

Report of the rapid assessment on

**Child Labour in the Urban Informal Sector in three
governorates of Jordan (Amman, Mafrq and Irbid)**

International Labour Organisation (ILO)

2014

List of Acronyms

CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CECLE	Combating Exploitive Child Labour through Education
CLU	Child Labour Unit
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DOS	Department of Statistics
ICLS	International Conference of Labour Statistics
INGO	International Non Governmental Organisation
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMC	International Medical Corps
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
JD / JOD	Jordanian Dinars
JMPLS	Jordan Labour Market Panel Survey
JOHUD	Jordanian Hashemite Fund for Human Development
JRF	Jordan River Foundation
JWU	Jordanian Women’s Union
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoL	Ministry of Labour
MOPIC	Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation
MoSD	Ministry of Social Development
NAF	National Aid Fund
NCCL	National Committee on Child Labour
NCFA	National Council for Family Affairs
NFCCL	National Framework to Combat Child Labour
NFE	Non Formal Education
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
SOP	Standard Operating Procedure
SSC	Social Support Centre
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations Higher Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund

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Executive Summary

The key objective of this study is to provide up to date and detailed information on the dynamics and characteristics of child labourers who live in urban environments in Jordan and who work in the informal employment sector. While there was no specific intention that the research should focus on a particular nationality, the current situation in Jordan regarding Syrian refugees and national and international interest in how host communities are managing the high numbers of refugees, especially in the three Governorates covered by this study, means that the main nationalities focused on in this report are Syrian and Jordanian.

The study implemented a mixed-methods approach. Firstly, the research team carried out a literature review of relevant documents. Secondly, three quantitative surveys involving i) 45 child labourers, ii) 45 employers of child labourers and iii) 200 households, indirectly reaching 506 children between 5 and 17 years old (not all of whom were working) were implemented across the three research areas of Amman, Mafrq and Irbid. The 45 children interviewed were not connected with the 45 employers interviewed. However, some child labourers interviewed directly were identified during the household survey. Thirdly, and simultaneously to the quantitative survey implementation, the research team carried out qualitative interviews with a range of key informants and stakeholders from Jordanian government ministries, international organisations and NGOs.

In terms of characteristics of child labour in the informal sector, and the kinds of families whose children are labouring, the study found that child labour in Amman, Mafrq and Irbid affects mainly male children, who working long days and weeks. The income from child labourers is found to be a significant source of income for many households in these three Governorates, where children's wages are contributing towards basic household expenses such as rent, bills and food, thereby helping to support the whole family. The families of child labourers are living in poor conditions, but are paying high rent. In some cases, the living situation of the families is such that it may pose a certain health risk, as houses are badly roofed or insulated.

The study found that the main causes of child labour in the three Governorates of the study are;

- 1) Economic need
- 2) Attitudes that do not value education and, in some cases, difficulty accessing education.
- 3) For Syrians living in Jordan, their displacement from the ongoing conflict in their home country has seen children's labour – and wages – develop as a coping mechanism for families who have lost other forms of livelihood and who have used up their savings.

Child labour was found by the study to have a positive economic effect for the child's family, whose quality of life is being supported by the contributions that children make to the household income. With regards to other effects, the study finds that there are otherwise generally negative effects for the children who labour, including on their rights – such as to education and free time, on their health and safety and, as a result of these two factors, also on the child's future prospects in life.

The study makes a number of recommendations divided into specific sectors where action can be taken. In the field of **education**, there needs to be a clearer national definition of 'school drop out' so that data on this issue can be gathered, problem areas identified and programmes developed to tackle this. The design and development of innovative and creative education programmes for Syrian refugees should continue, with the intention of encouraging their return to school and to ensure that they remain there. Extra-curricular activities for children in schools and in communities should be encouraged by all national and international actors, to try and improve school environments with the intention of occupying children in a useful learning situation. **Cash assistance** to child labourer families must be maintained, expanded and increased to the extent possible. **Awareness raising** activities should be undertaken, for example, a national campaign that informs people about child labour in Jordan and includes information about hazardous work and the consequences of child labour. Information for Syrians specifically should focus on Jordanian labour law and the impact of labour on a child's health. **Alternative support mechanisms** such as improved labour market access, vocational education and income-generating activities. The study also recommends that the **National Framework for Combating Child Labour** should work to formally engage civil society and employers in order to enhance the identification and follow-up of child labour cases, while a clearer, more coherent and monitored follow-up system for a child post-intervention should also be formalised in the NFCCL. **Coordination** efforts between those involved in the NFCCL should continue and be strengthened. Capacity building projects, especially for the MoL labour inspectors, should be implemented as soon as possible, and work on completing and implementing broad use of the National Database on Child Labour should continue. Finally, the study recommends that, in view of the fact that incidence of child labour appears to be increasing and not only among Syrian refugees, that **national-level data on child labour be more regularly and systematically collected**. To achieve this, the government of Jordan could include a specific focus on child labour in existing national surveys, in order to keep abreast of changes in this area.

Introduction

This report is the end result of the International Labour Organisation's rapid assessment into the situation of child labourers engaged in urban informal employment. Research was carried out in three governorates of Jordan, Amman, Mafraq and Irbid, between September 2013 and January of 2014. The report will address the issue of child labour and the challenges presented by the current economic and social environments in Jordan. The country is struggling to meet the increased demands placed on its physical and social infrastructure as a result of the influx of Syrians who have fled conflict in their own country. The needs and situation of Syrians affect Jordanians, just as the social and political environments within Jordan inevitably have an effect on the Syrians who reside there. The report begins with an outline of the research objectives and methodology. Full lists of interviews held, and other more detailed information, can be found in the report's annexes. The characteristics of the urban informal sector in Jordan will be addressed, along with current strategies and interventions to tackle child labour in Jordan. This is done with the intention of highlighting gaps and challenges within the existing systems of provision of services, which differ for Jordanian and Syrian child labourers and their families. The report details the research findings and concludes by making recommendations for future action.

Study Objectives

The key objective of this study is to provide up to date and detailed information on the dynamics and characteristics of child labourers who live in urban environments in Jordan and who work in the informal employment sector. The current situation in Jordan regarding Syrian refugees, especially in the three governorates mentioned, means that the key nationalities focused on in this report are mainly Syrian and Jordanian, although other a small range of data was collected from respondents of other nationalities during the household survey. Where relevant, these nationalities are mentioned. Due to the current pressures on Jordan as a host country to Syrian refugees, there is international and national interest in the learning more about the status of Syrians residing in the country. Where relevant, data in this report is disaggregated by nationality. At other points data is divided by age or by governorate.

This information is intended to support relevant policy adaptation and implementation for both national and humanitarian responses at national and local levels, and to assist in the design of effective and sustainable interventions that address the root causes and the consequences of child labour.

Scope and coverage

Field research for this report took place in three governorates of Jordan, namely Amman, Mafraq and Irbid. The research team used a mixed-methods approach, combining quantitative and qualitative approaches according to the target group. Data was gathered on children between 5 and 17 years old, of all nationalities, working in the urban informal sector in the three Governorates of Jordan.

The urban informal sector includes activities such as: selling items on the street, working in cafes and restaurants and working as cleaners. An equal proportion of male and female

respondents were attempted with all target groups. However given the predominance of male child labourers in the urban informal sectors, this was not always feasible.

Limitations of the Study

The study focused on the three Governorates of Jordan specified by the ILO, namely Amman, Mafrq and Irbid. Children working in garages and auto-repair workshops or in agriculture were not included in this research as the ILO is carrying out separate research into these specific areas. In terms of data gathered, the sample size is not large enough to be representative of the targeted population. However the purpose of the study was not to obtain national-level data but rather to gain specific insights on the characteristics, causes and consequences of child labour in the three Governorates.

Methodology

The study's methodology and sampling design followed best practice guidelines for rapid assessments in the field of child labour, as laid out in the Manual on Child Labour Rapid Assessment Methodology.¹

Surveys

Three surveys were designed and implemented in the three governorates, to capture quantitative data on child labourers, their families and their employers. A section of detail on each of the three surveys is included below. More information on methodology is included in the Annexes.

Households

A semi-structured survey was implemented in 200 households where at least one child labourer was a resident. A mixture of closed and open questions was used to capture detailed data on the situation and attitudes of those most directly connected with working children. The households questioned in each governorate breaks down into 60 households in Amman, 60 households in Mafrq and 80 households in Irbid. In line with the specific interests of the study and the rapid nature of the assessment, households with child labourers were initially selected using purposive sampling methods, and subsequently identified via referral (or snowballing) methods. Via this survey, data was gathered on the condition of 506 children in these households, although only 211 of these children were working at the time the survey was conducted. Of the individuals interviewed in the household questionnaire, 74% were Syrian and 24% were Jordanian, while the remainder were Palestinian/Gazan² Egyptian or Bangladeshi. The majority were between 7-15 years old (73%), while (27%) were 16-17 years old. Over 94% of the children were the respondent's own children, while 1.6% of the children were relatives, rather than own children.

¹ ILO and UNICEF (2005) Manual on Child Labour Rapid Assessment Methodology: Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC)

² Researchers noted the nationalities stated by respondents. In one case, a respondent self-identified specifically as 'Gazan'. In this report, this data is combined with those who identified as 'Palestinian', for simplicity of reference.

Informal sector employers

Surveys were conducted with 45 employers of child labourers, divided into 15 informants from each of the three governorates. The research team used the definition of informal employment agreed at the 17th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) in December 2003, which comprises four categories of workers:

- 1) Own-account workers and employers employed in their own informal sector enterprises;
- 2) Contributing family workers;
- 3) Employees holding informal jobs (whether employed by formal sector enterprises, informal sector enterprises, or as paid domestic workers by households); and
- 4) Members of informal producers' cooperatives (such as subsistence farming or do-it-yourself construction of own dwellings³).

Informants to this study included representatives of both owners of establishments with paid, informal, child employees; and owners of family businesses with unpaid child workers from the family. In total, additional data on 55 child labourers was gathered indirectly via this survey. For children considered 'self-employed'⁴, these informants were included as part of the survey developed for child labourers (see below). Through interviewing informal sector employers, the researchers intended to gain an alternative perspective on child labour. The sensitive nature of the topic, and therefore the reluctance on the part of the employers of child labourers to participate, was anticipated as a potential barrier for field researchers' access to employers. However, through careful mitigation strategies including the identification of employers of child labourers via referral (snowballing) from the household surveys, clear introduction both of the researcher and the aim of the research and by placing strong emphasis on confidentiality, the anticipated sample was achieved.

Child labourers

Surveys were conducted with 45 children aged between 5 and 17 years old, with 15 informants in each of the three governorates. The targeted informants were either paid or unpaid employees, unpaid workers in family businesses or 'self-employed' workers in a variety of labour activities including selling items on the street, working in cafes and restaurants or working as cleaners. Children working as mechanics, in car workshops or in garages were excluded from the survey due to the fact that the ILO is conducting separate research on this sector. In order to identify child labourers, the methods described above regarding the identification of employers were used. When a child labourer was interviewed at a workplace, the data collection team gained consent from the employer.

Key Informant Interviews

Interviews of between 30-90 minutes were held with a range of local NGOs, INGOs and UN agencies i) working on child labour in the three governorates specifically or ii) working in Jordan on specialist areas relevant to child labour research including education, psychosocial

³ If considered employed according to the 13th ICLS definition of employment.

⁴ Although previous research suggests that children are less likely to be 'self-employed' workers than either unpaid family workers or employees, the Jordan Child Labour Survey conducted in 2007 nevertheless found a small proportion of children (all of whom were male) were working as 'own account' or self-employed workers.

support and social work.⁵ The interviews helped to validate quantitative survey data, to gather experts' views on the current policies and systems dealing with child labour, and to pinpoint areas for improvement.

Focus Group Discussions

Three focus groups were held, one in each of the three governorates. Participants were drawn from local organisations who work with children and families and from the host community in general. Local organisations with relevant mandates were identified in consultation with the ILO, through the desk review and through initial interviews with UN and international organisations and service providers working in the three governorates.⁶ Engaging with these informants played a valuable role in both verifying information obtained through other sources, and in providing alternative perspectives on the issue of child labour.

Observations from the field

In general Syrian respondents required substantial persuasion and reassurance to participate in the exercise. They were anxious about giving information and were sceptical of anyone asking questions. When participating in the household survey, most Syrian families who were asked to identify other eligible respondents were very reluctant to do so.. There was a very low response rate and only 2 out of 10 selected households willing to cooperate. Through referrals, mainly from Jordanians in the local communities, the interviewers had to move from one area to another in order to locate eligible households. In the survey of employers, at the time fieldwork was conducted, the Ministry of Labour (MoL) was intensifying its operations against illegal migrant labour which resulted in employers' reluctance to grant interviews. Interviewers experienced the need to emphasise the confidentiality of the research to reassure potential interviewees to take part. As with households, there was a low response rate from employers with only around 1 in 5 willing to cooperate. Among child respondents there was a high response rate, and almost all children who were approached for an interview were willing to cooperate.

Section One: International Labour Standards and the Concept of Child Labour

International labour standards stipulate that certain types of work are unacceptable to society and thus represent a key obstacle to decent work. Among this category of work is child labour, underpinned by the near universal consensus, as embodied in the UN Convention on Rights of the Child (1989), that work can have multiple negative effects on children's rights and development. Similarly, Article 32 of the ILO Convention on the Right of the Child states that State Parties recognise the right of the child to be protected from

⁵ Please see Appendix 2 for a full list of organisations interviewed

⁶ See Appendix 2 for a full list of organisations that participated in focus groups

economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development. Among the detrimental impacts that work can have on children are exposure to dangerous situations or to physical, mental or emotional abuse; long working hours with no rest days, no sick leave or lack of medical care, the degrading of rights such as education, rest and play time; and lack of pay without recourse to justice.⁷

A distinction is often made between 'economically active children' or 'child work' on the one hand, and 'child labour' on the other⁸. This distinction is in light of recognition that not all work is incompatible with children's development. ILO Convention No. 138 on Minimum Age of Employment (1973) establishes 15 as the minimum age of admission to employment in normal circumstances (although this can be 14 in situations where economic or education facilities are insufficiently developed) or not lower than the age of completion of compulsory schooling. It additionally states that the minimum age for 'light work' is 13 (and in the case of certain developing countries can be reduced to 12).⁹ The Convention also stipulates 18 as the minimum age for participation in "hazardous work". Article 3(d) of ILO Convention No. 182 which concerns the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (1999) defines hazardous child labour as "work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children".¹⁰

Legislative frameworks combating child labour in Jordan

Jordan has ratified the international conventions which comprise the international legal framework relating to children's rights and child labour prohibition including: the ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138), ratified in 1997; the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182), ratified in 2000; and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989 (ratified in 1991).¹¹ Under Jordanian Labour Law, the minimum age of employment is 16, the same age that marks the completion of compulsory education. The Jordanian legal framework is thus consistent with the international norm, described above, that work does not jeopardise the completion of compulsory education. In addition, employment of children aged 16-18 is subject to specific regulations, including the limitation of their employment to six hours per day, the prohibition of their employment without the written approval of the child's parent or guardian and the prohibition of employment in

⁷ UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). 1989, available at:

http://www.unicef.org/crc/files/Rights_overview.pdf

⁸ ILO (2012) ILO-IPEC Project Moving Towards a Child Labour Free Jordan

⁹ "Light work" is defined in ILO Convention 138 as work undertaken by children which is: (a) not likely to be harmful to their health or development; and (b) not such as to prejudice their attendance at school, their participation in vocational orientation or training programmes approved by the competent authority or their capacity to benefit from the instruction received. However, the Convention does not specify the number of hours which light work constitutes.

¹⁰ It should be noted that the convention allows countries to list what the national partners consider to be hazardous occupations for children.

hazardous occupations.¹² Taking into account both international and Jordanian legal definitions, for the purpose of this study child labour is defined as work which is undertaken by:

1. Children below the age of 16
2. Children aged 16-18 which is characterised by excessive hours, is not sanctioned by the child's parent or guardian and which is hazardous.

Child Labour: Policy in Jordan

National statistical information regarding the prevalence of child labour in Jordan is limited to a 2007 child labour survey, the results of which were published in 2009 under the title 'Working Children in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan'.¹³ The survey was undertaken by the Jordanian Department of Statistics (DoS)¹⁴ and the ILO. Additionally, there was a 2006 rapid assessment on the worst forms of child labour in Jordan¹⁵ also undertaken in coordination with ILO's International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO-IPEC). The 2007 survey found that child employment rate in Jordan was fairly low, accounting for 1.9% of the total child population aged 5-17, or around 33,000 children. Of these children in employment, 88.1% (1.6% of the total child population or 29,225 children) were classified as child labourers. For the most part, child labourers do not differ greatly from other working children in terms of sector of economic activity, occupation or status in employment. According to the 2007 survey, only about one-fifth of child labourers would be required to change occupations or industries in order not to be classified as child labourers.¹⁶ The 2007 survey found that boys were far more likely than girls to be both employed and in child labour.

