous years)³⁸, the issuance of 62,000 work permits to Syrians in 2021³⁹ constitutes a pressing factor on the labor market and wage levels, especially in the private sector, and contributes to raising unemployment rates among Jordanians. Moreover, the enrolment of 33,400 Syrian refugees, who are between 7-18 years, in public schools, has an impact on the level of the educational process.

Objectives of the Study

- Determining the motives that increase the pressure of Syrian migration on Jordan.
- Suggesting solutions that reduce the burden of Syrian migration on Jordan.

The Study Problem

The increase of migration pressure in Jordan on the local population and refugees.

The Importance of the Study

To the researchers' knowledge, the significance of this study lies in the fact that it is the first study that adopted a qualitative analytical approach; it involves the refugees, members from the local community, experts, and decision-makers, to identify problems and to propose solutions. This study relies on a qualitative approach through conducting direct interviews with host community members and refugees and through direct and virtual focus groups with experts and decision-makers.

Main study Questions



^{38 &}quot;Employment and Unemployment- Department of Statistics." العمالة و البطالة – دائرة الإحصاءات العامة (dos.gov.jo)

³⁹ "62,000 permits..United Nations: Jordan issued in 2021 a record number of work permits for Syrians." <u>- حماة مباشر - Hama Live — 62</u> 2021ألف تصريح.. الأمم المتحدة: الأردن أصدر في 2021(tumblr.com)

Literature Review

(Al-Faouri and Abu Deraa, 2017)⁴⁰ analysed the pressures caused by Syrian refugees on Jordanian educational institutions; they came up with a necessary plan to meet the urgent educational needs to enhance the flexibility of educational systems to provide comprehensive solutions in this sector since 2011-2017. The researchers recommended the need to set priorities to encourage Syrian children to reregister in schools and build capacities to adapt to the educational environment. They also recommended finding solutions to overcrowding in classrooms, and paying attention to psychological and social issues for male and female students of different ages.

(Abu Rumman, 2018)⁴¹ conducted a study entitled "The Syrian Asylum Crisis: Challenges of the Voluntary Return of Refugees in Jordan." This study aimed to identify the actual situation of voluntary repatriation of Syrian refugees living in Jordan and the challenges they face regarding their voluntary return to their homeland. The researcher created a questionnaire in which 385 refugees participated in this questionnaire study. From the standpoint of Syrian refugees living in Jordan, the reality of voluntary repatriation to their country is high, while the challenges of voluntary repatriation to their own country are moderate. However, security and economic concerns may adversely affect voluntary repatriation. The study also provided a set of recommendations that could facilitate the voluntary and safe repatriation of Syrian refugees to their home country and provide the necessary foundation for their settlement.

The study of (Al-Shoubaki and Harris 2018)⁴² entitled "The Impact of Syrian Refugees on Jordan: An Analytical Framework" confirmed that meeting the needs of Syrian refugees in Jordan has strained the resources of the Jordanian government and has had a significant impact on Jordanian society in general. This study has developed a comprehensive analytical framework to better understand the humanitarian, political, economic, social, cultural and environmental challenges facing Jordan and its government. A comprehensive analytical framework was developed based on systems thinking and a systematic review of gray literature and peer-reviewed articles. This framework provides a better way to examine the potential consequences of mass influxes of refugees and covers the key factors based on realistic criteria related to the refugee burden in policy making. This analytical framework has been applied to Jordan as a host country since the influx of Syrian refugees into Jordan in 2011-2015 and can be used as a comparative analytical tool for other host countries.

A study, titled "Syrian Refugees in Jordan: Realities and Future Prospects" (Al-Sheyab, 2018)⁴³, explored the realities of Syrian refugees in Jordanian society and their future prospects in Jordanian society by identifying Jordan's legal position regarding Syrian refugees and the reality of their presence in Jordan. A descriptive approach was used to conduct this research; it identified that the problem of integrating Syrian refugees into Jordanian society poses a number of challenges that adversely affect Jordanian society, the most important of which are: Economic and social challenges, influx of refugees hampering Jordan's economic development, soaring food, fuel and rent costs, rising trade and fiscal deficits and public debt, with an emphasis on service infrastructure, especially schools, hospitals, sewage and water systems. Key findings from the study include: the exacerbation of economic crises, the government's failure to meet the citizens' needs for services due to the burden caused by the Syrian refugees, and the UNHCR's failure to recognize all the numbers of Syrians that the Jordanian government considers refugees. The study also recommends the need for and importance of research on all aspects of the impact of Syrian refugees on host communities in Jordan.

DOI: <u>10.14254/2071-8330.2018/11-2/11</u>

⁴⁰ (12) (PDF) اللجوء السوري وأثره على القطاع التعليمي في الاردن (Syrian asylum and its impact on the educational sector in Jordan (researchgate.net)

⁴¹ Jumana Abu Rumman. Third International Conference: Refugees in the Middle East. The International Community: Opportunities and Challenges 2018

⁴² Waed AlShoubaki and Michael Harris (2018). The impact of Syrian refugees on Jordan: A framework for analysis

⁽mandumah.com) : الوصف: اللاجئون السوريون في الأردن "Syrian Refugees in Jordan" : الوصف: اللاجئون السوريون في الأردن

The study, entitled "The Future of Syrian Refugees in Jordan" (Al-Mansi and Mahafza, 2018)44, sheds light on the reality of Syrian refugees in Jordan and examines their future in the absence of solutions to voluntarily return to their home country. This study followed an analytical description of the lives of Syrian refugees inside and outside the camps and examined future scenarios. The study concluded that Jordan, in collaboration with local and international organizations, is making great efforts to alleviate the suffering of Syrian refugees in Jordan. It also found that the best solution, when faced with a lack of voluntary repatriation at the moment, is to give them broader rights in jobs and education and to help them integrate partially within Jordanian society but without naturalizing them or removing their refugee status. The study also shows that this partial integration protects them from poverty, deprivation, negative coping strategies and discrimination, reduces public and social dissatisfaction caused by the influx of refugees, and supports consumer goods. It also concluded that if donor countries honour their commitments, they can help stimulate growth and improve national economy.

(Hamdan and Dawas, 2018)45 conducted a study titled "Impacts of Forced Migration on Jordan's Economic and Social Sectors." The study reveals the impact of the influx of Syrian refugees on different sectors. The most important of these are the economic and social sectors. The researchers noted that the influx of Syrian refugees has put huge pressure on Jordan as a host country. Refugees are also impacting the state's infrastructure, services, and natural resources, putting pressure on the country's economic resources. This research is based on data from the Department of Statistics, administrative records from various official and unofficial bodies, and international organizations. According to the Ministry of Statistics and the 2015 General Population and Housing Census, the distribution of Syrians reached 13.3%, while the distribution across the four governorates (Amman, Irbid, Mafraq and Zarqa) accounted for 4.6%, 3.6%, 2.2% and 1.8% respectively. The findings of the study conclude that the Syrian refugee crisis has had a severe economic impact on Jordan in the areas of employment, education, health care, housing, water, and waste.

The study conducted by (Mansour, Al-Omari, and Sultan 2018)⁴⁶ and entitled "The Burden of Cancer Among Syrian Refugees in Jordan" concluded that the number of cancer cases among Syrian refugees registered in the Jordanian Cancer Registry reached its peak in 2013, with 510 patients diagnosed with cancer. The number, then, decreased, which coincided with changes in funding because of the increased pressure on the Ministry of Health. Older people, women, and patients with progressive disease were less likely to be registered. These results overlap with data obtained from the authors' center registry. Using population-based incidence rates by age and sex, the researchers estimated that 869 Syrians are diagnosed with cancer each year in Jordan. Using diagnosis-specific cost records of the King Hussein Cancer Foundation, the researchers estimated that the cost of their treatments is 15.6 million Jordan dinars (US\$22.1 million).

(Thiombiano et. Al 2018)⁴⁷ conducted a study entitled "Agricultural Livelihoods of Syrian Refugees in Jordan", in the governorates of Amman, Irbid, Mafraq and Madaba. The study analyzed the current socio-economic and livelihood context of Syrian refugees working in the agricultural sector in Jordan. It also analyzed providing an updated understanding of the living and working conditions of Syrian refugees. The aim of the study was to better understand the agricultural livelihoods of refugees (assets, strategies, shocks/risks) and to identify the best options for improving their agricultural livelihoods to guide refugee-targeted interventions.

⁴⁴ Ahmed Al-Mansi and Mohammed Mahafza (2018). Third International Conference: Refugees in the Middle East. The International Community: Opportunities and Challenges.

⁴⁵ Sidqi Hamdan and Maha Dawas (2018). Third International Conference: Refugees in the Middle East. The International Community: Opportunities and Challenges.

⁴⁶ Asem Mansour, Amal Alomari, Iyad Sultan (2018). "Burden of Cancer Among Syrian Refugees in Jordan". DOI: 10.1200/JGO.18.00132

⁴⁷ <u>Boundia Alexandre Thiombiano</u>et. Al. 2018, "Agricultural Livelihoods for Syrian Refugees in Jordan." DOI: <u>10.13140/RG.2.2.31901.82408</u>

(Ali and Al-Ganidah 2020)⁴⁸ conducted a study entitled "Syrian Refugees in Jordan: Burden or Blessing", which examined the impact of demographic, social and psychological variables on Jordanians' attitudes toward Syrian refugees. The study design is primarily quantitative with a qualitative technique to support and extend the study findings. Data were collected from 199 Jordanians over 16 weeks in 2015. Quantitative data was analyzed using hierarchical regression methods. The results show that Jordan's attitudes towards Syrian refugees are shaped by problems such as unemployment and lack of resources. Income, geographic location, and patriotism were found to have statistically significant effects on Jordanian attitudes toward Syrian refugees. Jordanians living in the north of the country (where large numbers of Syrian refugees live in the region), high-income Jordanians, and Jordanians with high level of patriotism show the most positive attitudes towards Syrian refugees.

(Breulmann et.al. 2021)⁴⁹ in their study "The influx of Syrian refugees in Jordan: Effects on the water sector" found that the water crisis in Jordan was exacerbated by the influx of Syrian refugees. The burden and pressure on water and sewage networks increased, revealing the shortcomings in the water networks' infrastructure which was not built to support this vast increase of the population. The study confirmed that the northern governorates of Irbid and Mafraq have been severely impacted by the influx of refugees and population growth, leading to water shortages and, ultimately, enormous pressures on the sewage network and wastewater treatment plants. The study suggests that long-term technological change needs to be monitored in order to mitigate water sector problems and bring about institutional change through the political will of the Jordanian government.

The study entitled "Social, Economic and Environmental Impacts of Syrian Refugees in Jordan: A Jordanian Perspective" (Khawaldah and AlZboun, 2022)⁵⁰ is based primarily on available data on Syrian refugees from relevant institutions in Jordan such as the Department of Statistics, the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation (MOPIC), and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). In addition, a questionnaire was designed and distributed online to a representative sample of Jordanians (1080 respondents) to achieve the objectives of the study. Findings showed that pressures on the labor market, services and infrastructure, along with rising housing rents, were the main economic impacts of Syrian refugees, especially in the neighboring governorates of Syria in Jordan. The social effects were an increase in crime and drug rates. Refugees have also an impact on clean water, energy and the environment. However, respondents reported some positive effects of refugees including supplying the market with highly skilled and low-paid workers, making the Jordanian market more competitive. The study concluded with several proposed recommendations for mitigating the negative impact of refugees on Jordan and adapting to the crisis.