It was further found that employed children worked on average 38.6 hours per week, with boys on average working double the time of girls (40.6 hours compared with the average girls' rate of 22 hours). In addition, the most common sectors of economic activity of child labourers were agriculture and fishing (27.53%), manufacturing (15.78%) and wholesale/retail trade (36.31%).

In recent years, Jordan has taken substantial steps to strengthen its policy response to child labour. A Child Labour Unit has been established and active within the Labour Inspection Department of the MoL for a number of years, and the Ministry also chairs the National Committee on Child Labour (NCCL). In 2011, the Council of Ministers approved the National Framework to Combat Child Labour (NFCCL), the implementation of which is being piloted through the ILO 'Moving Towards a Child Labour Free Jordan' (2011-2014) project. The NFCCL is designed to coordinate and integrate efforts to combat child labour among the Ministries of

¹² The minimum age for hazardous work is 18. Hazardous work is defined by the Ministerial Order of 2011 Concerning Occupations that are Dangerous or Tiring or Harmful to the Health of Youth (replacing a previous decree of 1997).

¹³ Department of Statistics and ILO (2009) Working Children in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan: Results of the 2007 Child Labour Survey

¹⁴ The 2007 Child Labour Survey forms the basis of the DoS/ILO-IPEC report, Working Children in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, 2009.

¹⁵ Saif, I., Rapid Assessment of the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Jordan: Survey Analysis, 2006

¹⁶ ILO and the Jordan Government Department of Statistics (2007) Working Children in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

Labour (MoL), Education (MoE) and Social Development (MoSD) through identification, referral and follow-up of child labour cases nationally. Under the NFCCL, MoL labour inspectors constitute the primary identification mechanism of child labourers, while identification of beggars and children in street vending falls under the remit of the MoSD.¹⁷ Identification of child labourers is additionally undertaken by NGOs and CBOs through community outreach activities; however this process is not part of the NFCCL¹⁸. Following identification, the child's details are entered into the National Database for Child Labour, established with the support of the ILO and hosted by the MoL. Interviews conducted for this report confirmed that the National Database for Child Labour is currently in a piloting phase, and is not yet fully operational.¹⁹ For this reason, details of cases are processed and held in hard copy and then transferred to the database subsequently.

Following registration on the database, the MoSD conducts a case assessment of the family in order to identify the main interventions needed. Depending on the outcome of the case assessment, the child and/or the family is referred to relevant services for appropriate assistance. Children from poor families are entitled to financial assistance from the National Aid Fund (NAF), while children from 'broken' families can be referred to a care shelter.²⁰ An alternative route provided by the MoSD specifically for child beggars, is that the child is sent to one of the juvenile centres for beggars in Jordan, such as Al Fayha in Madaba.²¹ In addition, the MOE conducts an education history assessment of the child to establish the type and level of education support that can be offered, for example, a return to formal school or non-formal education programmes. In terms of action by the MoL, the employer is liable to receive an official warning, a penalty of between JOD300 and 500 (around USD400 to 700) and/or an order of closure of the work place by the minister upon a written recommendation from the inspector.²²

Practical Challenges to National Policy

Nevertheless, despite the intention of the NFCCL to upgrade and integrate policy procedures with the provision of assistance such as income support, this research has found that challenges still exist regarding both the design and implementation of the NFCCL. With regards to the design, it has been suggested that the current range of service providers detailed within the NFCCL is too narrow, which is constraining the involvement of a greater number of stakeholders, particularly NGOs and CBOs, that can identify child labourers and the breadth of referral services available to those working on child labour cases.²³ This suggests that an area for development would be improved coordination between ministries and service providers, through the inclusion of a wider range of non-governmental and community-based actors within the referral mechanisms of the Framework. An example of

¹⁷ Interview, MoSD 01.12.13

¹⁸ Interview Global Communities (Formally CHF International) , 09.12.2013

¹⁹ The piloting of the National Database is due to be concluded by May-June 2014 (Interview, ILO 09.12.13)).

²⁰ The National Aid Fund requests proof that the child is in school from the MoE before granting the monthly fund. (Interview MoSD 01.12.13)

²¹ Interview ILO 09.12.13

²² Interview MoL 09.012.13

²³ Interview ILO 09.12.13

the coordination issue being addressed is the production of a Service Providers' information booklet currently being developed by the ILO/Save the Children International.²⁴

Reported challenges relating to the implementation of the NFCCL include a lack of coordination at the stage of case management amongst the ministries.²⁵ In addition, the limited capacity of ministries to effectively administer the Framework has been highlighted. On this issue, of particular concern is the limited logistical capacity of the MoSD to identify beggars and of the limited number of labour inspectors to identify cases of child labour, as well as the limited capacity of ministries to effectively follow-up cases.

Regulating the informal sector

The nature of the informal sector creates a challenge for the implementation of policies regarding child labour. Where employers and children know that they are working illegally, it is in their interests to avoid detection. The Ministry of Labour's labour inspectorate is already overstretched in terms of geographical coverage of the country and, even if a child labourer is identified, there is little in the way of coherent and easily available follow-up options for removing a child from the workplace and ensuring his or her re-entry into formal education. In some cases, re-entering formal education is neither desirable for the child, nor possible if the child has been out of school for more than three years. In terms of compensating a family for the income lost in removing a child labourer from the workplace there are even fewer options available.

The inspection of child labour cases in Jordan was brought up both in focus groups and in key informant interviews. Key informants interviewed for this present study felt that, given the size of the country, the 150 labour inspectors available was too small for effective coverage. This was confirmed by the MoL, who added that there was a need within the Ministry for '100 extra staff to be hired to cover all sectors'²⁶. The research team heard that of these 150 labour inspectors, 20 dedicate more time to deal with child labour cases specifically. These 'focal point' inspectors for child labour cases are responsible for identifying child labourers in the field, reporting back about these cases to the Child Labour Unit on a monthly basis, and for referring child labourers to active CSOs and NGOs in the area. An example of such as CSO given by the key information from the MoL was the Social Support Centre run by JoHUD²⁷.

A recent campaign in by the MoL found nearly 300 children working in, among other locations, restaurants and on street coffee stalls²⁸ across Jordan's Governorates, with the MoL providing guidance to 18 institutions, issuing warnings to 56 others and, in some cases, fining the institution in question. The campaign is a positive indication of MoL labour inspectors identifying employers of child labourers and taking active measures to improve their access to accurate information on labour law or to penalise those who ignore that law.

²⁴ Interview Save the Children International 09.01.14

²⁵ Interview ILO 09.12.13

²⁶ Interview, MoL, 09.12.13

²⁷ Telephone interview with MoL 07.04.14

²⁸ Jordan Times 31.03.14 "294 institutions employ children – Labour Ministry" Available: <http://jordantimes.com/294-institutions-employ-children----labour-ministry>.

Education Policy: Accessing or Re-accessing Education

There are challenges facing those who wish to engage or re-engage child labourers in the formal education system. Education enrolment rates are generally high in Jordan, with 97.7% of children enrolled in compulsory schooling during 2011/12, and 78% of children enrolled in education beyond compulsory schooling. Girls' enrolment rates are higher than boys, with 98.4% of girls aged 6-15 and 83.6% of girls aged 16-17 enrolled in school, in comparison to 97.1% of boys aged 6-15 and 77.3% of boys aged 16-17.

However, the enrolment rates of children in employment are significantly lower than for those not in employments, especially for children beyond the age of compulsory education. Whereas enrolment rates for boys aged 16-17 and not in employment was 88.7% in 2007, for employed boys the employment rate fell to 23.2%. For girls of this age and for the same year, the enrolment rates were 85.8% and 30% respectively.²⁹ These figures indicate an inability for children to combine work with education, which is unsurprising giving the aforementioned long hours typically associated with child labour in Jordan and elsewhere.

In cases where the child labourer is not attending school, s/he can be referred to the MoE to receive support in enrolment in formal education.³⁰ Increasingly, non-formal education is also available, offering a pathway for those children out of school to potentially re-enter formal education, or to complete certain levels of formal education in an alternative environment. This takes place in one of 47 Non-Formal Education Centres across Jordan that are established in formal schools but take place in separate specially designed classrooms, with a smaller number of pupils (around 8 per class) and with counsellors who have received additional training on participatory teaching methods and psychosocial counselling. First established in 2004 and originally developed by the INGO Questscope for street children wanting to re-access education, the programme consists of three academic cycles and graduates receive the equivalent of a 10th grade certificate, which means that the children who complete this programme are qualified to access vocational education. The NFE curriculum has received the endorsement of the MOE which also monitors the programme and the counsellors.

If the child has been out of formal schooling for too long to be eligible for non-formal education, i.e. three years or more, s/he may be enrolled in an "informal" education programme. Informal education can take place in afternoons and weekends, and can be pursued alongside work.³¹ It does not lead to a formal diploma of any kind, but following this path can lead to a child's re-entry to either formal or non-formal education paths, depending on the child's wishes. Alongside formal and non-formal education, informal education comprised a substantial component of the Global Communities-implemented project 'Combating Exploitive Child Labour through Education' (CECLE) between 2008-12. This project resulted in 2,400 children withdrawn from child labour and 4,200 children

²⁹ Base data taken from Ministry of Education Annual Reports

³⁰ Interview MoE 08.12.13. It is worth noting that MoE works with all children regardless of the nationality. This also applies to legislation and policies on child labour which apply to all children on Jordanian soil regardless of nationality.

³¹ Interview Questscope. 11.12.13

prevented from participating in child labour.³² Following on from the CECLE project and further reinforcing the link between child labour and education is the Save the Children International project 'Promising Futures: Reducing Child Labour in Jordan through Education and Sustainable Livelihoods'. Working closely with JOHUD and its Social Support Centres in Marka, Amman, the Promising Futures Project focuses on preventing and withdrawing children from child labour through education services, and on strengthening the economic basis of the families of child labourers by means of livelihoods services.³³

Targeting child labour amongst Syrians in Jordan: A humanitarian concern

As of January 2014, UNHCR estimates that there are a total of 576,354 Syrians as 'people of concern' in Jordan, the majority of whom are living in urban areas. Of these, the majority (60.1%) are under 18 years old. In terms of location, 32.6% are located in Mafraq, 24.9% in Amman and 22.5% in Irbid.³⁴ Several situation assessments have been conducted into the socio-economic vulnerabilities which non-camp Syrian refugees face. One of the most authoritative assessments of the situation of Syrian refugees in urban contexts identified a wide range of challenges, particularly in the sectors of livelihoods, psychosocial, healthcare and education.³⁵ The study found that of five urban centres (Irbid, Madaba, Mafraq, Zarqa and Amman), families in Mafraq were found to be living in most severe poverty, while households in Irbid were larger, had less income and had more debt than households in other areas. Access to education constitutes a significant vulnerability amongst Syrians living in host communities, with one report finding that 60% of school-age children amongst urban refugees were not attending school.³⁶ Similarly, a report into educational needs of Syrians in Ghor and Irbid found extremely low numbers of formal school enrolment.³⁷

Access to income opportunities has been identified by urban Syrian refugees as a key concern with rent payments a particular worry.³⁸ Access to livelihoods is reported to be very limited and particularly challenging in Ramtha and Mafraq Governorates, whereas Irbid and Amman offer greater and more diverse job prospects.³⁹ In this context, the dependency of refugees on charities and aid organisations for income is widespread.⁴⁰ It is not legal for Syrian refugees to work in Jordan without work permits. According to information from the Ministry of Labour⁴¹ Syrians can get a work permit issued by the MoL. Certain documentation will be required by the MoL, although the exact paperwork is dependent on the establishment and area of work for which the permit is required. Required paperwork

³² Interview Questscope 11.12.13. Note that Global Communities was formerly CHF International.

³³ Interview, Save the Children International 09.01.14

³⁴ UNHCR, Syria Regional Refugee Response. Available at: <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php>

³⁵ CARE (2013), Baseline Assessment of Community-Identified Vulnerabilities among Syrian Refugees living in Irbid, Madaba, Mufraq, and Zarqa.

³⁶ CARE (2013), Baseline Assessment of Community-Identified Vulnerabilities among Syrian Refugees living in Irbid, Madaba, Mufraq, and Zarqa.

³⁷ UNICEF/Save the Children (2013), Comprehensive Outreach Assessment on Education Needs of Syrians in Ghor and Irbid

³⁸ IFRC (2012), Syrian Refugees living in the Community in Jordan: Assessment Report.

³⁹ Questscope (2013), Participatory Reflection And Action (PRA) Report: Factors Affecting The Educational Situation Of Syrian Refugees In Jordan.

⁴⁰ Questscope (2013), Participatory Reflection And Action (PRA) Report: Factors Affecting The Educational Situation Of Syrian Refugees In Jordan; Un Ponte Per... (2012), Comprehensive Assessment On Syrian Refugees Residing In The Community In Northern Jordan.

⁴¹ Information received by telephone interview with MoL 07.04.14.

may include company registration, a business license, social security certificate for the establishment they work in, health certificate and/or commercial registration documents. The length of time needed to procure this permit depends on the kind of paperwork the applicant has ready – researchers heard that it could take as little as one day, if all paperwork is produced immediately. From the same source, it appears that the cost of a work permit can vary according to the sector of work, with the agriculture sector permit given as 120JD (USD170), other establishments 270JD (USD380), and restaurant licenses at 350JD (USD493).

The scale of the influx, and the consequent economic difficulties faced by both Syrians and the host communities makes access to employment a pressing issue. Despite the apparent lack of verifiable data, the government announced in March 2013 that 160,000 Syrian refugees were working illegally.⁴² This figure is contradicted by the 2013 UN Needs Assessment Review which estimates that, of the estimated 108,000 potentially active refugee labour force (in Mafraq, Irbid, Zarqa and Amman), only around 38,000 are believed to be employed, whether regularly or irregularly. These estimates leave around 70,000 Syrians unemployed or, in effect, searching for work⁴³.

Regardless of the exact figures, the competition for jobs is fierce across Jordan and the effects of unemployment are felt by all, and which is creating social tensions in the country. A study of host-refugee tensions in Mafraq warned of the possibility of deterioration of relations between Jordanians and Syrians if efforts are not made to address tensions between the two communities over core issues of affordable housing, education places and jobs.⁴⁴

Due to the reasons mentioned above, Syrian families are resorting to child labour as a source of income. Evidence regarding the prevalence of child labour amongst Syrian refugees has been recently strengthened by the UN report on Syrian refugee children, which says that one in ten Syrian refugee children is engaged in child labour in the host community countries.⁴⁵ In Jordan, a recent assessment of 11 of Jordan's 12 Governorates found that "47% of 186 households with one or more working family member relied partly or entirely on the income generated by a child",⁴⁶ while a 2013 outreach assessment of the educational needs of Syrians in the Jordanian Governorates of Ghor and Irbid found that nearly 49% of school-age children in these two regions were working.⁴⁷

The practice of child labour has been identified by CARE International⁴⁸ (2013), as an economic coping strategy amongst Syrian refugees, especially amongst female-headed

⁴² The Jordan Times (2013) <http://jordantimes.com/around-160000-syrians-work-illegally-in-jordan>.

⁴³ UN and Jordan Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation (2013) Host Community Support Platform Needs Assessment Review of the Impact of the Syrian Crisis on Jordan p32

⁴⁴ Mercy Corps (2012), Analysis of Host Community-Refugee Tensions in Mafraq, Jordan.

⁴⁵ UNHCR (2013) The Future of Syria: Refugee Children in Crisis, p35.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*

⁴⁷ Save the Children Jordan and UNICEF, (April 2013) Comprehensive Outreach to Syrians in Ghor and Irbid on Educational Needs, Jordan

⁴⁸ CARE (2013), Baseline Assessment of Community-Identified Vulnerabilities among Syrian Refugees living in Irbid, Madaba, Mafraq, and Zarqa

households. The CARE report found that 55% of the FFHs reported that they had no monthly income, and were dependent on savings or donations, while 25% of FFHs reported that their incomes came from a working household member (all from working sons).⁴⁹ A report by UN Women (2013)⁵⁰ identified child labour and lack of access to education as firstly, connected issues, and secondly, two of the most prominent risks facing Syrian children living in Jordanian host communities. In addition, during the primary research conducted for this present study, the team found that, amongst aid practitioners working on the ground, child labour was considered to be an increasingly pressing issue.⁵¹

To gain a comprehensive understanding of child labour amongst Syrian refugees in Jordan, it is also important to consider the background context of child labour inside Syria prior to the conflict. Significantly, research has found that at least among the Syrian population in Jordan, child labour is an acknowledged phenomenon, but one not regarded as completely negative, which perception is partly due to the comparatively widespread nature of child labour in Syria.⁵² Recent statistical information concerning child labour in Syria is sparse. However, one of the most authoritative studies on this issue, published in 2002, found that at that time 17.8% of Syrian children aged 10-17 was working.⁵³ This data suggests that child labour was, at that time, significantly more prevalent in Syria than in Jordan. More recent qualitative research into child labour in Syria found that the majority of working children (63% of those sampled) had dropped out from school, while 28% were still enrolled and 9% were illiterate.⁵⁴ Given that the two nationalities most discussed in this present study for the ILO are Syrian and Jordanian, it is worth contrasts between the two countries in terms of education. Compulsory education in Syria lasts nine years and is completed at the age of 14⁵⁵, in contrast to the Jordanian system, where education is compulsory for ten years until age 16. In the light of this information it is possible to assume certain differences in expectation between Syrians and Jordanians on firstly, a perception of child labour as a common occurrence and secondly perceptions of the level of education that are 'required' for children.