(Al-Shobaki 2022)⁵¹ conducted a study entitled "Syrian Refugees in Jordan: Between Economic Accuracy and Legal Weakness" which sheds light on many issues related to the Jordanian legal system for refugees and international obligations to protect refugees. The study identified the absence of a national refugee legislation that addresses the humanitarian needs of Syrian refugees and their civil rights. This is considered a legal weakness. Failure to address legal recognition of Syrian refugees exacerbates their economic vulnerability due to their inability to enter the labor market, barriers to the documentation process, and lack of access to health care and education.

An exploratory study conducted by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in collaboration with the Nama Center for Strategic Consultation (2022) showed positive attitudes of Jordanians towards Syrian refugees⁵². Of the Jordanian sample (3,229 people) interviewed for this study, 92%

⁵² "UNHCR Study Reveals Positive Jordanian Attitude towards Refugees" (2022). <u>UNHCR Study Reveals Jordan's Positive Attitude towards Refugees – UNHCR Jordan</u>

⁴⁸ Nafez Ali, Saeb F. Al Ganideh "Syrian Refugees in Jordan: Burden or Boon" Sciedu Press, 2020. DOI: https://doi.org/10.5430/rwe.v11n1p180

⁴⁹ Breulmann et al 2021. "(2) (PDF) Influx of Syrian Refugees in Jordan | Effects on the Water Sector (researchgate.net)

⁵⁰ Hamzah Khawaldah and Nidal AlZboun 2022. "Socio-economic and Environmental Impacts of Syrian Refugees in Jordan: A Jordanians' perspective" DOI: <u>10.1016/j.heliyon.2022.e10005</u>

⁵¹ "Syrian Refugees in Jordan: Between Economic Precarity and Legal Vulnerability" Waed AlShoubaki 2022
Revisiting the 1951 Refugee Convention: Exploring Global Perspectives. ED. Anasua Basu, Ray Chaudhury. (2) (PDF) Syrian Refugees in Jordan: Between Economic Precarity and Legal Vulnerability (researchgate.net)

sympathized with the refugees. Additionally, 76% of the Jordanian sample thought the government's handling of refugee files was positive. The majority believe that the Jordanian government should have put more emphasis on helping Jordanians than refugees, but it did too much to help refugees. More than 75% of the respondents stated that jobs, wages, and access to services were negatively affected with the presence of refugees. This study shows some interesting percentages: 59% of Jordanians think that refugees have affected the Jordanian economy while78.4% think that refugees have negatively affected their personal economic situation. In contrast, 68% of Jordanians believe refugees receive a lot of support. The study concluded that the decline in positive attitudes towards refugees is related to the poor economic situation of Jordanians.

After reviewing previous studies, the researchers found that this study differed from the rest in the methodology used, which relied largely on quantitative approaches of data analysis or content analysis. However, this study was based on a qualitative approach with direct interviews with Syrian refugees and host communities, and focus group sessions with experts and decision makers. Additionally, this study is more recent than previous studies. As for the topics covered by previous studies, which are similar in content to this study, the researchers took advantage of information presented in previous studies and developed them based on analysis of results from research samples.

Phase II

Methodology

In order to answer the research question and achieve its objectives, the study used objective descriptive analysis methods through qualitative research describing the reality of the refugee situation in terms of numbers, family size, geographical distribution, education, and work. The challenges posed by refugee pressure on resources such as water, energy and services were also described and proposed solutions to overcome these challenges were identified. The real situation of Syrian refugee crisis was also analyzed to predict the future of pressures if the wave of forced migration to Jordan continues. In this study, qualitative methods were applied by exchanging ideas and experiences among researchers, refugees, host communities, experts and decision makers, employing direct questioning and focus group means.

Study Area: Irbid and Mafraq governorates.

Study Time Span: The period of Syrian forced migration from 2011- the third quarter of 2022.

Study Population: Jordanian host community and Syrian refugees in the governorates of Irbid and Mafraq; experts and decision-makers: the Electricity Company, the Water Company, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Higher Education, the Ministry of Labor, the Vocational Training Corporation, and the Ministry of Health.

The study sample:

10 respondents from the host community

10 respondents from Syrian refugees

10 experts

10 decision makers

Demographic characteristics of the Syrian refugee sample

Name	Age	Gender	Location	Educational level	Occupation	Income Status	Number of family members	Interview date
First interview	22	М	Irbid	Zarqa private University, Power engineering	University Student	low	-	22-5-2-22
Second interview	23	М	Mafraq	Jordan University of Science and Technology, Pharmacology	University student	low	-	29-5-2022
Third interview	37	М		uneducated	Self-employed	low	5	15-6-2022
Fourth interview	55	М	Irbid	Arabic and Media studies, Damascus University	Part-time teacher and administrative cooperate at UNICEF	low	5	15-6-2022
Fifth interview	42	F	Irbid	Uneducated	-	low	5	28-5-2022
Sixth interview	44	М	Irbid	uneducated	Volunteer at an orphanage	low	6	28-5-2022
Seventh interview	66	М	Mafraq	-	Ex-police officer in Syrian army	low	7	24-6-2022

Eighth interview	73	F	Irbid	Uneducated	Housewife	low	7	15-6-2022
Nineth interview	47	F	Mafraq	Uneducated	Widow	medium	3	1-6-2022
Tenth interview	60	F	Irbid	Uneducated	Housewife	medium	3	15-6-2022

The demographic characteristics of the host community sample

Name	Age	Gender	Location	Educational level	Occupation	Income Status	Number of family members	Interview date
First interview	41	М	Irbid	Educated	Contractor	medium	5	26-5-2-22
Second interview	32	М	Mafraq	Educated	Public surgery	high	single	27-5-2022
Third interview	41	М	Mafraq	Educated	Works in the Royal Administration in the Department of Environment and Tourism	medium	5	27-5-2022
Fourth interview	66	М	Irbid & Mafraq	Educated	Businessman/trader	high	6	1-6-2022
Fifth interview	62	F	Irbid	Educated	Employed	medium	single	5-6-2022
Sixth interview	40	М	Irbid	Educated	Teacher	medium	4	12-6-2022
Seventh interview	22	М	Irbid	Uneducated	Worker at water purifier supplier	low	single	13-6-2022
Eighth interview	36	М	Mafraq	Educated	Pharmacist	medium	single	28-6-2022
Nineth interview	47	М	Irbid	Educated- Engineer	Veterinary clinic	high	-	28-6-2022
Tenth interview	35	F	Irbid	Educated	Teacher	medium	4	30-6-2022

Demographic characteristics of the sample of experts and decision-makers

Name	Gender	Location	Job title Employment destination	Description	Interview Date
1	М	Amman	Former minister of education	Decision maker	Zoom 25-5-2022
2	F	Amman	Higher Population Council	Decision maker	Zoom 25-5-2022
3	М	Amman	Economic expert	Expert	Face-to-face interview 24-5-2022
4	М	Amman	Head of Department at the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation	Decision maker	Zoom 25-5-2022
5	М	Irbid	Employee at Ministry of Water and Irrigation	Decision maker	Zoom 25-5-2022

6	М	Amman	Former Director of the Vocational Training Corporation and former Secretary General of the Ministry of Labor	Decision maker	Zoom 25-5-2022
7	М	Irbid	A medical doctor and an expert at RELIEF	Expert	Face-to-face interview 24-5-2022
8	М	Amman	Former Secretary General of the Ministry of Youth	Expert	Face-to-face interview 24-5-2022
9	М	Irbid	Former General Manager of the Electricity Company	Decision maker	Zoom 25-5-2022
10	М	Amman	Community peace Center	Decision maker	Zoom 25-5-2022
11	М	Irbid	Irbid Mayor	Decision maker	Zoom 25-5-2022
12	F	Amman	Ministry of Health	Decision maker	Zoom 25-5-2022
13	F	Amman	Ministry of Health	Decision maker	Zoom 25-5-2022
14	F	Amman	GIZ	Expert	Face-to-face interview 24-5-2022
15	F	Amman	Ministry of Education- Research Unit	Expert	Face-to-face interview 24-5-2022
16	F	Amman	Ministry of Education- Research Unit	Expert	Face-to-face interview 24-5-2022
17	М	Irbid	University professor	Expert	Face-to-face interview 24-5-2022
18	М	Amman	Former Professor of political science and international relations- Yarmouk university	Expert	Face-to-face interview 24-5-2022
19	М	Amman	Employee at Humanitarian Relief Foundation	Expert	Face-to-face interview 24-5-2022
20	М	Irbid	Former Director of Refugees, Displaced Persons and Forced Migration Studies Center - Yarmouk University	Expert	Face-to-face interview 24-5-2022

Study Data

Primary and secondary data were used to achieve the study objectives.

Secondary Data

The researchers reviewed related literature through searching the following keywords (forced migration to Jordan, Syrian asylum, impact of Syrian refugees in Jordan, refugee pressure, The future of asylum) or the following topics (the pressure of Syrian refugees on education, water, energy, health) on scientific search engines and databases (google scholar, system database, Research gate). The researchers viewed and benefitted from research and reports on this subject and gathered information on the impact of Syrian refugees on services, energy and water resources which affect both communities (Syrian refugees and Jordanian host community).

Primary Data

It was obtained through face-to-face interviews with the host community and Syrian refugees as well as from focus group meetings of experts and stakeholders.

Study Procedures:

A Review of Related Literature

The researchers prepared the study tools by developing interview questions: (8) closed-ended questions and (2) open-ended questions related to the personal data of Syrian refugees and the host community. They also developed (3) open-ended questions for the focus group meetings of experts and decision makers.

Research Tools Arbitration

The study tools were arbitrated by three experts specialized in refugee crisis, displacement, and forced migration.

Selection of the Study Area

The study area was chosen based on the governorates most affected by the refugee situation, as it hosts large numbers of refugees, namely the governorates of Irbid and Mafraq.

• Selection of the Study Sample

The research team randomly selected 10 male and female Syrian refugees between the ages of 22 and 73. Another sample of 10 individuals, male and female, were randomly selected from the host community and ranged in age from 22 to 66 years. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with each of these sample groups to answer the questions assigned to them. The research team also deliberately selected a sample of ten experts specialized in the field of refugee crisis and forced migration and ten decision-makers from the host community from both sexes. focus group meetings were conducted for experts and decision-makers to answer the questions directed to this sample.

Participants' testimonies highlight the challenges faced by Syrian refugees and host communities due to asylum pressures, and how decision makers can find solutions to help them face these challenges and mitigate these pressures.

Application of Study Tools:

The study tools were applied to answer study questions and its objectives following two stages:

Stage One:

Face-to-face interviews were conducted with the study sample from the 10 respondents from the host community and 10 Syrian refugees. Each respondent was interviewed individually. These interviews focused on the challenges faced by the sample members and the solutions they proposed.

Stage Two:

The researchers conducted a face-to-face focus group with 10 experts who have previous experience with refugee crisis, displacement and forced migration or were/are working with civil society organizations and international organizations concerned with refugees and interested in refugee crisis, displacement and forced migration. In addition, the researchers conducted virtual focus group meeting via Zoom application with 10 former and current decision-makers in the fields of education, health, energy, labor, water, and others. The focus groups discussions focused on the impact of the refugee influx on the water and energy sectors, health and education services, and employment in Irbid and Mafraq. The discussions also analyzed the shape of demographic pressures in the next decade and proposed possible solutions to alleviate pressures on Syrian migrants with the help of host communities and decision-makers.

- Presenting the results of interviews and focus groups and their qualitative objective analysis.
- Coming up with recommendations
- Writing the final report in both Arabic and English

Phase III

First Stage Results

Presenting and analyzing the results of interviews with the host community

The main challenges or problems faced by the host community due to refugee pressure.

Many Jordanians have great sympathy for the Syrian refugees; they often provided free housing to Syrian families or opened their Jordanian clans' offices to them on related occasions especially during the first years of the crisis. Some of these clans are from Sareeh in Irbid and Bani Hassan in Mafrag. However, the host community sample unanimously agreed that they suffer from the harm caused by Syrians. One citizen spoke of how some Syrian refugee children provoke Jordanian children, especially their praise of President Bashar al-Assad and his success in the elections again⁵³. Another raised the issue of abusing local children when going to school or shopping places for no reason⁵⁴. Another highlighted the loss of trust between hosts and guests on the one hand, and between Syrians themselves⁵⁵. Someone reported that personal interest and self-love emerged between both parties, leading to a stressful relationship between them⁵⁶. He emphasized how Syrians use "tricks, grievances, and lies" to achieve personal ends without respect for each other or the host society⁵⁷.

One female citizen spoke of the presence of large numbers of Syrians who believe in magic and ancient superstitions that negatively affect Jordanian society⁵⁸. Two citizens explained that Syrians do not understand Jordanian customs and traditions as they "stay up late, make fuss and noises while playing cards without any consideration for their local neighbours or the host country." They added that this phenomenon spreads widely in residential neighbourhoods⁵⁹. One citizen emphasized that Jordanians are suffering daily as Syrians are sitting in front of their houses in large numbers causing extraordinary inconvenience⁶⁰. He also said neighbourhoods in Jordan are overcrowded with Syrian refugees which led to lack of parking spaces in front of their homes.

Two citizens added: "Syrian children play very loudly in the streets late at night." This is a widespread phenomenon in Irbid, especially on the west side of University Street⁶¹. They added, "kids steal clothes and anything they find outside the house."62 A female respondent stressed that the Syrians refused to apologize for the inconvenience or lower their voices, and their response was: "You, Jordanians, are monkeys; are you bothered by our voices now? Where is the respect for neighbours?"63 Another citizen said that Jordanian families were suffering wherever they went, especially because of the pressure of the presence of Syrian refugees in recreational places ⁶⁴. On the other hand, a respondent spoke of how the growing sympathy for Syrian mothers and children is turned into a phenomenon of begging⁶⁵.

Another thing that the host community sample unanimously agreed on is the challenges faced by Jordanian workers due to the presence of Syrian refugee workers. One of the citizens explained that the Jordanian contractor relied on Syrian workers instead of Jordanian workers since the Jordanian worker's daily wage is 25 dinars, while the Syrian worker's daily wage is 10 dinars⁶⁶. Furthermore, another citizen complained, "the low wages of Syrian workers have reduced the opportunities for Jordanian workers."⁶⁷ The same citizens explained that many problems occurred at work, especially in Mafraq and other governorates at the Kingdom, as Syrians left (Zaatari) camp without work permits

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53 All these interviews at this stage were conducted with a sample of the host community
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Interview 1

⁵⁴ Interview 2

⁵⁵ Interview 4

⁵⁶ Interview 6

⁵⁸ Interview 5

⁵⁹ Interview 7,5

⁶⁰ Interview 7

⁶¹ Interview 7,9

⁶² ibid

⁶³ Interview 10 ⁶⁴ Interview 6

⁶⁵ Interview 8

⁶⁶ Interview 1

⁶⁷ Interview 3

which allowed them to get low-wage job opportunities⁶⁸. He added that "Syrian workers have mysteriously disappeared during labor inspections and many of them have no ID or work permits." 69

One citizen said the Syrian labor has helped improve the agriculture and catering sectors, resulting in jobs being taken from Jordanian workers as Syrian workers now occupy part of the job market due to their experience and cheap labor⁷⁰.

One citizen spoke of rising unemployment and lack of job opportunities among Jordanians due to the pressure caused by Syrian workers, especially in northern governorates⁷¹. Another said he worked at a water purifier supplier for a salary of 200 JDs, which is below Jordan's minimum wage. However, the owner replaced him with a Syrian worker with a salary of 120 JDs and more working hour. This applies to all service establishments such as restaurants⁷². He also highlighted another issue, that is, Syrians opened shops that sell at lower prices than Jordanian shops. Syrian shops, according to the respondent, are backed by international organizations and secure many goods through illegal means such as smuggling, causing many Jordanians to close their shops and leave many unemployed workers behind⁷³.

An engineer said that Syrians who work on farms, especially those who work in pastures, are often reluctant to listen to their employers. They oppose veterinary medicine on the grounds that they have more experience, which has resulted in the death of many animals inside the farms, causing Jordanians to lose faith in Syrian labor. Despite Jordanian employers' sympathy for them, employers are vulnerable to theft by their Syrian workers⁷⁴. One of the residents complained that he had hired Syrians to lay bricks on top of one of the houses. Later (during the winter season), it was discovered that they had not laid a cement base, which resulted in water leakage and the destruction of the bricks. He had to relay the bricks, resulting in significant losses for the house owner⁷⁵.

The host community sample had a similar perspective on the medical problems caused by the presence of Syrian refugees. According to a Jordanian doctor, many Syrians use the excuse of not having enough money to take advantage of the services provided in Jordanian medical centers, despite the fact that many of them are wealthy and well-invested⁷⁶.

Another respondent explained that demographic pressure affected the Jordanian health sector, causing a significant shortage of basic treatments that were available before the Syrian crisis. He went on to say that while a number of Syrian doctors working in the governorate of Irbid are dedicated to their work, their work is limited to providing needles and medicine in institutions affiliated with international organizations. He added that Syrian doctors believe the medicine they prescribe is better than the antibiotic, and although the situation has harmed them, they are not convinced by the doctors' advice. This respondent believes that Syrian doctors require scientific advancement because they are unfit to practice as legal doctors, which frequently leads to medical disasters such as an increase in the number of deaths among them⁷⁷. One of respondents emphasized that Syrian doctors working in international organizations exploit Syrian patients to force them to get medical treatment in the private clinics where they work⁷⁸.

Others stated that the Syrian patient's culture is restricted, and that many Syrians seek treatment in pharmacies, which has negatively impacted their health⁷⁹. Also, the greatest interest for Syrians is to

⁶⁸ ibid

⁶⁹ ibid

⁷⁰ Interview 4

⁷¹ Interview 6

⁷² Interview 7

⁷³ ibid

⁷⁴ Interview 9

⁷⁵ Interview 4

⁷⁶ Interview 2

⁷⁷ ibid ⁷⁸ Interview 8

⁷⁹ Interview 2,8. Referring to a report published on AmmanNet (2015) entitled "Syrians are turning to pharmacies in light of the high costs of treatment", "the neurologist, Dr. Ahmed Al-Owaid, "warned of the dangers of taking medicines without medical advice, due to the pharmacist's inability to accurately diagnose diseased cases, Especially for those with chronic diseases, because of the overlap and (ammannet.net) موقع عمان نت | "تحول السوريون الى الصيدليات في ظل ارتفاع تكاليف العلاج" ". similarity of their symptoms

obtain x-rays and sick leaves to send them to international organizations⁸⁰. Another claimed that demographic pressure in the governorates of Irbid and Mafrag caused discrimination between the true and false among them, particularly nurses, doctors, and patients in general⁸¹. Another respondent stated that demographic pressure had an impact on Jordan's health sector, resulting in a significant shortage of basic treatments that were available prior to the Syrian asylum82.

Some of the negative behaviours of Syrian refugees were also discussed. One of the residents complained that Syrians use the term "refugee" and resort to begging to meet their basic needs83. They employ a variety of techniques, such as direct begging or the use of magic and superstitions⁸⁴. One of the pharmacists emphasized that the increase sympathy for Syrians resulted in numerous cases of fraud and deception⁸⁵. As a result, some of them were imprisoned, and the increase in sympathy for mothers and children exacerbated the phenomenon of beggary. Some Syrians even used this sympathy to obtain price discounts, which became a privilege they used to prove that the prices they obtained were the original and not the result of sympathy from the other⁸⁶.

According to some of the interviewees from the host community, they indicated the emergence of sporadic problems related to population density, the most important of which are:

- Water shortage and high water waste⁸⁷.
- Some complained about some of the tenants fleeing, leaving behind large amounts of water and electricity bills, as well as extensive sabotage inside the houses⁸⁸.
- The rise in housing rents, which caused many problems, the most serious of which is the failure of building owners and landlords to respond to residents' complaints because they are paid well by international organizations89. One of respondents confirmed that "house rents have tripled, as an apartment now costs between 200-250 dinars rather than 70-80 dinars." It became increasingly difficult for Jordanians to find affordable housing⁹⁰.
- Some Syrians caused problems for Jordanians when they owned cars registered in under Jordanian owners, because the Syrians abandoned their legal responsibilities in some accidents and refused to acknowledge them or the damage they caused⁹¹.
- According to the study sample, the Syrian refugees are divided into three main classes:
- lower class that accounts for the majority of refugees
- Middle class which is the second tier of refugees
- The affluent class, a wealthy class that exploited both Syrians and Jordanians. The issue here is that the Jordanian government or UNHCR did not establish clear regulations distinguishing between these classes and how to deal with them⁹².

Some Jordanians wondered how they would deal with various political, ideological, sectarian, and ethnic tendencies. Are all Syrian refugees opposed to the regime? Are all Syrian refugees fleeing the war or the regime in Jordan? Or do they have other objectives?

The main challenges or problems that Syrian refugees face in the host community.

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80 ibid
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⁸¹ Interview 2

⁸² Interview 6. When examining the validity of this information, we found that the burden of pressure on the health sector by Syrian refugees is "the increase in the rate of medical and non-medical consumables by no less than 30%, and the increase in the consumption of treatments." Please refer to تقدم في النظام الصحي للاجئين السوريين في الاردن اصورة وخير اوكالة عمون الاخبارية

⁽almadenahnews.com) توقيف متسولين و تحويلهم للقضاء باريد - المحينة نبوز (almadenahnews.com) روايات مثيرة عن وسائل لكسب المال ينتهجها اللاجئون السوريون في شمال الأردن وبعضهم يقفز من من نكبة اللجوء إلى الثراء (alguds.co.uk)

⁸⁴ Interview 3

⁸⁵ Interview 8

⁸⁷ Interview 3,6. Referring to internet literature review, it was found that the presence of Syrian refugees in Jordan has increased مياه اربد؛ اللاجئون السوريون ابرز أسباب نقص المياه في المحافظة pressure on water sources. For more information, please check (factjo.com), and also check the experts' interviews

⁸ Interview 2

⁸⁹ Interview 6,7

⁽alwakeelnews.net) اللاجئون السوريون يرفعون اجور السكن في المفرق الى 300 دينار - الوكيل الاخباري Interview 1. Please refer to به المغرق الم

⁹¹ Interview 2

⁹² Interview 2

These challenges or problems were identified through personal interviews with ten Syrian refugees of various ages, genders, cultural and educational differences, and living standards. **Bullying was identified by the majority of the sample as one of the challenges they face in their host society**. A Syrian student at Zarqa University stated that the main issue he has faced since arriving to Jordan is bullying, which locals have expressed in terms such as "You are Syrian or a refugee, go back to where you came from." Another refugee from Irbid governorate added that bullying among children is much more prevalent than among older age groups, and phrases like "You are a refugee and you are Syrian, you are a stranger, you are a foreigner" are common in alleys and schools. This places significant psychological pressure on both children and parents ⁹⁴.

When a female uneducated Syrian refugee complained to the people of the neighborhood about the harm done to her children by children from the host community, their response was direct and sharp, "Get out of here, you are strangers;" this forced her to relocate to another area. She went on to say that she was bullied again while working as a domestic worker, when one of them refused to pay her the full wage, saying, "You are a Syrian refugee with no possessions. You will eventually return to your home country." One of the Syrian refugees confirmed that there is a problem of bullying among children, and the phrase "You are Syrian" is common on the lips of the majority, and some of them were even heard saying: "Whether you are a Syrian, a naturalized Jordanian, an expatriate, or a visitor, you are not a local citizen."