Support and Services available to child labourers and their families in Jordan

While Syrians are not explicitly excluded from the NFCCCL and its referral pathways, they fall outside the mandate of, and therefore in some cases also the support provided by, Jordanian Government Ministries in important respects. One example is that only Jordanians can access the financial assistance provided by the National Aid Fund (NAF).⁵⁶ Although in theory the identification of child labour cases amongst Syrians and other

⁴⁹ CARE (2013), Baseline Assessment of Community-Identified Vulnerabilities among Syrian Refugees living in Irbid, Madaba, Mufraq, and Zarqa p21

⁵⁰ UN Women (2013) Inter-Agency Assessment on Gender-Based Violence and Child Protection Among Syrian Refugees in Jordan with a focus on Early Marriage p36

⁵¹ Interview UNHCR 02.12.13, Interview TdH 11.12.13

⁵² UN Ponte Per... (2012), Comprehensive Assessment On Syrian Refugees Residing In The Community In Northern Jordan

⁵³ Central Bureau of Statistics; FAFO; UNICEF: Child labour in Syria (2002)

⁵⁴ ILO (2012) 'National Study on Worst Forms of Child Labour in Syria'.

⁵⁵ UNESCO (2011), World Data on Education: Syrian Arab Republic'. Available at: http://www.ibe.unesco.org/fileadmin/user_upload/Publications/WDE/2010/pdf-versions/Syrian_Arab_Republic.pdf

⁵⁶ Interview ILO 09.12.13

nationalities can be undertaken by MoL inspectors, cases for Syrians are primarily identified by INGOs and NGOs working directly with refugees on the ground in various Governorates.

Referral pathways for Syrian refugees are governed by the Inter-Agency Emergency Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) on Child Protection in Jordan⁵⁷. According to these pathways, cases of child labour are referred by the identifying body to one of several approved actors that vary depending on the Governorate, but which include UNHCR, International Medical Corps, Jordan River Foundation and other qualified child protection case management agencies⁵⁸ region. Simultaneously, each case should also be reported to the MoL's Child Labour Unit (CLU). This is included for every area-based referral pathway for reporting cases of child labour, meaning that while cases are reported to the emergency actors, they ought to be reported to the Government as well. However there is currently no clear follow-up mechanism for the Government and this, combined with the fact that not all nationalities can be served by support systems such as the NAF, is a challenge facing those providing assistance to Syrian child labourers and their families. Non-governmental actors who currently provide services relevant to child labour cases and who participated in research undertaken for this present study include the Islamic Centre, and the Social Support Centre, and the Jordan Women's Union. There are many more non-government actors not directly contacted during the research for this Rapid Assessment who provide services in Jordan; these are listed in more detail in the Inter-Agency SOPs⁵⁹.

Depending on the nature of the case and the situation of the family, examination of the Inter-Agency SOPs for child labour case services found that, after an initial assessment of the case by a qualified child protection case manager, six types of support should be made available to the child and family in cases of child labour. Qualified child protection agencies include UNHCR, International Medical Corps (IMC), and the Jordan River Foundation (JRF). Also listed as service providers in the prevention of and response to child labour in Jordan are the MoL, the MoE, and MoSD, specifically as monitoring and protection' actors. The MoSD is also listed as a case management actor.⁶⁰ The six types of support according to the Inter-Agency SOPs are

1. Counselling for the child and family;
2. Advice about the risks of child labour and on Jordanian labour law;
3. Information provision (including about available education and vocational training options and referral to these as appropriate);
4. Assessment of eligibility for cash assistance via the UNHCR (for this, the child must attend school, and proof of enrolment is required from the MoE);
5. Other economic support e.g., for rent, food, for employment opportunities linked to education (through UNICEF-supported programmes) and;
6. Participation of children and families in psychosocial services e.g., child- and youth-friendly spaces.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Inter-Agency Emergency Standard Operating Procedures for Prevention of and Response to Gender-Based Violence and Child Protection in Jordan

⁵⁸ Ibid. p165

⁵⁹ Ibid. p208

⁶⁰ Ibid, p70

⁶¹The six types of support listed here are sourced from: Ibid p69-70

A limitation of the strategies to address child labour amongst Syrian refugees is that they are overwhelmingly relief and response focused rather than preventative., Due to the contention surrounding the issue of high unemployment levels in Jordan and the population increase over the last two to three years. In addition, aid agencies recognise that cash assistance can only be considered a short-term strategy for assisting the families of child labourers who have been removed from the employment market, as provision of cash relies on international funding that is likely to decrease as time goes on.⁶²

Challenges in case management and referral systems for Syrian cases of child labour in Jordan were identified by key informants during interviews as including the following:

- That options available to those exiting child labour are limited, and the potential for re-entering the labour market is high;
- That there are a limited number of actors specified in the current referral pathways, and it does not include the role of NGOs and CBOs;
- That the inherent short-term nature of cash assistance means that this is not a viable medium- to long-term option for supporting ex-child labourers and their families, as this depends on international community support
- That there is an informal system around the identification of child labourers in the field which does not follow the formal referral system as it exists on paper.⁶³

Case Management Pathways for Child Labourers

The diagram on the following page illustrates the case management referral pathways. The diagram was taken from the National Framework (NFCCL)⁶⁴. From key informant interviews researcher heard that, although the existence of the Framework is a very positive indication of progress in terms of formalising systems and services that identify and remove children from the labour market, there are still significant areas for improvement within the case management and referral systems as outlined on the following page. Specifically, in the 'Intervention' stage it was heard that more actors should be formally included within the system, and their services recognised. This inclusion would relieve some of the burden on the three Ministries currently tasked with dealing with child labourers. Another point of concern heard by researchers related to the 'Monitoring and Evaluation' stage where concerted follow-up capacity on child labour cases is limited.

⁶² According to November 2013 figures from the UN Working Group on Cash Assistance, 18,049 families received one-time urgent cash assistance to address urgent vulnerability, 17,614 families received regular cash assistance as a cash complement towards basic household needs (conditional), and 137,345 families received regular cash assistance as a cash complement towards basic household needs (unconditional). Available at: http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/working_group.php?Page=Country&LocationId=107&Id=8

⁶³ The research team heard of referrals of child labour cases based on personal relationships rather than by following standard operating procedures e.g., a Jordanian aid worker who has a personal contact at the UNHCR and uses this as a reporting mechanism them when a Syrian child is found working.

⁶⁴ National Framework for Combating Child Labour (NFCCL) p42

Model of Procedures for Combating Child Labor According to Multi-Establishments Methods

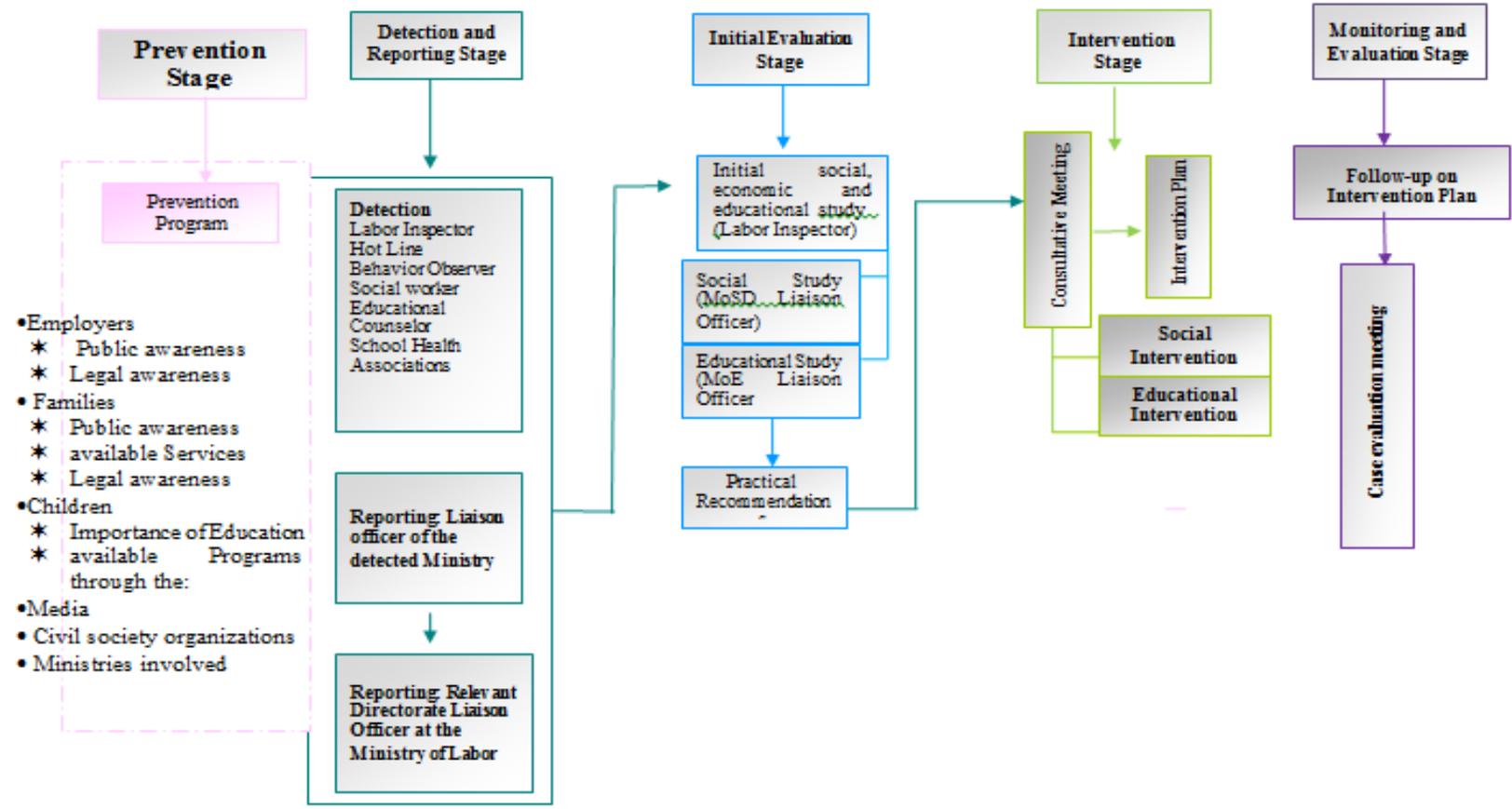


Figure 1 Model of Procedures for Combating Child Labour, National Framework for Combating Child Labour (NFCL)

Informal sector employment in Jordan's urban environments

The informal sector, as agreed at the 15th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) in 1993, is defined in terms of characteristics of the production units (enterprises) in which the activities take place according to the following criteria: i) they are private unincorporated enterprises; ii) all or at least some of the goods or services produced are meant for sale or barter; iii) their size in terms of employment is below a certain threshold; iv) they are engaged in non-agricultural activities.⁶⁵

The most in-depth analyses of the informal sector in Jordan are two reports published by UNDP/Ministry of Planning and International Co-operation (MoPIC) in 2012 and 2013 respectively, both based on the Jordan Labour Market Panel Survey (2010, JMPLS).⁶⁶ According to these reports the informal sector accounted for 44% of the labour force in 2010. Further, it accounted for 55% of the private sector, 48% of employed males and 27% of employed females. The 2010 JLMPS also suggests that the informal economy is growing at a faster rate than the formal economy, in part due to reluctance on the part of private establishments to register as formal enterprises, thus pushing employees into informal enterprises. The informal sector is particularly prone to child labour and other malpractices due to the fact that, by definition, it escapes regulatory oversight and exists outside the national labour inspectorate system.

With regard to the primary research conducted for this present study, the overwhelming majority (80%) from the total 45 respondents to the Employer survey employed child labourers for full-time work, while only 18% employed children for part-time work. Only one employer had a child worker who was considered as a "helper", and therefore received no wage at all. This case is probably a child working with his family. Worth mentioning is the fact that no seasonal child labourers were found, indicating that the urban informal sector is characterised by low seasonal alterations, unlike the highly seasonal agricultural sector.

⁶⁵ Hussmanns, Defining and measuring informal employment (Geneva: ILO). Available at: <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/stat/download/papers/meas.pdf>

⁶⁶ UNDP/MoPIC (2012), 'The Informal Sector in the Jordanian Economy'. Available at: <http://www.mop.gov.jo/uploads/Final%20Informal%20report%20for%20website.pdf>; UNDP/MoPIC (2013), 'The Panoramic Study of the Informal Sector in Jordan'. Available at: http://www.undp.org/content/jordan/en/home/library/democratic_governance/The_Panoramic_Study_Of_The_Informal_Economy_In_Jordan/. It should be noted that the cited studies strictly speaking are concerned with informal employment rather than the informal sector, and are concerned with three categories of workers as a share of total employment population: 1) unregulated private sector employees (i.e. paid employees in the private sector working without a written contract); 2) own-account workers; 3) unpaid workers (including family contributors and other unpaid workers). For the differences between the informal sector and informal employment, see Hussmanns, Defining and measuring informal employment (Geneva: ILO). Available at: <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/stat/download/papers/meas.pdf>

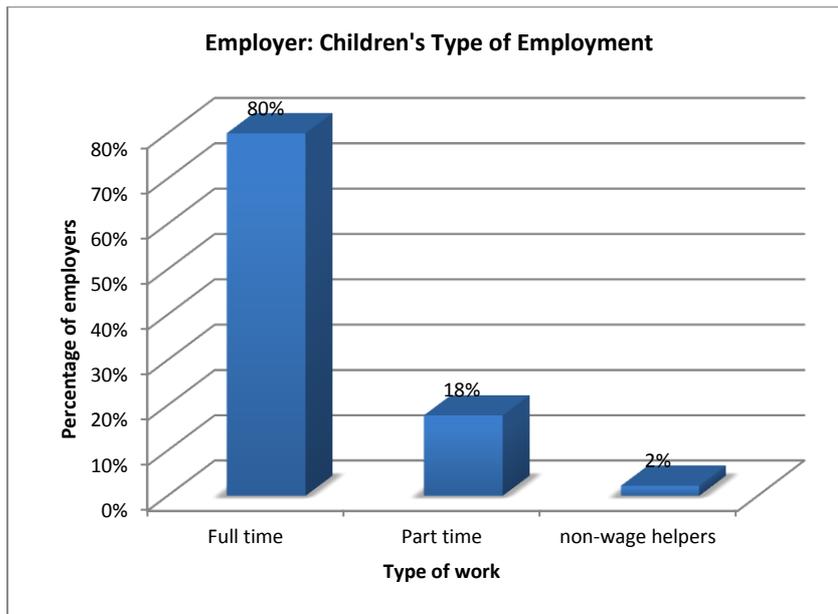


Figure 2 Employer Survey: Children's Type of Employment

Section 2: Characteristics of child labour in Amman, Mafraq and Irbid Governorates

The characteristics of child labour in the three governorates of Amman, Mafraq and Irbid are summarised in this section. The data presented here is gathered from the quantitative elements of the study, namely the three surveys for households, employers, and child labourers. It is supplemented by primary qualitative data from key informants and focus groups gathered for this present study alongside data from secondary sources where relevant.

Ages of working children

No children below the age of 5 were identified as working during the research carried out for this present study. Of the total 45 child labourer respondents, the majority (66%) fell into the 16-17 age group, 30% into the 12-15 group, and only 4% into the 5-11 age group. This information is illustrated in the below diagram.

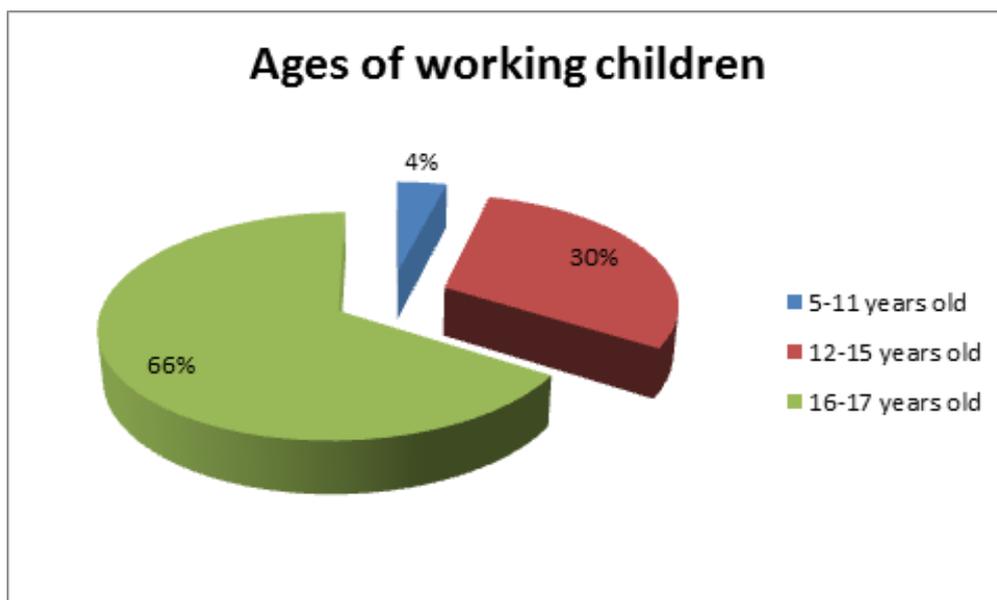


Figure 3: Employer Opinions: Ages of working Children

Half the child labourer respondents interviewed in Irbid and Mafraq were between the ages of 5 and 11. In Mafraq, there was a slightly higher proportion of 12-15 year olds found labouring, but due to the small sample size this data cannot be considered representative of a wider trend.