A Syrian refugee stated that she lived on the second floor and that the owner of the house, who lives on the first floor, was constantly watching her. She suffered greatly from restrictions on her freedom of entry and exit, making her feel as if she were living in a cage or under a microscope in all her movements and while sitting outside the house. When she decided to leave because she was fed up, the house owner replied, "go to your country, may God curse the hour in which I saw you."97 Another female refugee claimed that school students bullied her and her children, and that when she complained to the principal, she dismissed the complaint as well, saying, "You are Syrians, and our children are more important than your children."98 According to the problem of bullying, the majority of the sample confirmed their suffering at the hands of their neighbors and neighborhood residents. A refugee woman stated that she had a problem with her neighbors, particularly children, who repeatedly assaulted her children and threw stones at them and their homes. Because of personal danger, she was forced to relocate.⁹⁹ A Syrian refugee woman was evicted from her home in the middle of the night¹⁰⁰. Another confirmed that the first issue he encountered was that one of his relatives was severely beaten, and the house was attacked by neighbors, and he was threatened if he complained to anyone 101. One of the refugee women added that despite her efforts to collect and dispose of waste on a regular basis, her neighbors always accused her of littering and of being the source of the neighborhood's filth. She confirmed that the accusation was directed solely at her, and no one believed her when she denied the allegations¹⁰².

Furthermore, some addressed the issue of harassment in general and its consequences for them. A Syrian refugee stated that many Syrian female refugees have been harassed, particularly by house owners, employers, and market vendors. He also added that a house owner had harassed one of the Syrian families renting an apartment at his house, and when his request was not met, he expelled them from the house. Another female Syrian refugee was expelled from her house in the middle of the night¹⁰³. A local also stabbed a young man from his relatives for harassing the sister of this young man, who tried to defend his sister¹⁰⁴. He went on to say that a Syrian student was severely beaten in a

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93 All interviews at this stage are from Syrian refugees sample.
Interview 1
94 Interview 4
95 Interview 5
96 Interview 6
97 Interview 8
98 Interview 10
99 Interview 5
100 Interview 10
101 Interview 7
102 Interview 10
103 Interview 4
104 ibid
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university because a local harassed a Syrian girl who was also a student there. Some Syrian families were forced to send their daughters to school on a private bus because their daughters were harassed by some people¹⁰⁵. According to one of the refugees' accounts, the house of one of his relatives was attacked, and one of the residents was beaten by a group of people; he, himself, was personally threatened and would be subjected to constant harassment if he filed a complaint. He refused to mention the profanity with which they were harassed¹⁰⁶.

One of the widowed refugee women stated that the first issue she encountered was harassment from the owner of the house she rented from. He explicitly and directly asked for a relationship with her, and when she refused, he punished her by cutting off her water, forcing her to go and live at her uncle's house¹⁰⁷. She went on to say that one of the drunken young men had harassed her and her cousin, and when her uncle and the house members approached him and asked him to leave calmly, he threatened them with inappropriate words. Eventually, they had to contact the owner of the house, who came out and solved the problem with him 108. She added that she was harassed almost every day, to the point where one of the workers in a mobile shop told her, "Take my phone number, let's keep in touch, and consider that your phone bill has been paid," and then offered her money in exchange for a sexual relationship¹⁰⁹. A sixty-year-old refugee woman reported going to a market and asking the shop owner about the price of a commodity, to which he replied, "The price is free, give me your personal number." When she told him she was his mother's age, he replied "It's okay, give me your number." She also stated that she is unable to leave the house alone due to direct harassment from the host community¹¹⁰.

One of the difficulties encountered by the study sample was the decision to leave the camps and enter the host country. One of the Syrian students at the University of Science and Technology stated that he entered Jordan and spent two months at Al-Bashabsha camp in Ramtha before finding a sponsor for a small sum of money (200 dollars) and managed to leave the camp¹¹¹. Another refugee stated that he entered Jordan in 2013 and left Zaatari camp after fifteen days with the help of the UNHCR¹¹². While one of the refugees, a Damascus University graduate, stated that he entered Jordan in 2012 and stayed in the Zaatari camp for seven years, working as a part-time teacher¹¹³. A female refugee noted that she entered the Zaatari camp in 2014 and left after a short time in exchange for a 100,000 Syrian pound guarantee to a local. As she went to Mafraq, this sponsor vanished without providing her with an official document¹¹⁴.

Most of the respondents also agreed that among the challenges that refugees face in the host community are family size, low income, and work problems. The majority of Syrian refugee respondents stated that they have a large family, with an average of 3-6 members and sometimes more¹¹⁵. As a result, the father's salary does not cover family members' living expenses¹¹⁶ or the costs of sending their children to school¹¹⁷. Most of them complained about their low income, around 250 dinars, which is insufficient to meet their families' needs for education and treatment¹¹⁸. This amount is for 15 working hours per day¹¹⁹. Some of them stated that the daily wage for this number of hours is 4 dinars¹²⁰. One of the refugees stated that he was only receiving 90 dinars from the UNHCR¹²¹. He added that if he worked in one of the daily jobs, his wages would be very low compared to 7-9 hours of work per day, exploiting his need to work¹²². Most respondents discussed the issue of wage and

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<sup>105</sup> ibid
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¹⁰⁶ Interview 3

¹⁰⁷ Interview 9

¹⁰⁸ ibid

¹⁰⁹ ibid

¹¹⁰ Interview 10 111 Interview 2

¹¹² Interview 3

¹¹³ Interview 4 114 Interview 9

¹¹⁵ Interviews 3,4,5,6,7,8

¹¹⁶ Interview 7 117 Interview 8

¹¹⁸ Check footnote 116

¹¹⁹ ibid

¹²⁰ Interview 4,6

¹²¹ Interview 7

¹²² ibid

working-hour disparities between Jordanians and Syrians, and how the most significant problem in daily employment is that the employer does not pay the full wage, taking advantage of the refugees' inability to complain in this regard¹²³.

One of the refugee women who works in homes complained that she was working for 9 hours for 15 dinars. She was put under tremendous pressure from the house owner, in addition to constant insult that her work was sloppy¹²⁴. One of the major issues is the employer's reluctance to hire female refugees at home as they do not compensate them for transportation or anything else¹²⁵. One of the problems one of the refugee domestic workers faced was being accused of stealing gold from the house she works at. She was harshly treated. Later she asked, "What is the significance of apologizing to me after my innocence appears?"126 Another refugee mentioned that his son was fired from work without getting paid his 200 dinars; there are also issues with deferring payments or deliberately lowering wages and exploiting them by working long hours¹²⁷. One of them also mentioned that his son worked at a water purifying supplier but did not receive his full wage despite having a work permit. The exploitation was obvious because the widely held belief is that the Syrian worker is a refugee and is a vulnerable individual¹²⁸.

Most of the refugee sample complained about the high housing rents in Irbid and Mafrag compared to their low employment wages. One of them mentioned that after leaving the camp, he had a difficult time finding affordable housing, as the lowest rent for a house in Irbid was 200 dinars. This is due to the high population demand for housing among locals and refugees. Therefore, he and his family went to Mafraq and rented a house for 120 dinars per month¹²⁹. Another claimed that while he was receiving 90 dinars from the UNHCR, his house rent in Irbid was 120 dinars. However, he stayed in Irbid because the commission had paid the house's rent for nine months. Another local citizen him with a free housing to live in without paying for another nine months¹³⁰. One of them stated that the owner of the house he rented from raised the rent more than once a year 131. As a result, some families were sometimes unable to pay the rent, so they were either evicted from the house or one of the benefactors paid the rent on their behalf¹³². According to one of the female refugees, she moved to University Street in Irbid and lived in a furnished apartment. She left that apartment because she was afraid of having to pay additional fees if the house's furniture was destroyed. She rented another apartment for 180 dinars. She said, "Despite my pleas, the apartment owner refused to deduce the rent." 133

According to what was mentioned in their interviews, the following are some of the general challenges the refugee respondents have encountered:

- The difficulty of integrating refugee children into the local community as a result of allocating Syrian refugee children in schools at the evening shift¹³⁴.
- Language Difference in education. Because medium of instruction in Syria is in Arabic, refugee students struggled with English, particularly in scientific subjects¹³⁵.
- UNHCR or the European Union do not provide enough education scholarships, and if they do, they are few— up to twenty scholarships for 3000 students¹³⁶.
- A lack of private tutors to assist refugees, which has put a lot of pressure on the students¹³⁷.

¹²³ Interviews 4,6,7 124 Interview 9

¹²⁵ ibid

¹²⁶ Interview 10

¹²⁷ Interview 7 128 Interview 4

¹²⁹ Interview 4

¹³⁰ Interview 7

¹³¹ Interview 6

¹³² ibid

¹³³ Interview 10

¹³⁴ Interviews 4,9

¹³⁵ ibid

¹³⁶ Interviews 1,2

¹³⁷ ibid

- Higher tuition fees in Jordanian universities for refugees as they are treated as international students. For example, non-Jordanians pay 250 JDs/credit hour in pharmacy major¹³⁸.
- The inability of some refugees to send their children to school due to the school administration's firm refusal. One of them stated that she had to seek a mediator from the neighbors who accompanied her to the Directorate of Education until she was able to solve the problem¹³⁹, but she was severely bullied by the school director and some students.

The majority of respondents agreed that the health problems they face are:

- After a period of time, UNHCR abandons covering refugees' treatment costs¹⁴⁰.
- Having a difficult time conducting general medicine reviews and dispensing medications¹⁴¹.
- The disparity in treatment between a Jordanian and a refugee. One of them stated that he paid large sums of money to obtain medical reports¹⁴².
- Obtaining sick leave at work is difficult¹⁴³.

Some of the respondents experienced sporadic problems, represented as follows:

- Refugees are not allowed to be enrolled in social security while working¹⁴⁴.
- The difficulty of joining Jordanian professional associations¹⁴⁵, such as the Pharmacists Syndicate, due to the high membership fees for non-Jordanians, which amount to 1000 dinars compared to 200 dinars for Jordanians.
- Difficulty to obtaining an identity card from security authorities and the excuse is always employee's absence¹⁴⁶.
- The UNHCR's failure to assist them in resolving their administrative issues, which is the primary reason for their official infractions¹⁴⁷.
- The Jordanian employee is uninterested in properly delivering the messages and needs of the refugees to special authorities¹⁴⁸.
- Swindlers exploit them claiming that they can solve refugee problems. One of them claims that she agreed with a lawyer to release her son from prison for 500 dinars, but he demanded 2000 dinars. She later discovered that he was a swindler who did not appear in court, prison, or do anything for her, and that he, himself, has a criminal record¹⁴⁹.
- When there is a problem between the refugee and the owner of the housing, the electricity, water, and internet services are disconnected¹⁵⁰.
- From the point of view of Syrian refugees, electricity and water bills are highly expensive¹⁵¹.

Solutions proposed by the host community and the refugees.

Possible solutions to drive change with the help of decision makers from the point of view of refugees and the host community.

Solutions from the point of view of refugees:

¹³⁸ ibid
139 Interviews 4,5,6
140 Interview 8
141 ibid
142 Interview 7
143 Interview 6
144 Interview 7
145 Interview 2
146 Interview 10
147 Interview 4
148 Interview 7
149 Interview 8
150 Interview 9
151 Interview 4

The solutions proposed by the Syrian refugees can be classified as follows:

First: Housing and housing rent issues:

One of the refugees suggested that house rents costs should be according to apartment/house size. For example, a 150-square-meter apartment would cost 100 dinars to rent¹⁵². Another advocated for clear housing contracts and rent reduction¹⁵³. Another refugee emphasized the importance of landlords making promises not to evict tenants for trivial reasons¹⁵⁴ and forming a joint committee to oversee housing and rent, as well as its evaluation before and after rent¹⁵⁵.