Regarding data from the employers of child labourers, 84.4% said they employed one child between 5-17 years old, while 11% said they employ two children. 4.4% responded they don't employ any children. 67% of the employers hired children between the ages of 16-17 years old while 33% hired children between 7-15 years old. Only two employers had female child worker and in both cases the female was 16-17 years old.

Characteristic: No children under the age of 5 were found to be labouring. Around half of child labourers in the three Governorates were aged between 5-11 years old.

Sectors of work

In key informant interviews, researchers heard from organisations working on the ground that there has been a recent move by Syrian refugee families away from urban environments towards more rural areas. This was attributed to a desire to avoid the higher costs associated with living in urban areas. This aside, the children surveyed in the three governorates were mainly found to be working 1) on the street 2) in shops and 3) in restaurants. On the streets, they worked at stalls and stands ('bastat'), selling food items and drinks. In shops, they were involved in serving customers, tidying goods and arranging merchandise, and as cleaners. When working in restaurants, children's tasks included serving food and drink, dealing with customers, and cleaning.

The surveyed employers were asked about the sector of work that their business engaged with. The data is illustrated by the below chart, where a significant portion (38%) were engaged in the selling specifically food and/or drinks, 18% in the services industry (for example in hairdressing or in shoe cleaning), 16% in 'vending' meaning in retailing of goods of any kind excluding food and drink. In the group of smaller percentages, it was found that

7% of employer respondents were engaged respectively in the restaurant industry and in carpentry work, while 4% of employers were in the bakery and construction sectors. The remaining respondents gave food processing, the manufacture of hard goods such as handicrafts and 'other' as their main areas of business.

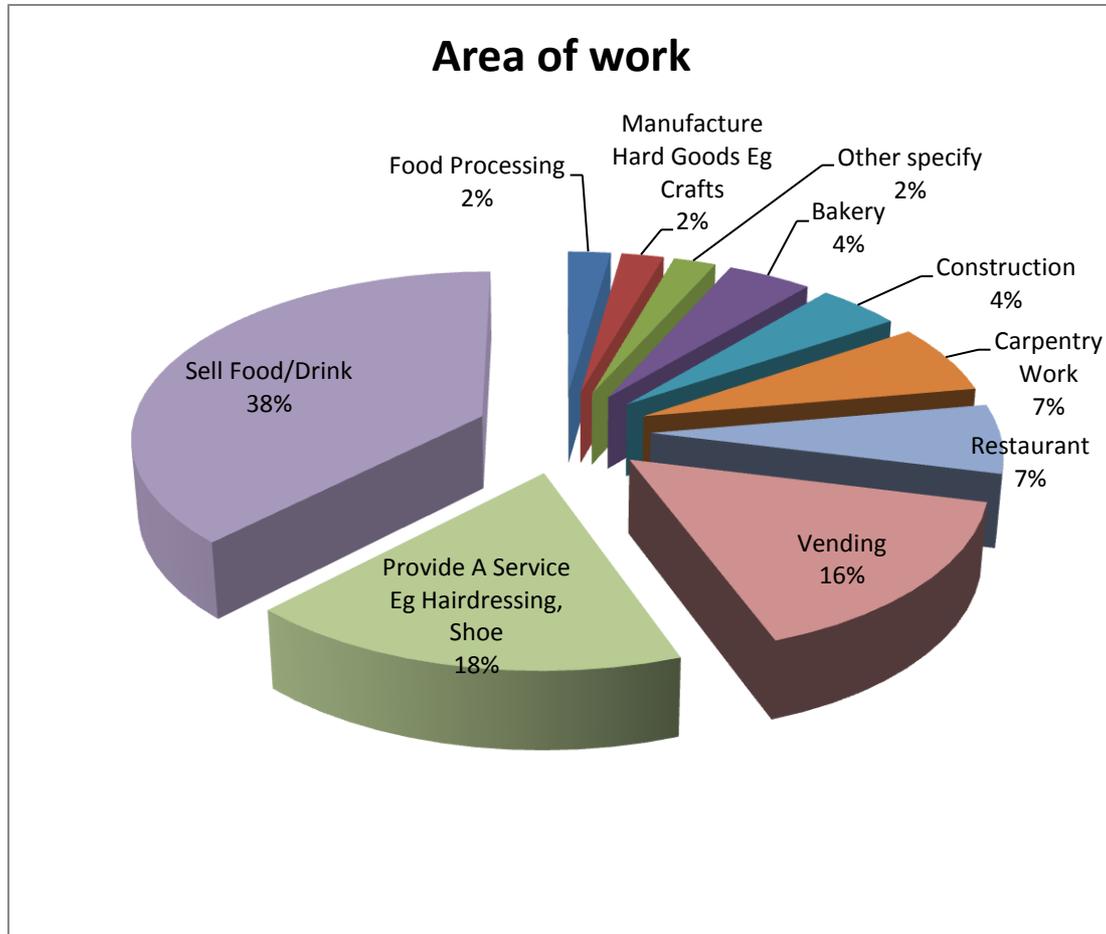


Figure 4 Employer Survey: Sector of Business Activity

Geographic Locations

Child labourer survey respondents from Amman were all male. There were four Jordanians, ten Syrians and one child from Gaza, Occupied Palestinian Territories. They were interviewed in the following areas of Amman Governorate: Wihdat, Al-Jofa, Sweileh, Jabal Al-Mareikh, Hai Nazzal, Al Zuhour, Marka Na'our, Share' Al-Ordon and Jabal Al Hussein. In focus group discussions in Amman, participants reported that children under the age of 10 were working as beggars⁶⁷ or selling items at traffic lights, although other participants felt that these were not widespread occurrences in the Governorate.

Respondents to the child survey from Irbid were all male, with seven Jordanians, seven Syrians and one Palestinian. They were interviewed in the following areas of Irbid Governorate: Mukhayam Al-Hoson, Mukhayam Irbid, University Street, Al Barha Al

⁶⁷ No children identified as beggars were found for the primary data in this study.

Sawanieyeh, Al-Rawdah, Al-Manarah, Hai Al-Turkuman, Al-Howara, Mukhayam Phalastin, Hai Al-seha, Fo'ara Street and Hai Al-Qsaila. Focus group participants in Irbid reported that child labourers work in 'bastat' (stalls and stands on the street), as sellers at traffic lights, in workshops including carpentry, ironsmiths and auto mechanics, as beggars and in construction.

From Mafraq, respondents were fourteen males and one female. They were interviewed in the following areas: Hai Al-Thubat, Nowara, Hai Al-Hussein, Al-Hai Al-Janoubi, Wasat Al-Balad, Al-Shwaikah, Hai Al-M'aineh and Hai Al-Fadan. In focus group discussions, participants felt that Mafraq currently faced particular challenges due to the increase in population in the area with arrivals from Syria. This influx led to an increase in the cost of living, reduced education provision, since schools in Mafraq are overcrowded and not fit for purpose, and reduced job opportunities, especially for Jordanian university graduates.

Of the child labourer respondents, 56% (mainly Jordanians) said that they had always lived in their current Governorate. 67% of the Syrian respondents said that this is a new location for them. 86% of those who had moved to their current location said that they had come from their home country (Syria), while 9% said they came from another Governorate - either Mafraq or Aqaba – and 5% came from another location (Beit Yafa in Irbid). Those who had changed location said it had been for security reasons.

Characteristic: Child labourers in urban environments are mainly found working on the street, in shops and in restaurants.

Occupations

Children in the three Governorates work in a range of professions. However they were most frequently present in the service industry, where they were found in restaurants or in tea and food shops; working as cleaners in shops; or working as shop assistants. In addition to these main sectors, older children were also found in more hazardous environments including metal working/welding and in heavy manual work such as lifting and carrying.⁶⁸ Children's responses to the question "What type of work do you do?" are shown in the below graph, divided by age (5-15 years and 16-18 years).

⁶⁸ Please see the section on "International Labour Standards and the Concept of Child Labour" for the ILO definition of 'hazardous labour' for children.

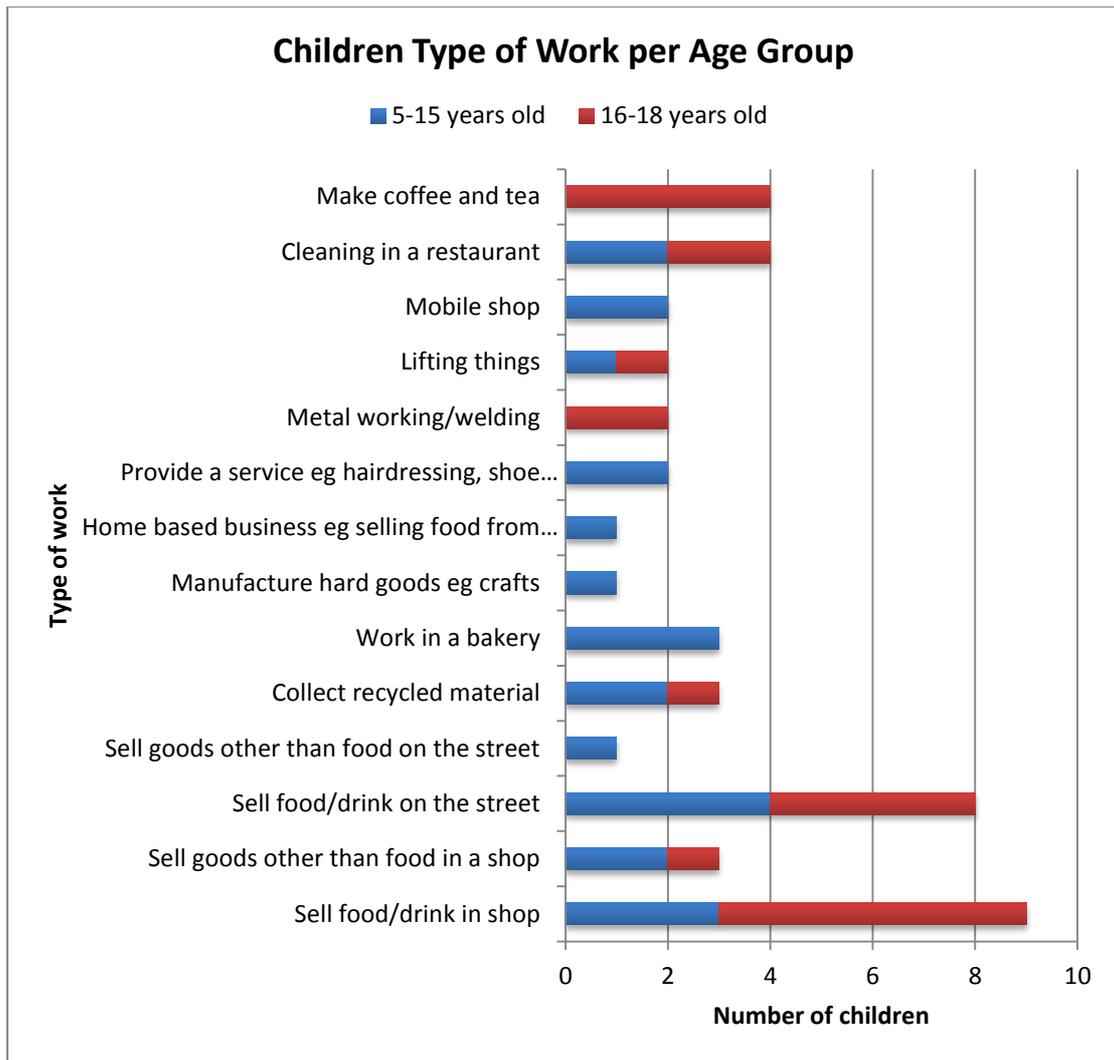


Figure 5 Children Survey: Children Type of Work per Age Group

When asked if there were differences in the kind of work done by children of different nationalities, key informants from INGOs working in the sector felt that it was more common to find Syrian children in ‘services’ such as in restaurants, tea shops and grocery shops, while Jordanians were to be found more in mechanics, in shops and in construction. Below, the graph divides the **tasks done by child labourers according to nationality**. From the 45 children interviewed directly, the data indicates that there is a level of difference according to nationality, with Syrian child labourers in Jordan performing a wider range of jobs than other nationalities, including working in shops and restaurants, as cleaners and selling food and drink on the street.

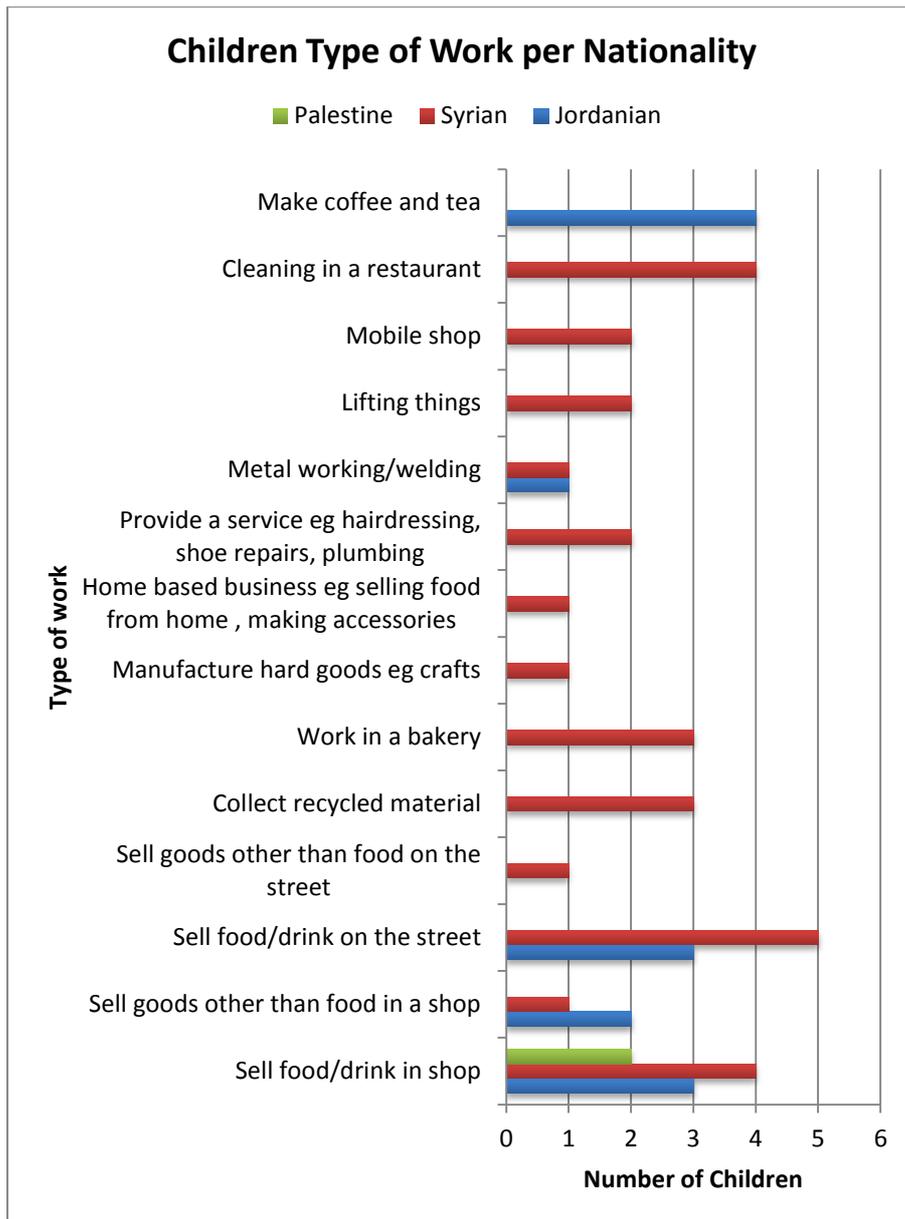


Figure 6: Children Survey: Children Type of Work per Nationality

Employers of child labourers were asked which kinds of work were suitable for employees under 18 years old. In terms of the employers' perception of suitable work to be conducted by children, the most cited response (around one-third of respondents) was that the children help in cleaning the shop, with around a quarter saying that an additional task was the 'arrangement of products' while around a fifth of employers citing 'selling' as another task. . Other significant areas of work included 'helps in carrying goods', 'customer delivery' and 'serving coffee/tea'. Although not significant, there were a few responses pertaining to hazardous activities other than carrying goods such as 'cutting wood', 'helps in transporting goods' and 'weighing products'. These responses are outlined in the graph below.