Second: Education

One of the refugees mentioned the importance of co-education in the classroom between local and refugee students, which will easily promote refugee integration into the local community¹⁵⁶. In addition, teachers should continue teaching in schools instead of leaving¹⁵⁷. Costs of credit hours in universities should be reduced to equal the costs given to Jordanian students. Also, refugee students shouldn't be considered international students and get enrolled in the international program. More educational grants and scholarships should be provided to refugees¹⁵⁸. Others emphasized the importance of university administrations in solving the problem of bullying through spreading awareness and bridging the gaps between refugees and local students¹⁵⁹. Another refugee advocated for Syrian teachers to be hired as official employees by the Jordanian Ministry of Education to solve students' problems while also serving as a supervisory body¹⁶⁰.

Third: Social problems and the relationship between the two parties

One of the refugee students mentioned that bullying is one of the most serious problems Syrian refugees faces, and that this problem must be resolved as soon as possible before it escalates and causes other problems¹⁶¹. A refugee woman in the Irbid emphasized the importance of the cooperation between both sides to solve the children's problems and protect them from any harm¹⁶². She also added that the refugees' repeated accusations of filth and filthiness should be stopped¹⁶³. One refugee emphasized the importance of finding rational solutions to problems caused by both parties, as well as establishing harmonious relationships between refugees and Jordanians by forming joint groups on both sides to solve problems of bullying and quarrels. This will do justice to the oppressed by obtaining guarantees from the aggressors not to repeat their actions¹⁶⁴. One of them suggests establishing a fund or an official organization to serve as a reference for complaints from both parties. He went on to say that the only way to achieve justice for all is for official and local authorities to work together¹⁶⁵.

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152 Interview 1
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¹⁵³ Interview 2

¹⁵⁴ Interview 6

¹⁵⁵ Interview 8

¹⁵⁶ Interview 1

¹⁵⁷ Interview 2

¹⁵⁸ ibid

¹⁵⁹ Interviews 6,8

¹⁶⁰ Interview 7 ¹⁶¹ Interview 1

¹⁶² Interview 5

¹⁶³ ibid

¹⁶⁴ Interview 6

¹⁶⁵ Interview 7

One of the Syrian refugees living in Mafrag suggested forming volunteer teams from the local community to thoroughly investigate the conditions of the refugees and provide accurate studies on individuals who require genuine assistance¹⁶⁶. Most refugees unanimously agreed on the importance of ensuring the comfort of tenants in their homes without bullying or harassment, as well as persecuting swindlers, to prevent refugee exploitation¹⁶⁷. Some asked not to consider refugees strangers or vulnerable, and the honest ones among them should not be exploited. This is a major requirement based on the host community's religious awareness of the need to preserve the basic morals of the Islamic religion¹⁶⁸.

Fourth: Employment and Labour rights

Most refugees complain about the exploitation of Syrian workers; they emphasize the importance of finding a fair solution in terms of raising wages and reducing long working hours 169. Their main requirement in this regard is to raise refugee workers' wages to levels comparable to Jordanian workers' wages, as well as to secure work for refugees 170. This necessitates the establishment of special bodies to file labor complaints as they arise¹⁷¹. One refugee who works for UNICEF on a low wage emphasized the importance of increasing refugees' income to alleviate their daily burdens¹⁷². To protect his rights, the Syrian worker requires legal protection through written contracts between the Syrian worker and the employer. This will not happen unless there are supervisory authorities in place to ensure that their rights are fully guaranteed¹⁷³. Involving Syrians in the organization's functions achieves justice for Syrian workers as their voices could be heard by appropriate authorities¹⁷⁴. This is accomplished by locating a workers' complaints box so that they rights are not lost 175. He wonders why organizations do not hire Syrians?¹⁷⁶ One of them demanded that the Jordanian Labor Law be activated to include Syrian workers under its umbrella¹⁷⁷. One of the refugees demanded reducing the fees for refugees joining Jordanian trade unions to levels comparable to Jordanian workers¹⁷⁸. It was also suggested that, at least, 10% of Syrian refugees who fulfil certain requirements should be allowed to join social security¹⁷⁹.

Fifth: Health problems

A pharmacy student at the University of Science and Technology demanded that Syrian refugees be provided with comprehensive health insurance, except for childbirth and eye surgery. He also inquired as to whether this insurance could be made available to specific age groups and in its most basic form¹⁸⁰.

Finally, some of them presented some solutions in various issues, the most important of which are:

One of the working refugee women insisted on allocating a day for the Syrian refugee to complete their transactions and obtain the necessary identification¹⁸¹. Another person mentioned the need for mayors and other decision makers to collaborate in facilitating and solving the problems of Syrian refugees in general¹⁸².

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166 Interview 2
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¹⁶⁷ Interviews 3,6,7,8

¹⁶⁸ Interviews 9,10

¹⁶⁹ Interviews 3,4,6

¹⁷⁰ Interviews 3,5

¹⁷¹ Interview 3

¹⁷² Interview 4

¹⁷³ Interviews 4,6

¹⁷⁴ Interview 7

¹⁷⁵ ibid

¹⁷⁶ ibid

¹⁷⁷ Interview 3

¹⁷⁸ Interview 2

¹⁷⁹ ibid

¹⁸⁰ Interview 2

¹⁸¹ Interview 5

¹⁸² Interview 6

Solutions from the point of view of the host community

First: Social Problems

- The need to work collaboratively to solve social problems caused by the presence of refugees in the host society. These problems grew because of the long period of asylum, particularly after Syrian refugees' loss of hope to return to their country following the second election of President al- Assad¹⁸³.
- 2. The importance of having special associations connected to certain organizations responsible for educating Syrians about Jordanian culture and way of life¹⁸⁴.
- 3. Educating and training refugees on cleanliness and waste disposal in designated areas. To avoid further social problems and serious challenges, host community initiatives should encourage social cohesion among both parties in order to present Jordanian customs and traditions in a clear and practical, rather than theoretical, manner¹⁸⁵.
- 4. Rather than focusing solely on personal goals, refugees and the host community should establish honesty, cooperation, and trust among them to benefit both parties¹⁸⁶.
- 5. Integrating Syrian refugees into Jordanian society while protecting the right of the neighbor, the inhabited place, and the neighborhood in which they live¹⁸⁷.
- 6. The need for Syrian refugees to monitor their children to resolve the issue of assault on the host community, and the same goes for host community residents, whether at school or in their place of residence. Forming a joint Syrian-Jordanian committee or team comprised of official and unofficial figures to legally resolve the resulting neighborhood conflicts between the two parties¹⁸⁸.
- 7. Organizing frequent visits to Syrian homes, raising issues on both sides, and bringing up solutions to avoid all negative behaviors that lead to serious challenges between the refugees and the locals¹⁸⁹.
- 8. Using the help of house owners to solve the problems created by refugees. In the event of a repeated complaint, an official complaint is filed with the appropriate authorities¹⁹⁰.
- 9. The importance of avoiding abusive words, providing advice, and raising awareness between the two parties to preserve personal and social dignity¹⁹¹.
- 10. Spreading awareness among Jordanians about Syrian beggary groups that deal in debts and warning them against cases of exploitation¹⁹².

Second: Employment and labor challenges

1. Legally determining Syrian wages, supporting Jordanian workers, and raising their income levels due to the pressure of Syrian labor and their low wages, which resulted in excessive unemployment among Jordanian labor¹⁹³.

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ibid
Host community interviews 3,4
bid
Host community interview 4
Host community interview 4
Host community interviews 5,7
Host ibid
Host community interview 7
Host community interview 7
Host community interview 8
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¹⁹³ Host community interview 1

- 2. Increasing job opportunities for Jordanians and determining which jobs and professions are prohibited for Syrians¹⁹⁴.
- 3. Unifying worker wages and distributing them equally among Jordanian and Syrian workers¹⁹⁵.
- 4. Organizing the exit and entry of Syrians who have working permits to and from Zaatari camp through supervisory authorities. This will help Jordanian workers in the labor market¹⁹⁶.
- 5. Expanding investment opportunities for Syrians in exchange for an equal share of Syrian and Jordanian workers in these projects. On the other hand, Jordanian investment projects for Jordanians only should increase. The Ministry of Labor and other monitoring agencies should keep an eye on these investments and Syrian workers¹⁹⁷.
- 6. Collecting statistics on Syrian labor, their professions, locations, and working hours¹⁹⁸.
- 7. Cameras should be installed in workplaces, particularly farms, to control security violations¹⁹⁹.
- 8. To help reduce damage to local property, inexperienced workers should not be hired²⁰⁰.

Third: Health and Medical Problems

- 1. Local and international organizations should spread awareness among Syrian refugees about the culture of health to protect the environment and their health²⁰¹.
- 2. Increase the number of medical centers assigned to Syrian refugees to relieve pressure on health centers and hospitals, particularly in the governorates of Irbid and Mafrag²⁰².
- 3. Raise medical awareness among Syrians about the dangers of analgesic injections, as Syrians believe this is the best treatment. Furthermore, a medical team should be present to thoroughly explain the medical culture to Syrians²⁰³.
- 4. The need for organizations to secure infant formula to reduce the growing begging phenomenon in Jordanian society²⁰⁴.
- 5. Raise awareness campaigns for Syrian doctors and patients led by Jordanian specialists; Syrian doctors should get up-to-date medical training because the medium of instruction in Syrian universities is Arabic. Open free specialized centers staffed by qualified Syrian doctors to relieve pressure on Jordanian centers and hospitals, as well as allocating private clinics to spread a culture of awareness in general, all under Jordanian medical supervision²⁰⁵.

Fourth: Other problems and challenges

- 1. High density of Syrian refugees, which has resulted in major problems with water and electricity shortages and high prices, must be addressed²⁰⁶.
- 2. Lease contracts should be legally documented to protect the rights of both parties, as many Syrian tenants fail to pay their rent. They also leave behind accumulated water and electricity bills, as well as house damages that the landlord must costly repair. As a result, a financial security deposit should be added to ensure the landlord's rights²⁰⁷.

¹⁹⁴ Host community interview 2

¹⁹⁵ Host community interview 3

¹⁹⁶ ibid

¹⁹⁷ Host community interview 6

¹⁹⁸ Host community interview 7

¹⁹⁹ ibid

²⁰⁰ Host community interview 9

²⁰¹ Host community interview 4

²⁰² Host community interview 6

²⁰³ Host community interview 8

²⁰⁴ ibid

²⁰⁵ Host community interview 2

²⁰⁶ ibid

²⁰⁷ Host community interview 5

- 3. Form special committees on a regular basis to investigate the consequences of pressure caused by the presence of Syrian refugees²⁰⁸.
- The international community should increase financial aid to Jordan in particular, and host countries in general, due to the high cost of hosting refugees²⁰⁹.
- 5. Address water issues by increasing water pumping to fill the growing deficit, as many Jordanian regions do not receive water on a regular basis, forcing citizens to pay exorbitant prices for water²¹⁰.
- The prices of goods should be strictly regulated. Traders should not tamper with prices, and food aid should be limited to Jordanians only, as food costs have risen to at least half of the average household's income²¹¹.
- 7. Syrian homes must be inspected on a regular basis to learn about the residents and their compliance with the lease contract; violators of security, social, and labor laws should be apprehended²¹².