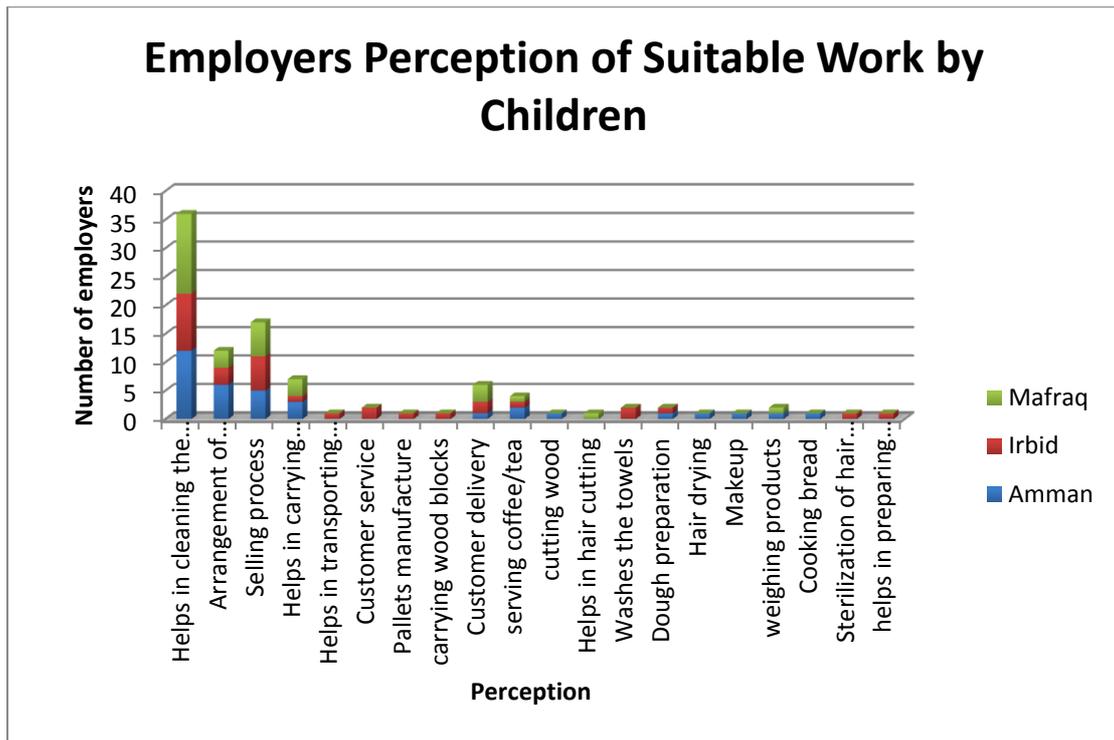


Figure 7 Suitable Work for Children: Employers Opinions

Characteristic: Most frequently, children in urban environments assist in the service sector by serving food and drink, by cleaning, or working as shop assistants.

Hours of work

The study's data showed that children labouring in Jordan are generally working long days and long weeks. From the 45 respondents to the child survey, **73% answered that they usually work 6 or 7 days per week**. This occurred most often in Mafrq, where 86% of Mafrq respondents worked 6 or 7 days per week, and was reported most commonly by Syrians (80% of Syrian respondents working 6 or 7 days per week across all governorates).

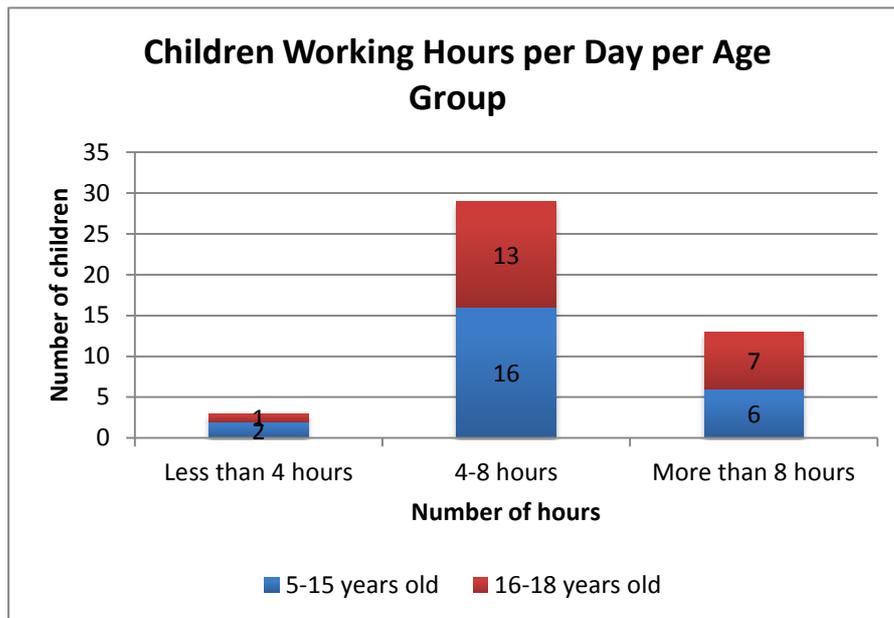


Figure 8: Children Survey: Children Working Hours per Day per Age Group

In terms of daily working hours, **64% of child labourers reported working between 4 and 8 hours per day**. This was seen to be similar across the two age groups analysed from the data (5-15 years, and 16-18 years). A significant portion (29%) reported working more than 8 hours per day. The 2013 study by Questscope found similar results, reporting that children work up to ten hours per day and often do not return till late in the evening⁶⁹.

Although the majority of under 17 year olds (71% or 32 out of 45) said that they worked within the legally specified range of working hours,⁷⁰ around two-thirds of those were aged 15 and below, and were therefore working illegally according to Jordanian labour law. During the interviews, researchers observed that some of the children appeared exhausted by their work and that, for example in shops, they were often expected to work continuously even when there were no customers.

Characteristic: The majority of child labourers in urban environments are working 6 to 7 days per week, and between 4-8 hours per day.

Pay

The majority of child labourers reported being paid between 3-5 Jordanian dinars (JD) (approximately 4-7 USD) per day. All 45 children questioned in the child labourer survey responded that they were paid in cash for their work. Although it is unlikely that a child worker would be paid by cheque or other method, no child reported receiving any payment 'in kind' (e.g., housing, meals or transport). By contrast, most employers indicated that, in addition to monetary compensation for their work, children were provided with other items including lunch and a drink⁷¹.

⁶⁹ Questscope (2013) Participatory Reflection and Action (PRA) Report: Factors Affecting the Educational Situation of Syrian Refugees in Jordan p13

⁷⁰ Work should begin after 6am and end before 8pm for 16-17 year olds.

⁷¹ This could indicate a discrepancy between what employers and children consider as payment for work, although it is also potentially attributable to the phrasing of questions in the two surveys. Where the child survey asked only "How are you paid?" with the answers as 'cash' or 'in kind' offered, the comparable question in the

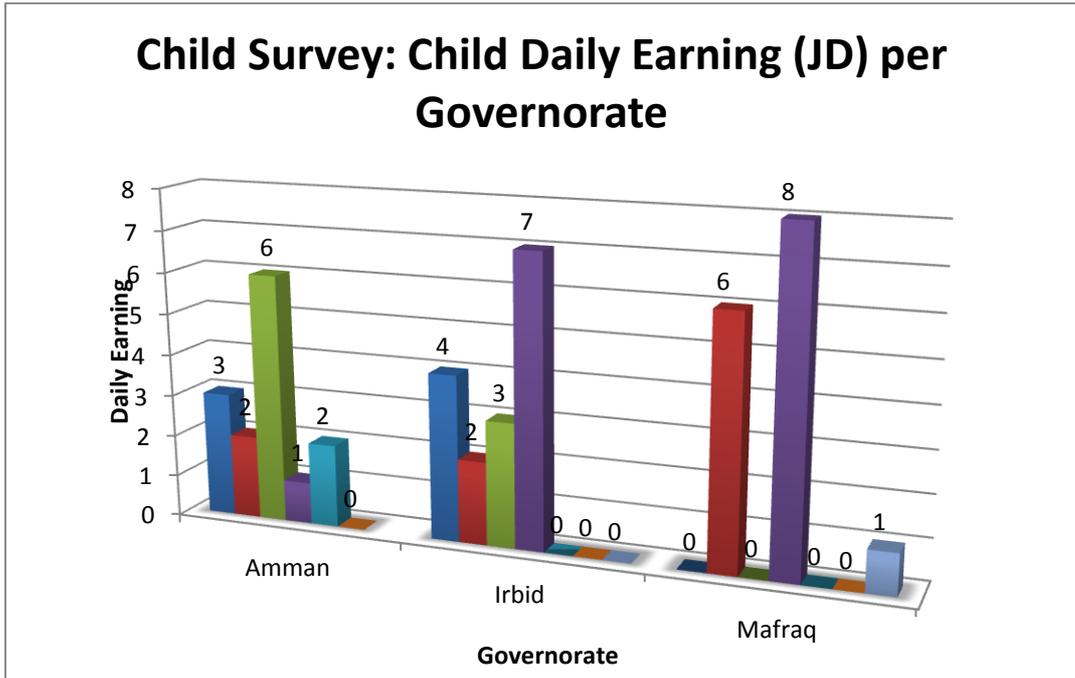


Figure 9 Child Survey: Reported Child Daily Earning (JD) per governorate

In general, the majority of children reported being paid their full wages by their employers, with 77% of children indicating that their employer ‘always’ paid them their full wages. However, there were indications that this is not always the case; 13% of children answered that they were ‘often’ paid in full, while 4% responded that they were ‘rarely’ paid the total they were owed. Although this represents a minority among the respondents, it is an indication that there are children who are not being paid in full, or at all, for the work they are doing.

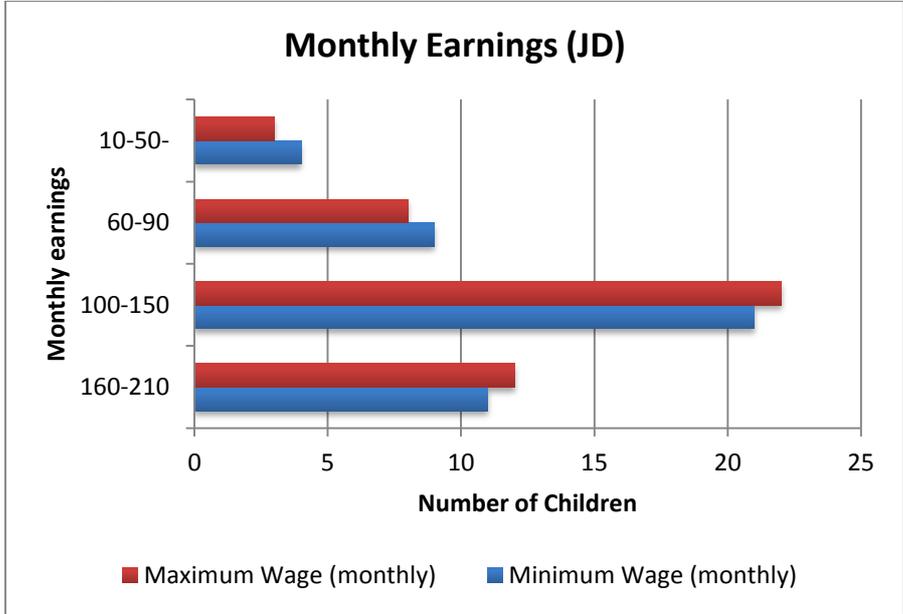


Figure 10 Monthly Earnings (JD)

employer survey (“How do you pay this employee?”) listed specific responses that included cash, meal, housing, damaged groceries, transport, education fees and ‘other’.

Just under half of children (46%) said they were paid daily, 35% weekly and 13% monthly. Being paid daily by employers may show that children are employed on a day-by-day basis for irregular work. This represents an uncertain environment for both child and family, as working hours and days may fluctuate without warning depending on the tasks available. Despite this possibility, over half (55%) of children did report their wages to be stable for a whole month. This indicates that, once employed, children's wages can be a reliable source of income for them and their families. However, 45% answered that their wages were not stable across a whole month. This indicates that, despite the availability of stable work with regular wages for a significant number of children workers, there is also a significant number whose work either fluctuates on a daily or weekly basis. The assumption is that this kind of work is dependent on the employers' need and the work available, or that these are children who are not paid regularly or in full by their employers. Regardless of the specific nature of the income instability, the data shows that a significant portion of children cannot rely on a stable amount of money for their work.

Characteristic: Child labourer's wages form a significant part of family incomes, with 45% of respondents identifying a child under 18 as a main, or joint-main, breadwinner. There are indications that not all children who work in the informal sector are being paid in full for the work they do.

Travel

Child respondents were asked about the length of time it takes them to reach their place of work, and by what means they made this journey. Just over two-thirds of child labourers worked within a 20-minute journey from their homes. 40% of the Syrian respondents travelled more than 20 minutes to reach work while only 15% of Jordanian children had to travel more than 20 minutes to reach work. This indicates that, in their effort to find paid work, Syrian children are travelling farther away from home and family than Jordanian children. This is represented in the below graph, with the situation of Syrians and Jordanians highlighted in particular, while the 'all nationalities' section includes the data of the Egyptian and Palestinian children interviewed in the child survey.

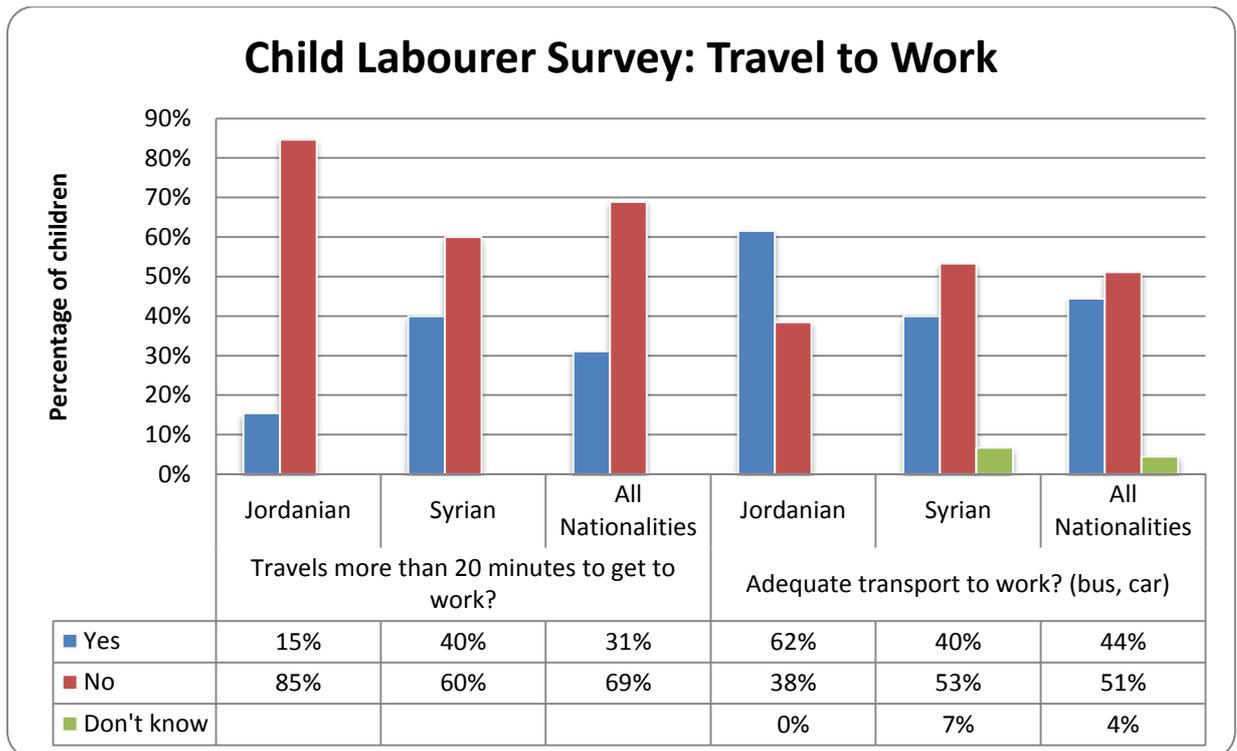


Figure 11 Child Labourer Survey: Travel to Work

Just over half of respondents answered that they did not have access to adequate transport to take them to work, although there is no quantitative data to indicate if that was the result of lack of public transport connections between the two locations or due to the high cost of that transport. From qualitative information, researchers heard in focus group discussions in Irbid that they knew of children who were walking 5-10km to get to work, as they could not afford any other transport. From the Questscope report, commuting was reported by respondents to be common amongst Syrian child labourers, with children in Mafraq having sought employment in cities such as Irbid, both in order to find more opportunities and to prevent their employment being discovered and therefore their family's eligibility for aid being jeopardised⁷².

In their efforts to find paid work in urban environments, Syrian children are travelling farther from home than Jordanians.