Outcomes analysis of the challenges and solutions faced by refugees and the host community:

Interviews with members of the host community revealed that their initial sympathy for refugees at the start of the Syrian crisis gradually faded. The host community's attitude toward refugees deteriorated socially, as well as in areas such as work, housing, wages, education, and health.

Direct interviews with both the host community and the refugees revealed that both parties faced the same issues. While the majority of respondents emphasized the psychological harm caused by refugees, refugees saw bullying and harassment as the most serious issue. Eventually, both parties lost trust in one another. Due to the pressure and persistence of the Syrian refugee crisis, some issues related to work, such as unemployment, low wages, and the difficulty of finding affordable housing, were addressed differently by the two parties. The interviews revealed that both parties suffered from overcrowding in schools and classes, as well as the high costs of private education. Syrian refugees, on the other hand, have had to pay international fees for higher education. Some respondents from the host community and refugees expressed their anguish over treatment issues, high treatment costs, high energy prices, and water scarcity. Because each of the two parties has its own set of problems, customs, and traditions, they clearly expressed the difficulty of integration. The respondents in both samples saw the need to solve their problems amicably by forming joint local committees in residential neighborhoods or by local officials to solve the problems of psychological harm, bullying, and disputes caused by housing and rent. The two parties agreed to raise awareness and bridge the gap between refugee and local students; They emphasized that only teachers from both sides, as well as the Jordanian Ministry of Education, can do so. Some members of the two samples suggested finding rational solutions to problems between the two parties, such as establishing a joint complaint box and spreading a culture of rapprochement between refugees and host societies. The two parties agreed that the only way to achieve justice for all was for official and local authorities to work together.

Some members of the two samples blamed international organizations for failing to secure additional jobs for both the host community and refugees, exacerbating the problems of work, unemployment, and wage disparities between the two parties. As a result, some members of the two samples emphasized the need for the international community to increase aid to Jordan in order to meet the financial costs caused by the refugee crisis and the country's economic challenges. According to interviews with some members of the host community, the perception of refugees has not reached a time of intense difficulty. Regardless of their problems, refugees are still guests in the country, and viewing them as strangers only adds to the severity of the problems rather than solving them. The two parties explained that the major dilemma lies in the separation of the two parties from each other. Therefore, there is a need to integrate refugees in Jordanian society due to the proximity of geography, history, lineage, and other factors,

²⁰⁸ Host community interview 6

²¹¹ Host community interview 7

²¹² Host community interview 10

The two parties agreed that it is the responsibility of the official authorities and the international community to solve their main common problems, such as work, health, housing, low income, and unemployment.

Concerning social issues, it is the responsibility of the local community to solve them through joint committees formed by the two parties. Some members of the two parties stated unequivocally that the two parties will continue to suffer as long as the refugee crisis exists. Despite the problems with work, health, and various services that will arise as a result of the host country's difficult conditions and limited resources, as well as the difficulty of refugees' return to their home country, refugees' long existence is sufficient to foster social intimacy and dissolve these differences.

Phase IV

Second Stage Results

Presenting and analyzing the results of interviews with experts and decision makers

The impact of the refugee influx on water, energy, health, education services, and employment

The analysis of this section revealed that forced migration has been one of Jordan's most significant economic, social, security, and service challenges, the most prominent of which is Syrian refugee crisis and the continuation of conflicts and disputes in neighboring countries. While the international's financial commitments to Syrian refugees in Jordan decreased over the last year (2021), Jordan bore large financial burdens to meet the commitments directed to the refugees, which exceeded the financial aid provided to them²¹³.

Experts and decision-makers unanimously confirmed that Syrian refugees have a significant impact on water resources in Jordan. One of them stated that Jordan is naturally deficient in natural resources, as it is the world's second water-poorest country. Another added that Jordan lacks green spaces, rain, rivers and lakes, and that dry, barren areas cover more than 85% of the country's land space, particularly in Mafraq Governorate and, to a lesser extent, in Irbid Governorate²¹⁴. According to the same expert, "with the arrival of the Syrian refugees, the population number exceeded the land carrying capacity²¹⁵, and depletion became the main title of the relationship between the population and the land."²¹⁶ Another expert stated that "due to refugee pressure, the demand for water increased by 40-50%; this was evident in certain governorates that rely on underground wells which will eventually be drained."²¹⁷ Another expert noted, "This situation is extremely dangerous in light of the region's instability, Jordan's modest economic growth, and the country of origin (Syria) neglecting all that its citizens require in terms of care, follow-up, and aid."²¹⁸

According to a Ministry of Water official, "the time of water depletion in Jordan is approaching due to the large population increase that has resulted from the influx of Syrian refugees."219 He added that as a result of hosting Syrian refugees, the total demand for water in Irbid and Mafraq has increased to between 35-40% in recent years²²⁰. According to another decision-maker, "it was noted that the demand for water by refugees in the communities most hosting refugees has increased significantly, causing significant damage to the water sector in these areas."221 According to an expert (a researcher in an international organization), "the average daily supply of water in the northern municipalities has decreased from what it was before the crisis," as the majority of Syrian refugees live on "less than 30 liters per day per person."222 Another expert stated that the water deficit in Mafraq has increased fourfold as a result of the pressures caused by the influx of Syrian refugees²²³. A Ministry of Water official confirmed that "12 years ago, the per capita share of a Jordanian was 80 liters per day, but now it is 40-50 liters per day."224 Another decision-maker emphasized that Jordanians and Syrian refugees shared available water, so the amount of water supplied to Jordanians was reduced in order to provide enough water to the refugees. This urged the majority of citizens in the northern regions "not to conserve or save water for fear of officials providing it to refugees."225 According to one expert, competition for water between Jordanians and Syrians has threatened Jordan's water sector, describing it as "excessive water pumping" in order to provide water to refugees²²⁶. According to an

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(addustour.com) الأردن يتحمل 65 % من أعباء اللجوء سنويًا (addustour.com)
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²¹⁴ Interviews in this stage refers to experts and decision makers

²¹⁵ Land carrying capacity indicates whether the local land resources are being used effectively to support economic activities/population. It can be assessed through two approaches: the first is the ecological footprint analysis and the second is Index system method. For more information, please refer to What is land carrying capacity? – Short-Facts

²¹⁶ ibid

²¹⁷ Interview 3

²¹⁸ Interview 19

²¹⁹ Interview 5

 $^{{}^{220}\,\}mathsf{Please}\,\mathsf{refer}\,\mathsf{to}\,\underline{\mathsf{Influx}\,\mathsf{of}\,\mathsf{Syrian}\,\mathsf{Refugees}\,\mathsf{in}\,\mathsf{Jordan}\,\mathsf{l}\,\mathsf{Effects}\,\mathsf{on}\,\mathsf{the}\,\mathsf{Water}\,\mathsf{Sector}\,\mathsf{-}\,\mathsf{Jordan}\,\mathsf{l}\,\mathsf{ReliefWeb}}$

²²¹ Interview 2

²²² Interview 7. Please also refer to البحرين - صحيفة الوسط التحديات السياسية والاقتصادية البحرين - صحيفة الوسط (alwasatnews.com) البحرينية - مملكة البحرين

²²³ Interview 20

²²⁴ interview 5. Please also refer to <u>أزمة اللاجئين في الأردن - مركز كارنيغي للشرق الأوسط - مؤسسة كارنيغي للسلام الدولي (carnegie-mec.org)</u>

²²⁵ Interview 4

²²⁶ Interview 14

expert, the Ministry of Water and Irrigation has allocated wells and connected them to networks to provide sufficient water to Syrian refugees in camps. Another added that water waste is generated. Thus, refugee camps were equipped with wastewater treatment plants that meet the purpose of protecting the environment, refugees, and Jordanians²²⁷. Another decision-maker mentioned some challenges to the water sector, such as "increasing water losses," where water losses in some areas reached 48-50% due to thefts along the water carrier line and water distribution in some villages and regions²²⁸. Another stated that "Jordan was able to develop Disi water and pump it to the northern regions of Jordan, but this led to a crisis" caused by "groundwater depletion, and we have no future solution other than desalination plant in Agaba."

According to some of the study's experts and decision-makers, the refugee crisis and forced migration are the most significant challenges confronting Jordan's health sector. A decision-maker added that "when the Syrian crisis began, the government issued a decision to treat any Syrian refugee in any hospital or health center for free at the expense of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, which led to pressure on the health infrastructure and a drain on the financial resources of the state's general budget."²³⁰ Another observer noted that the refugee crisis and the Covid-19 increased the strain on the health-care system and the services provided to Jordanians²³¹. A decision maker confirmed that prior to the refugee crisis, many health care centers were established to ensure citizens' access to care services close to their homes, approximately 10 kilometers away²³². Another expert stated that as the number of refugees increased and free health care was made available to them, the number of patients, both citizens and refugees, outnumbered the capacity of these centers, causing a shortage of medicines and vaccines²³³. As a result, according to a decision maker, the government's efforts to develop the health sector were futile.²³⁴

One of the experts noted that the increased pressure on financial resources in the health sector and the services provided to refugee patients, as well as the increase in the number of patients' visits to primary health care centers and hospitals, forced Jordanians to seek treatment in private centers and hospitals, raising the cost of treatment for them²³⁵.

According to a decision maker, the international community fell short in providing health care to Syrians, and that funding was not directed toward improving the infrastructure, such as the expansion of hospitals and health centers. An expert added that, at the same time, the Jordanian government's priorities had shifted, particularly in terms of capital spending on development projects²³⁶.

Experts and decision-makers agreed that the unexpected Syrian refugee influx caused confusion in all sectors, particularly the energy sector. When the crisis began, the energy sector was challenged to construct networks that would supply the camps. A decision maker reported that "international organizations helped with funding, but it was not enough, as the Jordanian government held part of the expenses of constructing the energy infrastructure in camps." ²³⁷ "Something positive happened," a decision-maker added, "which was the construction of solar power plants; this would reduce the electrical load on the Jordanian electrical system." Stations with capacities of 12 and 15 megawatts were built and funded by other countries, helping to alleviate the problem in the large camps." ²³⁸ According to another expert, "as of 1/4/2022, a new tariff has been implemented; this tariff will solve the problem of refugees' pressure on energy sources because subsidies are no longer available to them. They will pay the real cost."

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<sup>227</sup> Interview 17
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²²⁸ Interview 7. This information was also mentioned by the ministry of water in the following interview: <u>منتوى المهلكة</u> (almamlakatv.com) المباه على مستوى المهلكة

²²⁹ Interview 6

²³⁰ Interview 12

²³¹ Interview 13

²³² Interview 2

²³³ Interview 20 ²³⁴ Interview 6

²³⁵ Interview 8

²³⁶ Interview 3

²³⁷ Interview 4

²³⁸ Interview 9

²³⁹ Interview 8

According to a decision-maker, "Jordan has generating capacity that exceeds the need. Jordan needs 3500 megawatts, but we have more than 5500 megawatts. As a result, we pay the private sector about 380 to 400 million annually for not using this generating capacity, which accounts for 20% of the agreements signed with private parties."240 Another decision maker added, "99% of the infrastructure construction in the electricity sector has been funded by loans under the guise of aid and assistance. In other words, financial aid includes loans and grants, among other things."241 Increased consumption, according to one decision-maker, equals increased pollution. He also wonders if the international community and organizations are aware of the current stage of the transition to renewable energy²⁴². Another stated that "renewable energy project construction in Jordan has been exaggerated." 243

Experts and decision-makers also acknowledged that the education sector is facing challenges as a result of the pressures of refugee crisis. According to two education and higher education experts, education is one of the services provided for free to everyone in the elementary and secondary school education in Jordan. With the refugee influx, great pressure on education services appeared in the governorates hosting refugees, particularly four governorates, but the focus will be on Mafraq and Irbid²⁴⁴. One of the experts added that the Mafrag governorate differs from Irbid in that it contains a refugee camp, so the number of students in classes increased dramatically. Therefore, the Ministry of Education was forced to implement a shift system (morning and evening) in schools. Many schools, particularly in Mafraq, have been allocated, and special schools have been established in the camps²⁴⁵. As these schools include a large number of Syrian refugees, the Ministry of Education has been forced to rely on teachers who were recently qualified, but their experiences are insufficient to provide educational service, increasing the pressure to find qualified teachers²⁴⁶.