Health

A common concern about children who are economically active is that their work impacts negatively on their health and security, both physically and mentally.

Child labourers were asked about their access to certain workplace facilities as part of their survey. The below graph illustrates children's responses to questions on the availability of toilet facilities in their workplace, their access to these facilities, and the general cleanliness of their workplace. While there seems to be no particular pattern indicated by nationality, it is possible to see that in general we can consider there to be a roughly fifty-fifty split between 'Yes' and 'No' answers regarding the availability of adequate toilet facilities in the

⁷²Questscope (2013) Participatory Reflection and Action (PRA) Report: Factors Affecting the Educational Situation of Syrian Refugees in Jordan p13

workplace and between 'Yes' and 'No' answers for whether the child is allowed to use those facilities (see 'Totals' column).

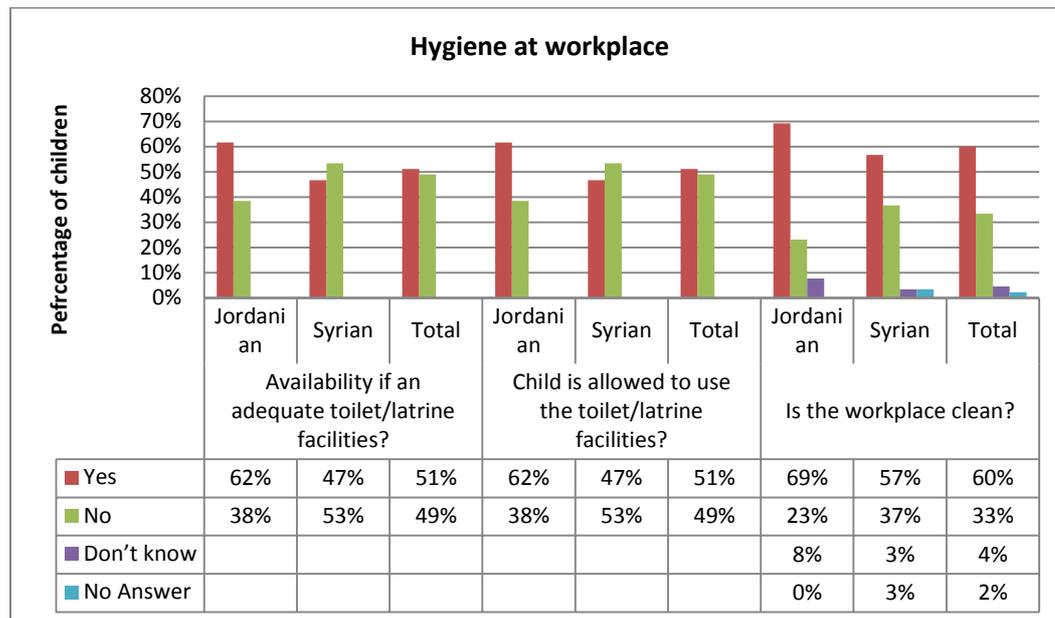


Figure 12 Hygiene at workplace

To gain a better understanding of the general state of health and work conditions of children labourers, the child survey asked children about their physical health in the three months prior to the survey. The below chart illustrates the kinds of conditions reported by child labourers in the child survey. In the original survey question, illnesses and workplace were grouped within the same question and are therefore displayed in the chart together. These two – illnesses and injury – will be dealt with separately in the following narrative.

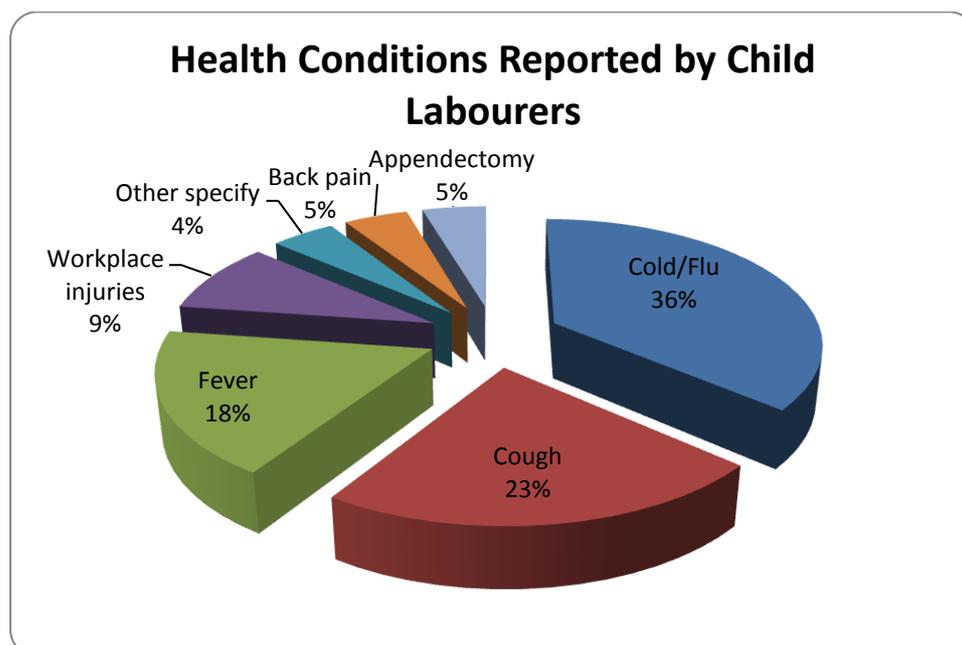


Figure 13 Health Conditions reported by Child Labourers

Of those who had fallen sick (31% of total 45 respondents), they reported suffering from general illnesses such as colds and flu (57%), coughs (36%) and fever (29%)⁷³ and 79% of those who had been ill said that they had taken days off work due to the sickness. All who had had days off said that when they were sick, a member of their family looked after them.

Only three children had to go to work while they were sick, and none of them was forced to go – instead two said they had to go because they needed the money, while one of them was afraid of angering their employer by their absence.

Half of those who reported general illnesses attributed them to work, which could indicate that long working days and hours are a contributing factor in child labourer illnesses. However, the remaining 69% of children responded that they had not been ill in the last three months, which indicates that the overall level of health of child labourers in the three governorates was relatively high in the months preceding the survey.

Similar questions were asked to respondents in the Household Survey, which gathered data on a total of 506 children who were resident in the targeted households. Although not all of these children were working at the time of the survey, questions on health were asked specifically about the children reported by household survey respondents to be working. The following graph indicates the children’s illnesses, and the frequency with which they were identified by the adult respondents. Flu, coughs and fever were reported in common with the children’s own responses from the child survey. The adults reported additional conditions including allergies and respiratory conditions. Even though the respondents believed that these conditions were caused by work it is not possible from the data gathered to draw this conclusion with any reliability.

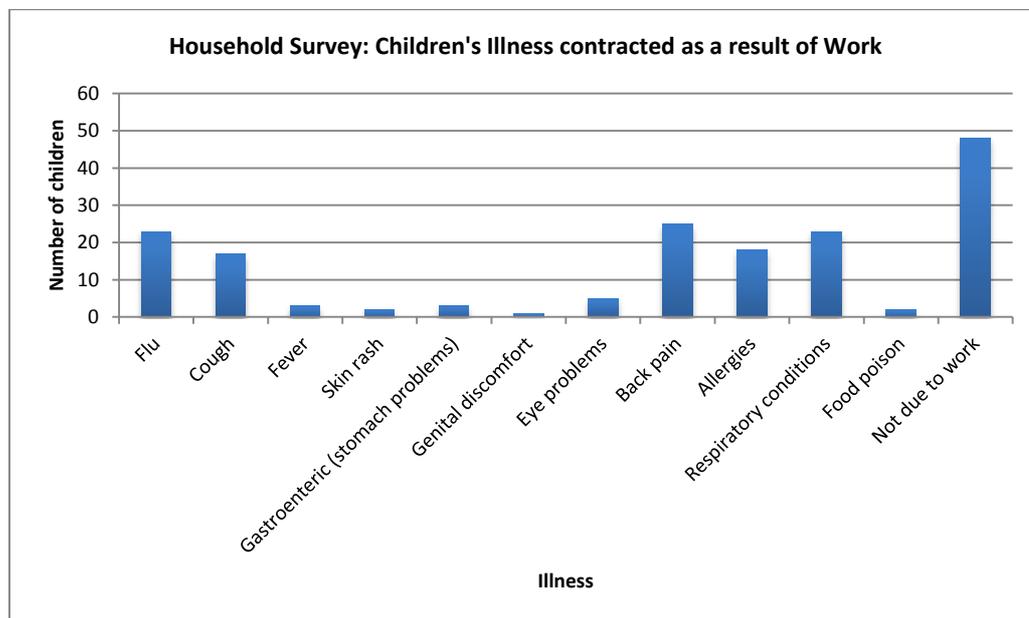


Figure 14 Children's illnesses attributed to work

Although the health status of children in urban environments appeared generally good, there are worrying indications of physical pains and other conditions caused by work.

⁷³ The research for this study took place in autumn and winter, when these ailments are relatively common.

Safety in the workplace

In the same vein, children were also asked about their safety in the workplace, for example, if they had been **injured at work**, if they were **provided with protection** from bad weather and or offered **job-specific protective equipment** by their employers.

Only 14% of child respondents reported health conditions that they specifically attributed to their work. These included pains in their backs, arms and legs or other injuries and cuts. There was **little indication among respondents of serious physical harm** sustained as a result of work. However, researchers heard reports of serious and disabling injuries sustained by children's colleagues⁷⁴, including a broken leg, a wound caused by a meat-chopping machine and the loss of a finger in the workplace. During interviews, the research team observed that children were not always properly protected from workplace hazards, noting for example, that a child had a flushed face from working close to the heat from a bakery oven. In some situations researchers noted that children lacked correct protective equipment, such as gloves, for the work they were doing.

In the employer survey, employers were asked what the **major risks faced by employees**⁷⁵ in their establishments were. 33% highlighted answered that working excessive hours; was a major risk, that 16% exposure to noise (16%) and; 11% exposure to heat; (11%) were risks for employees, 11% exposure to dust and; 9% exposure to natural elements such as that direct sun or rain presented potential health risks and 4% said exposure to chemicals in the workplace, and stress caused by work as risks. 16% of respondents answered that there were no hazards for employees in their working environment. Of the 45 employers questioned, 100% responded that no employee of theirs had ever suffered a physical disability due to their work they carried out for the employer.

In key informant interviews, it was stated that the urban sector held a range of particular hazards for child workers, noting that the 12+ age group especially was more likely to be found in hazardous working environments where they are exposed to, among other risks, chemicals, traffic and harsh weather conditions.⁷⁶

Regarding the way children are treated while they are in the workplace, the child survey asked a range of questions on whether the child is subjected to abuse, whether the child is harassed (physically or verbally) by people in the municipality, by other workers or people of opposite gender, and finally if other children laughed at the working child because of the work they did. The results are shown in the below graph, and appear to indicate that the level of such abuse, harassment and/or mockery of the child is perceived to be low by the children

⁷⁴ From the data gathered from the Children's Survey, it is not clear if these colleagues were adults or children. However, we include the data here as an indication of the kinds of injuries that had happened to other employees in the children's working environment.

⁷⁵ All employers interviewed in this survey were selected due to the presence of children working in their establishment. However, the question posed during interviews did not ask respondents to differentiate between whether these risks were faced by adult or child employees.

⁷⁶ The 2011 United States Department of Labour (USDOL) Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Jordan also mentioned that children "are exposed to a variety of hazards which may include severe weather, accidents caused by proximity to automobiles and vulnerability to criminal elements" (p321).

Child Survey : Abuse

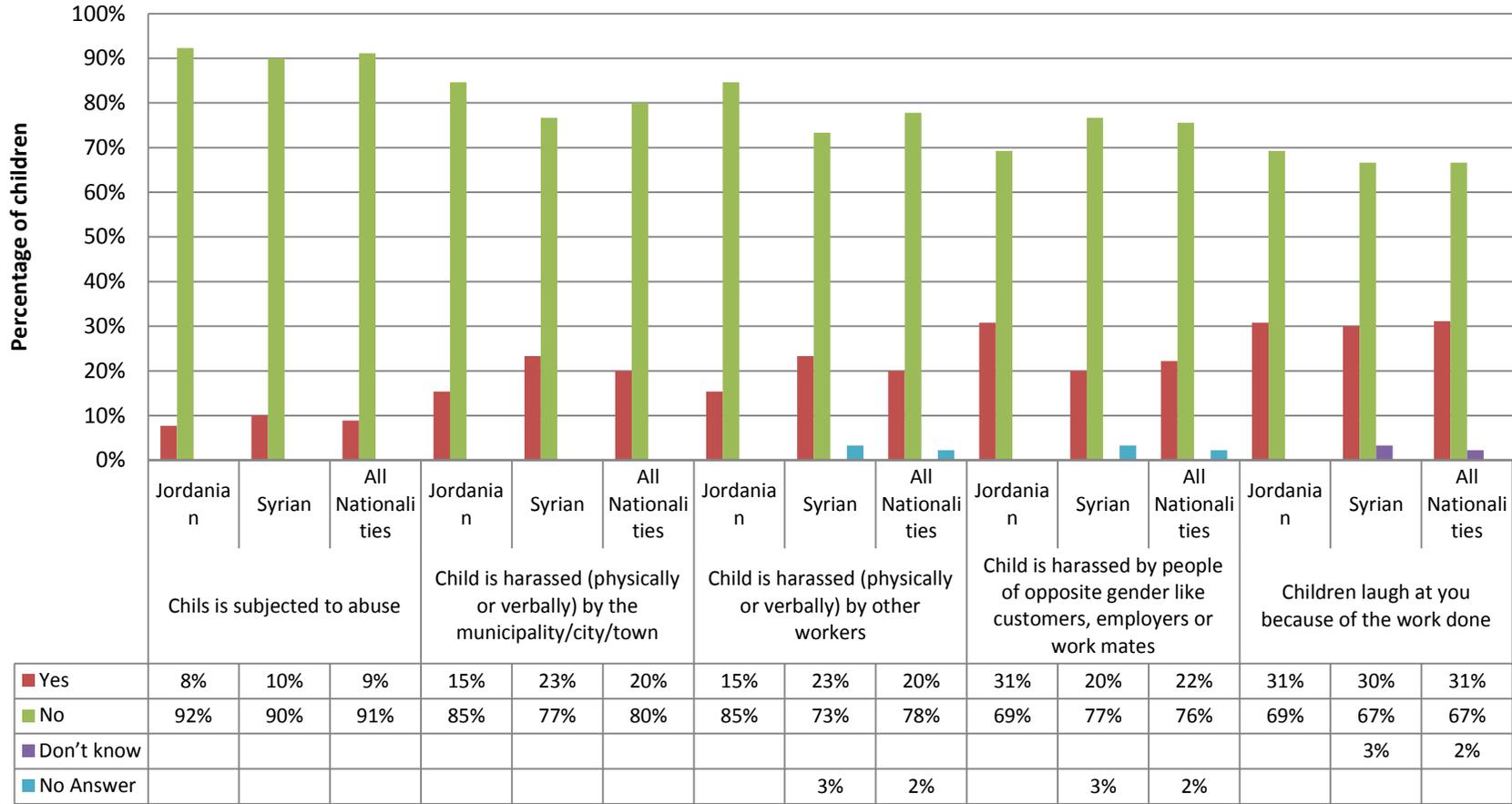


Figure 15 Child Labour Survey: Abuse

Focus group discussions reported the presence of children working in high risk environments such as the 'hissbeh markazieh' (central markets) in Irbid, where they loaded fruits and vegetables. Participants reported that they had heard of cases of sexual assault, although the research team could not verify these reports. Participants felt that children working in these places were particularly vulnerable because they started work early in the morning (4am), and worked in shifts with gaps in between where the children were unattended by adults.

Characteristic: A small number of serious injuries were reported by children labourers, and researchers heard reports of serious risks faced by children in certain locations such as 'hissbeh markazieh'.

Gender

In Jordan, child labour is considered to be primarily a phenomenon among male children.⁷⁷ This was reaffirmed by the data collected in this study in Amman, Mafraq and Irbid. In the survey of child labourers, only one female child was identified in the workplace. In the employer survey, out of 45 establishments interviewed, only 2 females between 5 and 17 were working, although this rose to 11% when including females aged 17-plus years. The lack of data on female children employed in the workplace indicates that few female children work outside the home. However, according to key informant interviews⁷⁸ the phenomenon of 'homebound girls'⁷⁹ exists in Jordan, and therefore there may be higher numbers of female children engaged in labour than the data from this particular survey shows.

Characteristic: Child labour in Jordan involves mainly male children. Little data is available on the general situation of female children who work. Specifically, the phenomenon of 'homebound girls' is an area where future research could yield new and useful information.

Employers of child labourers

From the employers' survey carried out with 45 employers of child labourers across the three governorates, it appeared that it was mainly older employers who used child labour in their establishments. The vast majority (98%) of employers were male, and had completed at least secondary school (82% of respondents). Sixteen per cent had completed only primary education. In terms of age, more than half of the employers were between the ages of 30–50 years old. All the employers interviewed were Jordanian. The majority (89%) of the employers interviewed were also the owners of their businesses, while the other interviewees were the managers.

⁷⁷ The 2007 National Survey found female child labour to be a very rare phenomenon in Jordan (quoted in the NFCCL 2011, p5).

⁷⁸ Interview, Save the Children International 09.01.14

⁷⁹ According to Save the Children's definition, homebound girls are young girls under the age of 18, who, often for cultural more than economic reasons, are withdrawn from school, confined to the family home and engaged in household chores. As the definition of child labour does not include domestic work carried out within the child's home, this category was not included in the 2007 national child labour survey in Jordan and data relating to it is scarce.

Of the employers questioned, 80% responded that this business was their sole source of income, while just 9% said they owned another private business. Others mentioned they had additional forms of income as a salaried worker, a casual worker, sheep owner, scrap trader or teacher. Only a small number of respondents (2%) mentioned these additional incomes.

The majority of employers interviewed owned small businesses - around 80% had three or fewer full-time employees while 31% had only 1-2 part-time employees. 69% of the employers said they obtained consent from the children's guardians before employing them⁸⁰. 80% said they employed the children for full-time work and 18% for part-time work, while 2% were non-waged helpers.

No employer mentioned that they hire children on seasonal basis, which is a feature of the urban informal employment environment versus, for example, the agricultural sectors.

Regarding the relationship between employers and the children who laboured for them, the majority of employers (83%) reported that the child working for them was not related to them, while only 11% and 6% answered that the child was, respectively, their own child or a relative. This is illustrated in the graph below.

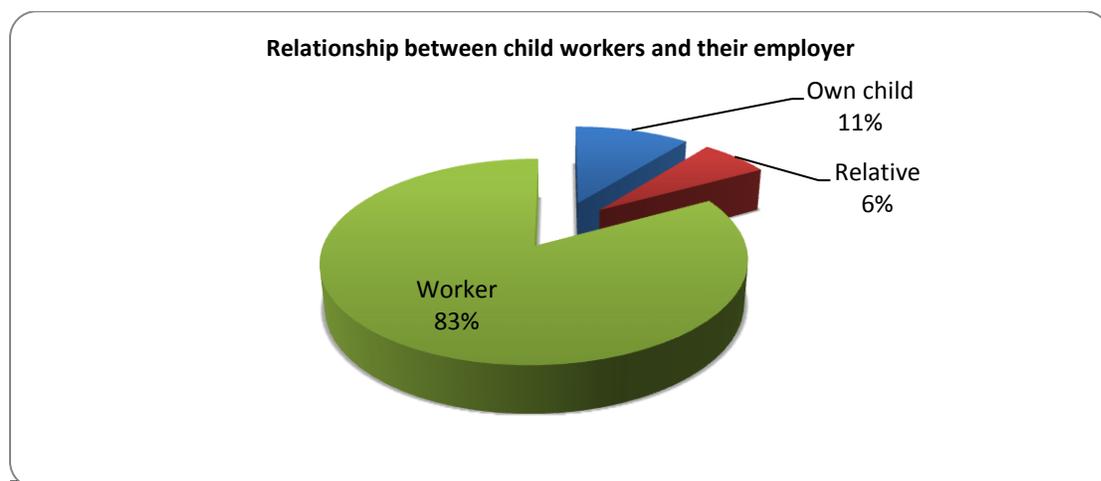


Figure 16 Relationship between child workers and their employer

Many employers (84%) reported that they had only been employing children in their establishments for the last 1-2 years, while 11% reported the presence of child labourers in their establishment for 3-4 years. Although this survey took only a small sample of employer respondents, the fact that many employers reported first employing children within the last two years could reflect changes in Jordan's employment situation could reflect an increased population in the country since the start of the Syrian crisis. From the data available from this research and from the small sample size however, it is not possible to draw a direct inference from these responses

⁸⁰ The fact that employers gained consent from the children's guardians before employing them makes no difference under Jordanian labour law. It is interesting to note this nonetheless as it indicates that guardians or families are, in general, aware that their child is working rather than going to school, and that there is some level of contact between the employer and the child's guardian.

Characteristic: A majority of employers reported that they had only been employing children for the last 1-2 years, which may indicate an increase in the number of children employed in this period. No employers reported employing children on a seasonal basis.

Section Three: Causes of child labour

The causes of child labour are acknowledged to be a combination of factors that generally include, among others, **economic need** and **attitudes in families and society that do not value education**.⁸¹ As a result of the influx of Syrian refugees in Jordan and the fact that adult Syrians are generally not given work permits, child labour is also occurring because of economic need created by **displacement from violent conflict**. In this sense child labour has become a coping mechanism for Syrian refugees who are trying to survive in urban environments in Jordan, in addition to the fact that children's employed continues to provide poor Jordanian families with additional income to cover the basic costs of living.

In Jordan, these factors are interconnected, and each exerts an influence on others. For example, as a result of economic need, full-time schooling for children is not considered as an immediate 'value added' option for families who need to pay monthly rent and bills. For this reason, the perceived value, at least in economic terms, of formal education falls. This was seen in comments to researchers during the survey period. For example, one employer surveyed felt that "Nowadays, it is better for the child to learn a skill and learn trading, because schools don't help him to earn a living in the future".⁸²

This was also heard in quotes from household survey respondents too, although these tended to more frequently express a level of regret because they needed their children to work – for example "I feel guilty that my son didn't continue his studies, but our financial situation is bad, and one of my children has to sacrifice to help out. Since he's the eldest he became the victim"⁸³ and visible in the reasons given by child labourers for not attending school – for example, having to "help parents" through providing income.

Economic need

It appears from the responses to the household survey that families are finding it hard to cover the rising costs of living in Jordan. Researchers for the household survey asked if respondents' monthly income covered the cost of providing for basic family needs. From the 200 respondents, Over two-thirds (65%) responded 'No', of which the majority of these (68%) were Syrian. 'No' responses were higher from Irbid Governorate, where 89% of surveyed households said that their income was not sufficient for their basic needs. By contrast, the percentage of 'no' responses were lower in Amman (42%) and Mafraq (57%). This may indicate that families living in Irbid are finding it harder to meet the basic costs of living than families in the other two Governorates. Comments to researchers during the fieldwork stage were commonly about high prices in Jordan – researchers heard that "We are very frustrated of the living conditions here in Jordan, it is very expensive, the prices are very high," and that "We suffer from high

⁸¹ NFCA / CHF International (2010) Physical and Psychosocial Impact of Child Labor in Jordan p22-23

⁸² Interview, Employer Survey Respondent, November 2013

⁸³ Interview, Household Survey Respondent, November 2013

prices...We wish to go back to our home country.” Respondents were keen to mention the difficulty of meeting basic living costs such as “Rent is becoming too expensive for a one or two bedroom apartment. Prices are too high. Life is becoming too expensive to survive”. Also heard were comments on the poor condition of the houses that were available for rent, such as “In winter time, rain comes in from the roof. And now rain is starting to get through the doors. The living situation is very bad” and “It’s very unhealthy to live in this house. We all suffer from the humidity and the bad odor. It is affecting the health of our children.”⁸⁴

From the data gathered, it appeared that one way that families are attempting to reduce monthly bills is by sharing their accommodation with others. The chart below illustrates the respondents to the household survey by the number of family units⁸⁵ reported as sharing one residence.

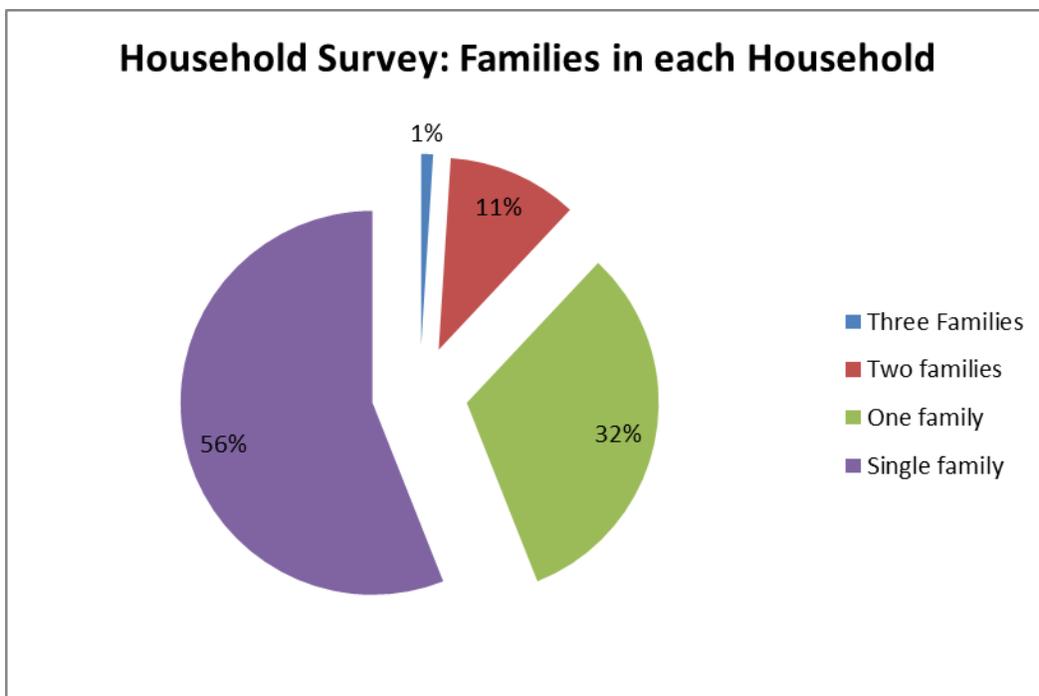


Figure 17 Household survey: Families in each Household

Additionally, as represented in the chart below, it appeared that Syrians shared their residence with another family more often than Jordanians, with 85% of respondents answering that they shared their residence with a Syrian family...

⁸⁴ All comments taken from interviews with Household Survey Respondents, November 2013

⁸⁵ Respondents were not asked to clarify the number of individuals constituting “ a family’ in each case, therefore data is presented by ‘family unit’.

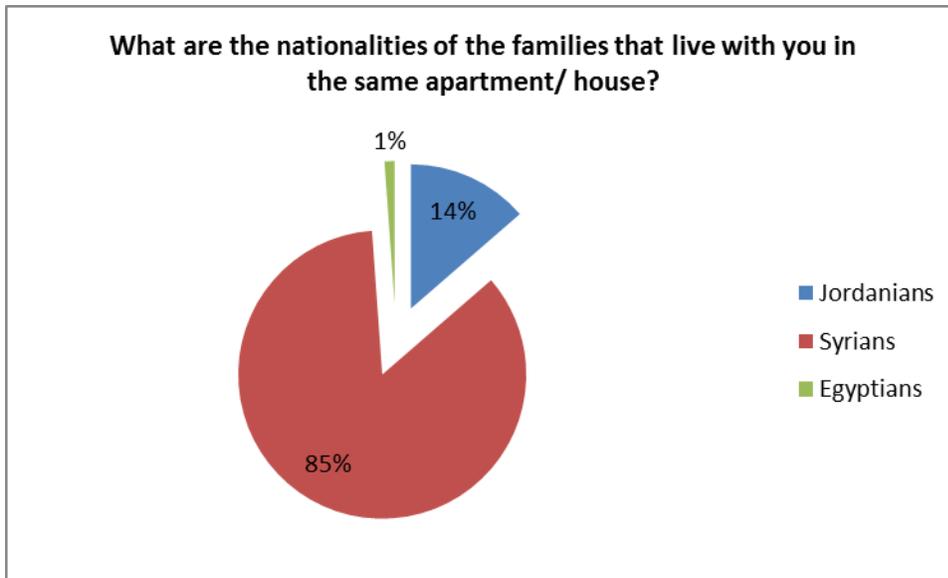


Figure 18 What are the nationalities of the families that live with you in the same apartment/house?

As one way of illustrating the economic situations of those interviewed for the household survey, it is possible to examine the living conditions of families whose children are labouring.⁸⁶ From both respondent comments and researcher observations during the household survey it was clear **the living conditions of families where children laboured are very poor and were** a source of psychological stress for many respondents. Comments made to researchers during interviews often focused on the lack of basic items for the home, the state of disrepair of the housing, high rents costs for low quality houses and the lack of income to buy, a heater for the home or to pay for electricity costs. Several families only used electricity in one room, relying on candles for light in other rooms in the house. As well as causing them anxiety and emotional distress, living conditions were also a potential cause of illness, with many families experiencing rain coming through the roof, extreme cold, and humidity. These conditions could cause respiratory complaints, flu, fever, colds and other illnesses.

As an additional way of ascertaining the economic situation of the household, respondents to the household survey were asked about the employment status of the head of the household. Noticeably, the heads of households of Syrian families were reported to be more frequently unemployed than in Jordanian households.

⁸⁶ Respondents to the household survey were selected on the basis that at least one child in the household was reported to be in employment of some kind.

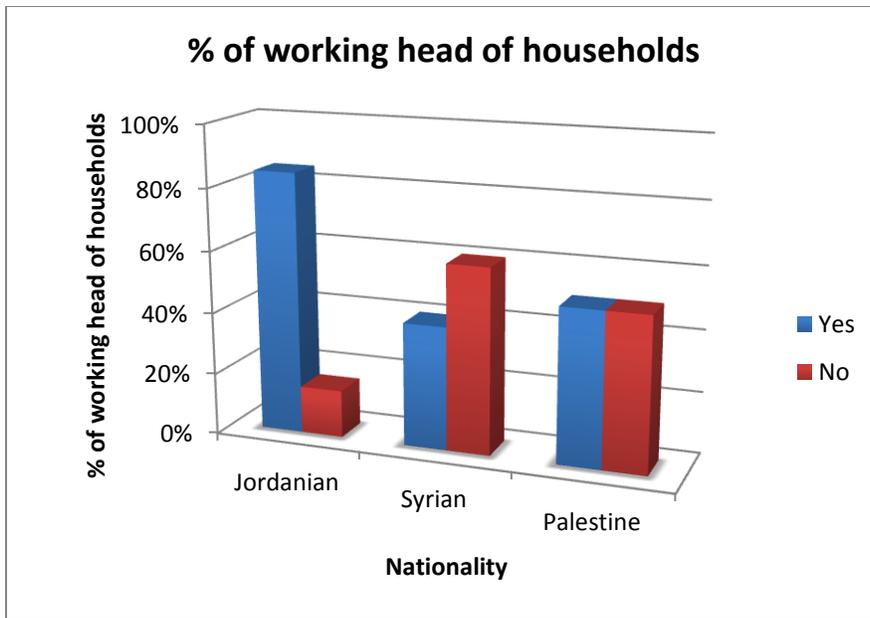


Figure 19 Percentage of the Head of Working Household

The research team asked the same question about heads of household's employment status to child labourers directly. Children indicated that the type of work done by heads of households included: salaried worker, casual worker or business owner. These results are reflected in the bar chart below, disaggregated by nationality and by type of employment. It appears to indicate that, of the 45 child labourers interviewed, only 5 come from families where the head of household is unemployed, in contrast to the majority who reported that the head of the household was employed either as a 'salaried worker', as the owner of a private business, or as a casual worker⁸⁷. The results are gathered from the child labourer respondents, one of whom was not able to identify to researchers the head of household's type of work, hence the category 'don't know'.

⁸⁷ This correlates with the data gathered on the impact of child labourer wages on household income, which indicates that children's wages form a very significant, but secondary source of income for many households.

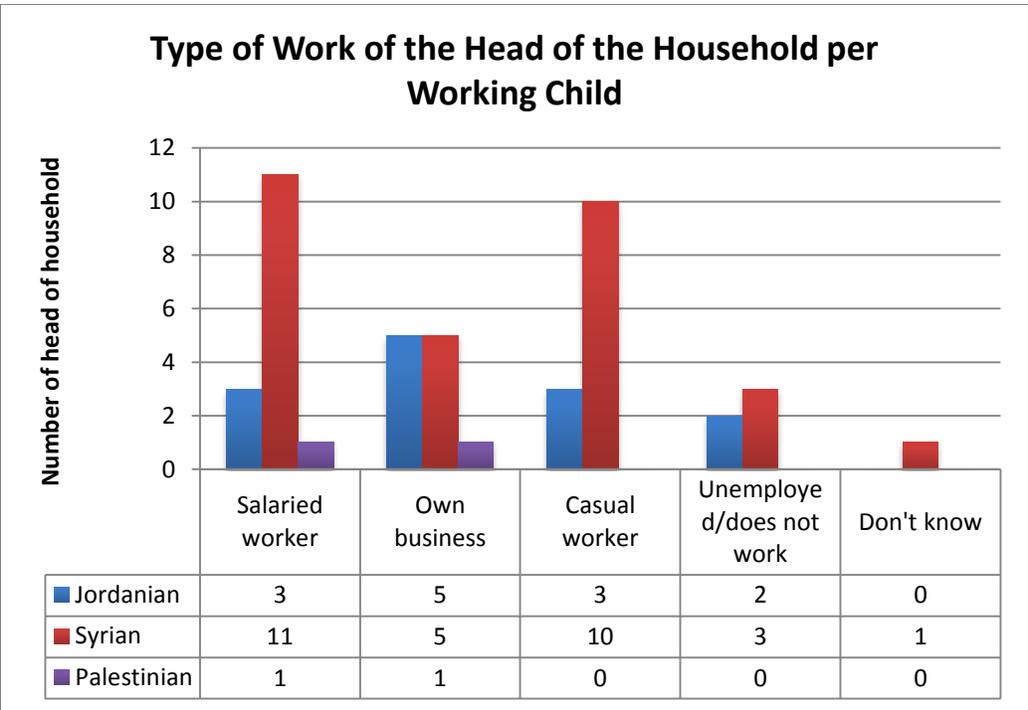


Figure 20 Type of Work of the Head of the Household per Working Child

The majority of households (94%) stated that they have at least 1 male aged 5-17 in employment while, to contrast by gender, 99% of respondents had no females aged 5-17 in employment. Of the 1% of households who did have a female aged 5-17 in employment, there was 1 Jordanian, 1 Syrian and 1 Bangladeshi household. For females this percentage shifted in the 17+ age bracket, with 11% of respondents answering that they had a female aged 17 years and over in employment.. Of these households where females ages 17 and over were working, three quarters were Syrian families.