A decision maker stated that "the organizations developed remedial education²⁴⁷ as part of the nonformal educational system for refugees, such as catch-up program, which did a great deal for the Syrians because of school dropout²⁴⁸ or even their delay in their country."²⁴⁹ Another expert concurred with the first, stating that "some of the Syrian refugees had reached a certain age and had not enrolled in school. When they learned about Jordan's customs and traditions as a host country, they understood the significance of having a certificate. When it comes to number of refugee students in schools, the situation in Irbid is similar to Mafraq. However, the pressure was on schools in the Kasbah (city center) of Irbid, while in the countryside, there were only one or two schools allocated for Syrian refugees with minor challenges."250 "Are all Syrians of school age, from 6 to 17 years, studying in schools?" a specialist asked. She then continues that according to the UNICEF report for 2020, approximately 33-35% (50,000 Syrian children) are not attending school²⁵¹ which makes us question this phenomenon. In terms of social aspects, illiteracy, dropouts, and child labor, which increased significantly during the Syrian crisis, are considered ticking time bombs. According to the ILO report for the year (2021), approximately "43.2% of Syrian refugee children work in agriculture, 42.6% in services, and 14.2% in industry." This will have a negative impact on Jordanian society.²⁵³ Another expert stated that one of the solutions proposed by civil society organizations to reduce school dropouts was not sponsoring students or providing financial aid to them without a school certificate. As a result, because there are 10,000

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<sup>240</sup> Interview 11
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²⁴¹ Interview 6 ²⁴² Interview 17

²⁴³ Interview 3

²⁴⁴ Interview 1,8

⁽khaberni.com) موقع خبرني : مدارس خاصة في مخيمات السوريين (khaberni.com)

²⁴⁶ Interview 15

²⁴⁷ Remedial education refers to helping students achieve expected competencies in basic academic skills such as reading, writing and arithmetic. Remedial education - Wikipedia

²⁴⁸ Drop out refers to a student leaving school without meeting graduation requirements. <u>Dropping out - Wikipedia</u>

²⁴⁹ Interview 1

²⁵⁰ Interview 3

ية المحدث 1 Interview 8. Please also refer to "Report on the latest data on out-of-school children in Jordan before the COVID-19." تقرير بأحدث <u>(unicef.org)</u> البيانات حول الأطفال خارج المدرسة في الأردن قبل جائحة كوفيد-<u>19</u>

عمل الأطفال يزداد إلى 160 مليون طفل — في أول ارتفاع منذ " Child labor increases to 160 million children — first rise in two decades" عمل الأطفال يزداد إلى 160 مليون طفل — في أول ارتفاع منذ (ilo.org) عقدین ²⁵³ Interview 2

sponsored students, some parents forced their children to return to school in order for their children to receive that aid. $^{"254}$

According to one expert, "Many organizations have placed a strong emphasis on the education of Syrian students. As experts, we also urge these organizations to prioritize Jordanian students' education, which has been impacted by Syrian pressure, in order to match the volume of work done on Syrian students." ²⁵⁵

Another said, "No one paid attention to the educational infrastructure." He then wondered, "where are the schools and classrooms that were supposed to be built by international community and organizations? In some Mafraq villages, the number of Syrian refugees is nearly equal to the original population, but no school, laboratories, or kindergarten have been built. We focused on educational operations and operational lists rather than building something sustainable, whereas international organizations worked on projects without considering sustainability²⁵⁷.

Another decision maker agreed to what was mentioned earlier, noting that "an agreement included infrastructure construction, which means building schools and following up on the Syrian refugee file, at the London conference, where amounts of \$2 billion and \$100 million were provided over three years²⁵⁸. However, no new schools for Syrian refugees were built. What will happen if the pressure increases, given that Jordanian students' schools are dilapidated, and the infrastructure is in disrepair?

A decision maker stated that "in 2018, it was proposed to take 13% of the (NGOS) grant and put it in a fund to support infrastructure in various sectors, but this proposal was rejected." He added that Funding directed to the state comes in the form of loans. Another solution is to manage the upcoming funding for (NGOS) of about 900 million per year, which is provided in the form of programs and must be redirected to build infrastructure in various sectors, and this grant can be operated in the community."²⁶⁰

Another expert stressed that "at the beginning of the Syrian crisis, Syrian students faced problems with the curricula than with going to school, and secondly, do the student have the ability to go to schools, and can they be accommodated? There is a significant problem with Syrian students' integration into the surrounding society."²⁶¹ When one of the experts discussed the experiences of other countries that have hosted refugees, another expert stated, "There is no comparison between the infrastructure in Turkey, Germany, Belgium, America, Canada, and Jordan."²⁶²

On the other hand, another expert said that "the international community is not complying with its obligations with the refugees in Jordan, as the response plan from last year did not fulfill the international community's commitments to it, except in a small part. The aid did not exceed 25% of the promised support to Jordan which bears significant burdens in accommodating refugees." ²⁶³ Jordan's official authorities lack the capacity to deal with this issue; it couldn't attract aids from other countries, or do as Bahrain did, for example, which supported the construction of schools inside one of the camps²⁶⁴.

Furthermore, the majority of experts and decision-makers attributed the existence of challenges in the employment sector and competition for jobs in Jordan to the pressure of Syrian refugees in

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<sup>254</sup> Interview 1
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²⁵⁵ Interview 7

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²⁵⁸ The expert did not give us a source for this information. When referring to online literature review, we found that "by the time of the donors' conference on Syria in London in February 2016, \$12 billion had been pledged to help Syrian refugees, and the plan was known as the "Jordan Agreement." The items in this agreement included a \$1.7 billion grant over three years to support infrastructure projects; a ten-year exemption from European Union rules of origin (a customs tariff barrier) for Jordanian producers who meet the labor quota of Syrian refugees; and a Jordanian government commitment to create two hundred thousand "job opportunities" for Syrians. Please refer

<u>حبر | iber|لتوظيف مقابل المنح: عن تجربة الأردن في تشغيل اللاجئين السوريين - 7 to 7</u>

²⁵⁹ Interview 4

²⁶⁰ Interview 6

²⁶¹ Interview 15

²⁶² Interview 10

⁽addustour.com) الأردن يتحمل 65 % من أعباء اللجوء سنويًا (addustour.com)

²⁶⁴ Interview 16

Jordan. According to one of the decision-makers, "Syrians were allowed to work in certain sectors while being barred from working in others." 265

Another said that since the refugee crisis, there has been a lot of pressure on the labor sector, and donors have pushed the government to hire Syrians. Aids, then, become loans to Jordan. The World Bank has requested 120,000 work permits to be issued for Syrian refugees²⁶⁶. According to another expert, the number of Syrian workers in the Jordanian market exceeds 300,000, in addition to child labor²⁶⁷. Another expert stated that the international community was focusing on training and qualifying Syrian refugees, while the Jordanian government was responsible for finding job opportunities for Syrians²⁶⁸.

Another expert claims that "employment among Syrians and Jordanians was not treated according to the percentage of the population."²⁶⁹ Another asserted, "unemployment rate in Jordan in 2011 ranged between 12-12.5%²⁷⁰, but it became 25% last year²⁷¹." One of the reasons is the employment of Syrian workers in various sectors, trained and qualified by international community. At the same time, Jordanians have exorbitant rates for recruitment, operation, and training processes²⁷². "In 2020, 50% of Jordanian youth aged 17-25 are unemployed, with 32% of them females and 21% males."²⁷³ Another expert made a simple relative calculation, stating, "If we raise the age to 29, the percentage increases to 65%, and if we raise the age to 39, the percentage increases to 85%."²⁷⁴ This proportion rises among university students²⁷⁵. Even when we consider women's economic participation, the percentage of unemployed females has increased by 13.7% in the last 12 years²⁷⁶.

According to another expert, international organizations have arranged for refugees to work from home, as well as funding, equipment, and training, which Jordanians did not have ²⁷⁷. Another experts claimed that "the Syrians received similar training in terms of content and objectives; they also obtained financial support for transportation and training. However, these trainings had no actual impact on building their capacities or integrating them into the labor market."²⁷⁸ One of them asked, "is there a global political vision related to the issue of Syrian refugees, or are we working under international pressure to integrate the Syrians into Jordanian society, so that they will not be able to return to their country?" ²⁷⁹

Demographic pressure in the next ten years and its future impact on refugee crisis in Jordan

Experts and decision-makers agree that demographic pressure will continue for the next ten years with little change. Rather, the effects of refugee pressure on water, energy, health, and educational services will be exacerbated²⁸⁰. In addition, The Jordanian labor market will face increased pressure as a result of refugee labor, which will enter the labor market with simplified employment terms and lower wages than Jordanian workers²⁸¹. This will result in an expansion of the poverty area, which has risen over the

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<sup>265</sup> Interview 6
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²⁶⁶ Interview 8. Referring to online literature review, we found an article titled "Employment for Grants: About Jordan's Experience in Employing Syrian Refugees," in which Minister of Planning, Imad Fakhoury, acknowledged that Jordan's march to create two hundred thousand jobs for refugees has been slow, but its success will be determined by attracting investments. According to Fakhoury, the Ministry of Labor has issued "approximately 73,000 legal work permits for Syrian refugees," with roughly one-third of them finding new jobs. 7 - حبر العادلة عن تجربة الأردن في تشغيل اللاجئين السوريين

²⁶⁷ Interview 3. After searching published studies and websites for this information, we discovered that one of the lecturers who gave a lecture to university students titled "The Reality of Jordan 2020 in Numbers" had published on one of the websites that "the number of Syrian workers in Jordan is 21,000." واقح الأردن بالأرقام (2020 كتاب سرايا | وكالة أنباء سرايا الإخبارية - حرية سقفها السماء (2020 كتاب سرايا إوكالة أنباء سرايا الإخبارية) (sarayanews.com)

²⁶⁸ Interview 19

²⁶⁹ Interview 2

²⁷⁰ Interview 18. According to the report of the Department of Statistics, the unemployment rate reached 12.9% in 2011. نس للسنوات -2002 2006 (d34l7003f1n5sg.cloudfront.net)

²⁷¹ According to the report of the Department of Statistics, the unemployment rate for 2021 reached 25% in the first quarter, 24.8% in the second quarter, 23.2% in the third quarter, 23.3% in the fourth quarter. <u>حَالَيْنَ الإحصاءات العامة</u> (dos.gov.jo)

²⁷² Interview 6

⁽ammannet.net) ألف امرأة نشيطة اقتصادياً في الأردن منهن 147 ألف عاطلات عن العمل | موقع عمان نت 499 .

²⁷⁴ Interview 3

²⁷⁵ Interview 1

⁽ammonnews.net) <u>معدل المشاركة الاقتصادية للنساء في الأردن ا شرق وغرب ا وكالة عمون الاخبارية 14% (ammonnews.net</u>

²⁷⁷ Interview 8

²⁷⁸ Interview 6

²⁷⁹ Interview 19 ²⁸⁰ Interview 1

²⁸¹ Interview 7

last ten years from 13.1% (third quarter 2012) to 22.8% (second quarter 2022). Male unemployment reached 20.5% in the first quarter of 2022, while female unemployment reached 31.5%²⁸².

It is unlikely that Syrian refugees will return to their home country, except in small numbers²⁸³.

According to one of the decision-makers, "a significant change in the number of refugees is not expected to appear before 2026 if the situation in Syria improves and becomes politically, demographically, and economically stable." More than 60% of the refugees are expected to stay in their current location and eventually settle in Jordan."²⁸⁴

Another decision-maker stated that the country of origin, Syria, has not initiated any humanitarian concern for its citizens. In fact, water provided from the Yarmouk River to Al-Wehda Dam was in the range of 97 million cubic meters per year, which is a Jordanian right under international conventions and the 1987 agreement with Syria. However, water supplies were completely cut off, despite the fact that the total water consumption of Syrian refugees exceeds 50 million cubic meters per year, causing pressure on Jordan's water resources²⁸⁵.

A decision maker pointed out that "there is no clear vision for international solutions related to Syrian crisis in the region. However, the continuous support for Syrians, and qualifying them to obtain job opportunities are procedures to fully integrate them into Jordanian society, which is considered a risk." The other dangerous factor is population growth, which is approximately 2.2 in Jordan among Jordanians while it is considered very high among Syrians." 287

One of the decision-makers summarized the current and future social, economic, cultural, health, and resource pressures²⁸⁸:

- Rise in food prices
- Rise in poverty and unemployment rates
- Water consumption has been reduced to 80 m3 per year, compared to the minimum water line of 1000 m3 per year.
- Agricultural land erosion
- Increased environmental pollution
- Increased pollution of groundwater basins
- Drained groundwater basins, leaving only two of the twelve basins
- Disruption of the socio-cultural system
- The spread of drugs and crimes
- Schools are overcrowded
- Financial and other pressures on health-care services
- Many Syrians receive free university education through grants from organizations, but what about citizens?²⁸⁹
- Complete justice must be served between Syrians and citizens when it comes to job opportunities²⁹⁰.
- Since there are no agreements to build or invest in infrastructure, agreements with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) must be redirected²⁹¹.

²⁸² Interview 1. <u>%22.8 محل البطالة خلال الرب</u>ة الاول من عام 2022 – دائرة الإحصاءات العامة (dos.gov.jo) معدل البطالة خلال الربة الاول من عام 2022. (dos.gov.jo) معدل البطالة خلال الربة الاول من عام (dos.gov.jo) معدل البطالة خلال الربة الاول من عام (dos.gov.jo) (as proview 10 (dos.gov.jo) (dos.gov.jo) (dos.gov.jo) (as proview 10 (dos.gov.jo) (dos.gov.jo) (dos.gov.jo) (dos.gov.jo) (as proview 10 (dos.gov.jo) (dos.gov.jo

Another stated that the demographic figure for the next ten years is determined by:

- The internal Syrian crisis may escalate, decline, or stabilize; escalation may result in a new wave of refugee influx, but we believe this is the least likely scenario. Currently, the crisis is settling, limiting the change in the number of refugees.
- The impact of international crises on the region, particularly income and food prices.
- Jordan's political stability is gradually improving.
- Because of the international turmoil in Ukraine, the possibility of an outbreak of the crisis within Europe, or the outbreak of the Taiwan crisis between China and the United States, especially after November 2020, levels of international aid and support for Jordan have decreased²⁹².

The political Dimension

The absence of the country of origin from the scene is perhaps the most serious political issue related to refugees (Syrians and others). Hence, we notice a gap or flaw in international and humanitarian law because they absolve the country of origin of any responsibility towards its citizens who are forced to flee to the nearest country to save their lives. Once they arrive, the host country is responsible for their overall safety, including security, health, water, food, and later education and employment. There is no accountability for the country of origin once the situation has been resolved. Immigration and asylum became a source of comfort for the regime in the country of origin which is relieved by the burden of a population mass."²⁹³

Analyzing the results of the challenges faced by the host community from the point of view of experts and decision-makers.

Experts and decision-makers unanimously agreed that there are many challenges that have accompanied Syrian refugee crisis in Jordan. Experts and decision-makers agreed that Refugee crisis has put pressure on services such as health and education and their infrastructure. Donor countries' financial aid has not been used to improve infrastructure. The majority also confirmed that the use of these services by Syrian refugees exceeded the capacity imposed on schools, health centers, and hospitals, affecting the quality of service provided in these sectors. The majority also emphasized that donor countries had failed to provide adequate support to Syrian refugees in the educational and health sectors, forcing Jordan to cover a portion of these costs from the public budget which economically affected the country. Experts and decision-makers agreed that the Syrian refugee pressure has disturbed the energy sector, which initially faced a challenge related to building networks that provide energy to camps. Since donor funding was insufficient, Jordan's government has partially contributed in the financial and procedural construction of energy infrastructure to provide energy to refugees in camps. They also stated that increased energy consumption leads to increased pollution, and that this issue should be addressed, and solutions found by the international community.

According to experts and decision-makers, Jordan is a water-poor country, and the situation has worsened with the influx of Syrian refugees. As a result, the average daily supply of water in the cities where the refugees live have significantly decreased. The per capita ration per day is assumed to be 80 liters, but Syrian refugees must live on less than 30 liters per day to avoid water depletion. On the other hand, experts unanimously agreed that water loss is high due to water theft along the conveyor line and to the intense competition for water between refugees and the host community, which caused both parties to disregard the issue of not wasting water.

Experts and policymakers discussed the challenges found in the employment sector due to the competition among Syrian refugees and Jordanian workers in some industries, such as agriculture and various professions. According to them, Syrian refugees have been empowered with various professions thanks to training grants provided by organizations, while these opportunities were not available to Jordanians. As a result of this competition, Jordan's poverty rate and unemployment rate have both increased.

Possible solutions for driving change with the assistance of the host community and decision makers

- Promote self-sufficiency among refugees and local vulnerable groups²⁹⁴.
- Promote optimal refugee employment and present equal work opportunities for Jordanians and refugees²⁹⁵.
- Conduct surveys to investigate the reality of refugees' education, training, and skills, as well as their utilization in the labor market.
- Build a self-sufficient refugee community.
- Reconsider the international community's external funds and financial commitments to refugees, as well as their optimal use to strengthen the Jordanian economy and build an economically self-sufficient refugee community.
- Consider and pay more attention to the issue of water²⁹⁶.
- Renovate municipal water supply networks in need of repair and modernize them in a way that benefits both Jordanians and Syrians²⁹⁷.
- Syrian should commit to international water agreements, particularly the quantities of water that must flow from Yarmouk River to Al-Wahda Dam²⁹⁸.
- Provide financial aid by international donors in the coming days to establish a desalination plant with a capacity of 50 or 70 million cubic meters per year to meet the water needs of refugees²⁹⁹.

Energy Sector

²⁹⁵ ibid

²⁹⁶ Interview 5

²⁹⁷ Interview 11

²⁹⁸ Interview 5

- Construct power plants in areas with high refugee concentrations³⁰⁰.
- Rely on clean, renewable energy to generate electricity by establishing solar energy projects³⁰¹.
- The international community's support, funding, and commitment to meeting its obligations in relation to the refugee crisis³⁰².
- ³⁰³Raise the issue of the international community's and donors' lack of commitment to Jordan on refugee issues in international forums in order to put pressure on them to provide assistance.
- Redirect financial aid to camps and encourage refugees to start their own small businesses³⁰⁴.
- One expert suggested putting pressure on donor countries and the international community to obtain support, which calls for the issue to be raised in international forums³⁰⁵.
- A decision-maker emphasized that funds should be redirected to the camps and that refugees should be encouraged to establish their own small businesses and to produce useful items. Funds should be channeled properly under an institutional umbrella³⁰⁶.

Infrastructure and Services

- Direct donor fund to build infrastructure and services and ensure their sustainability³⁰⁷. According to an expert, it is necessary to manage the next funding for the (NGOS), which amounts to approximately 900 million annually, which is provided in the form of programs. This fund must be redirected to build infrastructure in various sectors and be operated in the community³⁰⁸.
- Conduct a study on Syrian refugees in terms of education and training to determine their skills and placement in the labor market³⁰⁹.
- Reconsider external funds and their best utilization³¹⁰.

³⁰⁰ Interview 4

³⁰¹ Interview 9

³⁰² Interview 6

³⁰³ ibid

³⁰⁴ ibid

³⁰⁵ Interview 8

³⁰⁶ Interview 2

³⁰⁷ Interview 6 bidi 808

³⁰⁹ Interview 8

³¹⁰ Interview 7

Recommendations

In the coming years, it will be necessary to:

- Increase Jordanian communication with refugee organizations or human rights bodies through the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Planning, as well as in collaboration with the Refugees, Displaced Persons, and Forced Migration Studies Center / Yarmouk University, to mitigate the pressure of Syrian crisis in Jordan, particularly challenges related to unemployment, poverty, and school dropout.
- Focus on raising awareness and conducting training programs for both Syrian refugees and
 Jordanians related to tolerance and social cohesion to establish the principle of peaceful
 coexistence and respect for the other, which will have a positive impact on the host
 community's relationship with the refugees, as well as the refugees' relationship with the host
 community members. These programs should be implemented by international organizations
 and civil society institutions, in collaboration with Refugees, Displaced Persons, and Forced
 Migration Studies Center / Yarmouk University.
- The Jordanian government, represented by the Ministry of Labor, and the private sector, should see refugees as an opportunity rather than a burden. This could be achieved through investing their professional skills in the labor market and rooting their entrepreneurial thought and translating it into trailblazing projects, which will positively reflect on improving the economic conditions of refugees, building self-sufficient refugee communities, and increasing their contribution to the Jordanian economy.
- The Jordanian government, in collaboration with the international community, should direct a portion of the grants provided to refugees for maintenance, development, construction, preservation, and sustainability of infrastructure and water-related projects, such as improving and maintaining the water network to reduce water losses. The authorities should establish water purification plants and energy projects, such as new power generation plants, using clean renewable energy through solar energy projects, separate municipal waste at the source, and invest organic waste from camps in methane gas production and power generation. This will help relieve pressure on these sectors and improve the quality of service provided to refugees and Jordanians alike.
- The Ministry of Planning, in collaboration with representatives from the European Union and international organizations, as well as Refugees, Displaced Persons, and Forced Migration Studies Center/ Yarmouk University, should develop a comprehensive strategy for refugees and a comprehensive plan to identify operational programs and projects aimed at refugees, which will have a significant impact in unifying efforts to support refugees by ministries, civil society, and international organizations.
- In collaboration with the relevant ministries and international organizations, as well as the Refugees, Displaced Persons, and Forced Migration studies Center / Yarmouk Mosque, the UNHCR should establish a comprehensive database that includes refugees and their demographic, health, educational, and economic conditions, as well as the aid they receive from various parties, programs, and projects. This database should be available to all parties involved and all partners to avoid wasting grant funds, duplicating services, aid, programs, and

projects aimed at refugees, expanding the segment of beneficiaries, and supporting strategic decisions based on accurate and up-to-date information.

• Refugees, Displaced Persons, and Forced Migration Studies center/Yarmouk University, in collaboration with European Union representatives in Jordan, UNHCR, international organizations, civil society organizations, all donors and partners should conduct assessment procedures to study the impact of programs and projects offered to refugees, particularly those concerned with building their capacities and skills to enter the labor market, establish their entrepreneurial projects, or the projects related to economic, social, health or educational dimensions. In order to avoid conducting projects with no or limited impact, this assessment procedure will affect these agencies' future programs and projects of significance that can be expanded, continued, and included within their executive plans.