Another indication of the economic difficulties faced by families in Jordan was the fact that children’s wages were used by families to help meet the basic costs of living such as rent, food, and bills. In the data gathered from the child survey, this was especially the case for Syrian children. In the child survey, child labourers were asked about how they spent their wages. The below graph examines **child labourer’s reported wage outgoings, disaggregated by age group**. Children contributed their wages towards rent, food, household expenditure and personal items. Older children reported higher outgoings on items such as clothes, mobile phone credit and other personal expenditures indicating a higher level of independence when spending their wages in comparison to younger children, who appeared to make significantly higher contributions to household expenditure. This would suggest that older child labourers have more control over their own income than younger child labourers and that, since they report higher expenditure on non-essential items, older children who labour may not be under the same economic pressures as the younger children, who are working to support a family’s needs rather than providing for their own.

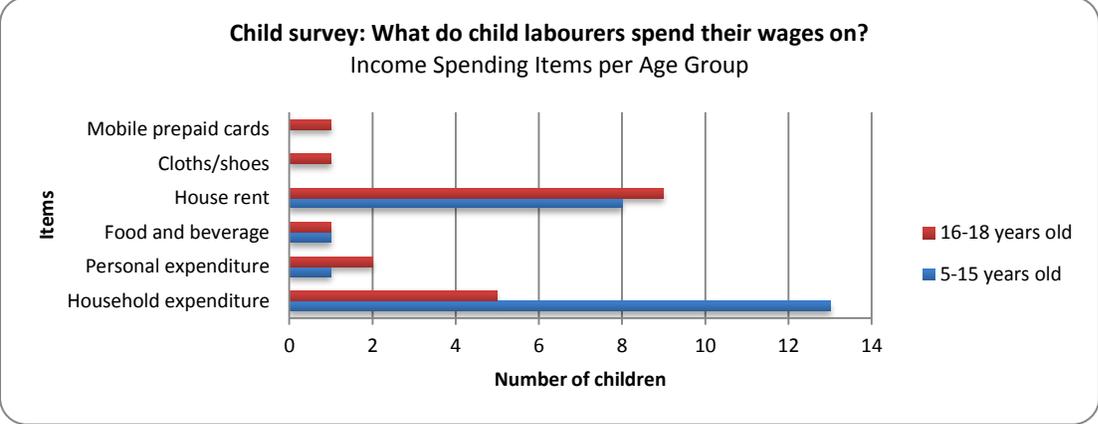


Figure 21 Child Survey: What do child labourers spend their wages on?

The below graph uses data taken from the child survey, and **shows child labourer spending disaggregated by nationality**. It shows that significant portions of Syrian child labourer’s wages go towards household expenditure and rent, with food and drink also forming a considerable expense. While Jordanian child labourers reported a certain level of outgoing on household expenditure and rent, they also reported spending their wages on personal items, clothes and shoes and mobile phone cards. By contrast, no Syrian child labourer respondent reported expenditure on these items.

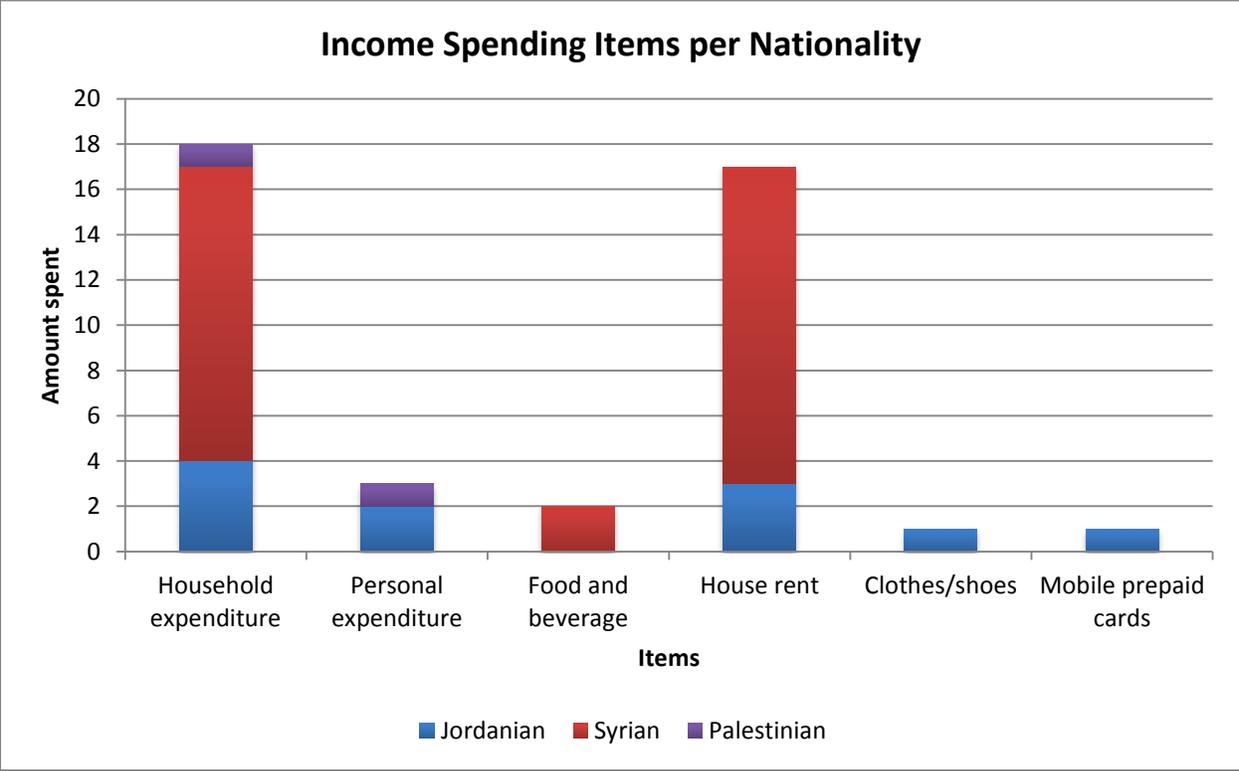


Figure 22 Income Spending Items per Nationality

From the child and household surveys, data on how child labourer’s wages were spent showed significant similarities in the items that children of all ages spent their wages on – rent, food, household expenditure and personal items. From this data, it appears that Syrian child labourers are helping to

keep their families above the breadline. This observation is also apparent from the household surveys conducted for this study, where 94% of Syrian household respondents identified children’s wages both as the second and a significant source of income in combination with UNHCR cash assistance and other UN agency food and non-food donations or coupons.

Spending per household also varies from governorate to governorate, with respondents from Irbid reporting higher contributions from children for rent and food than respondents in Mafraq or Amman, detailed in the graph below. Costs for water and electricity remain similar throughout the governorates since the prices of these utilities are government-controlled.

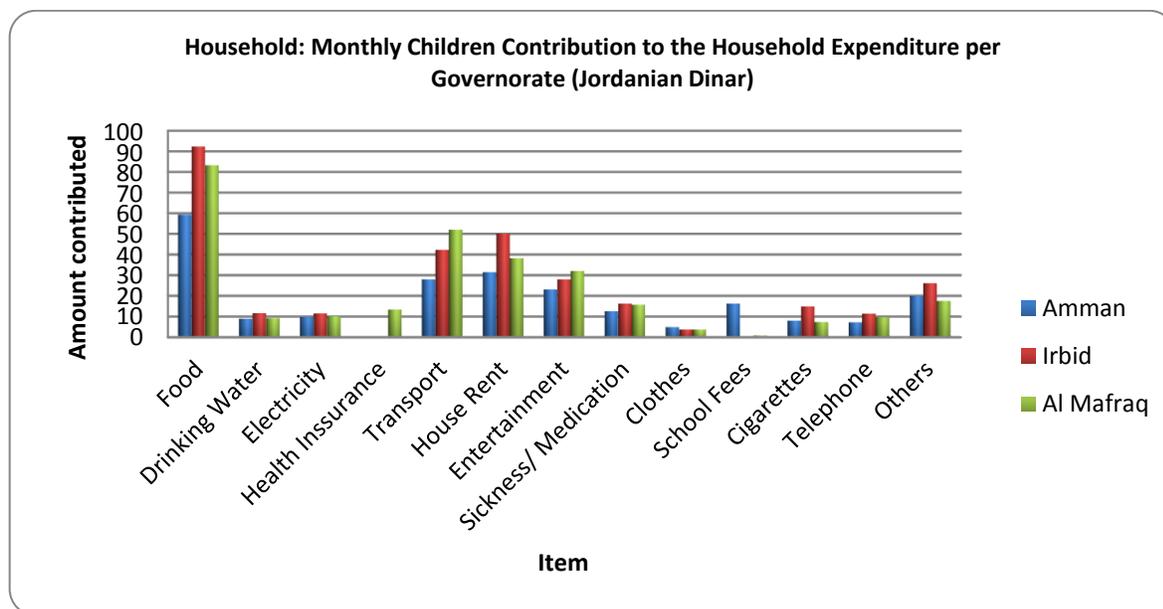


Figure 23 Household: Monthly Children Contribution to the Household Expenditure per Governorate (JD)

Attitudes towards education

Education for children is a point of key concern for many who are involved with the child labour issues. Recent interventions on child labour in Jordan, such as the Combating Child Labour Through Education (CECLE) project have focused closely on withdrawing child labourers from the labour market and helping them to re-access education, whether formal or not. In some cases, as detailed in the previous section, of increasing pressure on household finances and the necessity of keeping up with basic living expenses, Education may not be an option for a child in this situation, because the family relies too heavily on their financial contribution. During the household surveys, researchers frequently heard statements from parents about the pressing economic needs they faced, and how this influenced their children’s education. Surveyed parents often expressed guilt at having to rely on their child for money, saying that “If we were not in need, I wouldn’t have allowed my child to work. I prefer if he studies instead of working. But our financial situation is bad that’s why he has to work”⁸⁸, and “I feel guilty that my son didn’t continue his studies, but our financial situation is bad, and one of my children has to sacrifice to

⁸⁸ Interview with Household survey respondent, November 2013

help out. Since he’s the eldest he became the victim.”⁸⁹ Children were aware of the economic challenges their parents faced, saying “I cannot go to school because my parents need the money, so I had to leave school to go to work”⁹⁰.

The **school environment** in Jordan may not be appealing for some children for a number of reasons. These can include for example, overcrowding in schools for areas particularly affected by an influx of new Syrian students or violent or abusive school environments including bullying. Specifically for non-Jordanian students, curriculum differences between their former and current schools can be an additional factor⁹¹. All these can act as push factors for children dropping out of education and entering the labour market⁹². Once out of school, children are likely to begin working rather than sitting at home doing nothing. Another push factor to incidences of child labour in Jordan is **attitudes that do not value education**. From research for this current study, it appeared that education was less valued among Jordanian respondents than among Syrian respondents, at least from the responses gathered from children during the child labour survey.

From Jordanian respondents, 77% were not attending school, while 90% of Syrians were not in education. For those respondents who were attending school, researchers asked about the level of their attendance in days per week. For the attending children (23% of Jordanians and 10% of Syrians), all attended 5 days per week. This indicates that these children carried out their work for pay in addition to their schooling, working in mornings, afternoons, evenings or weekends, depending on their school schedule.

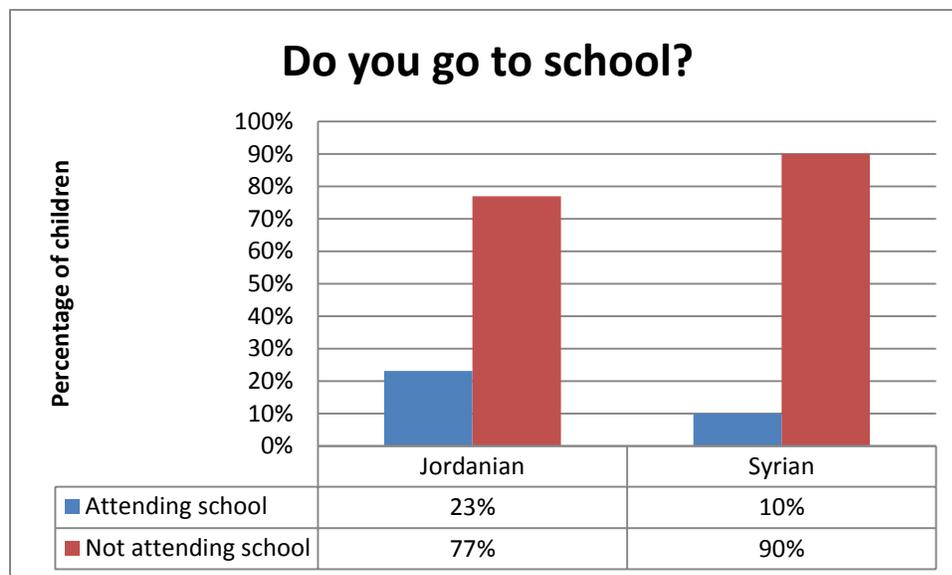


Figure 24 Child Survey: Do you go to school?

⁸⁹ Interview with Household survey respondent, November 2013

⁹⁰ Interview with Child labourer survey respondent, November 2013

⁹¹ Factors as cited in the Questscope (2013) Factors Affecting the Educational Situation of Syrian Refugees in Jordan report p19-20. The report examined four Governorates of Jordan including the three that are also the focus of this present study, namely Mafrqa, Irbid and Amman and found these factors present in both urban and rural environments in all the studied Governorates.

⁹² Questscope (2013) Factors Affecting the Educational Situation of Urban Syrian Refugees in Jordan

By nationality, nearly all Syrian child labourers (96%) mentioned that they used to attend school, compared to only 40% of the Jordanian respondents. From those who had previously attended school, nearly three-quarters (71%) had reached the intermediary level, with the majority of these being Syrians. Around 65% of the Syrians left school a year ago, 19% left two years ago and 12% 3 years ago, while all of the Jordanian respondents had left school at least 4 years ago.

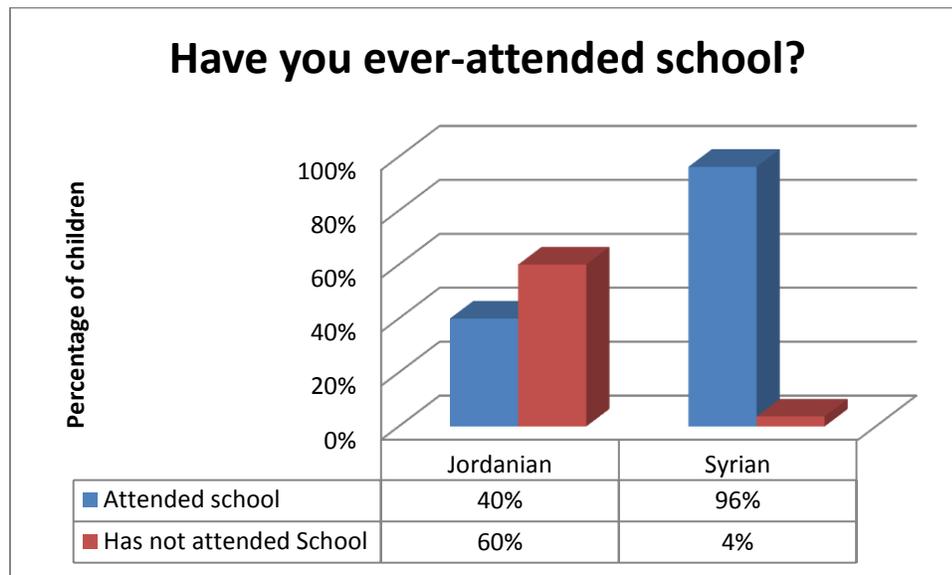


Figure 25 Child Survey: Have you ever-attended school?

Child labourers who did not attend school were asked about the reasons for their non-attendance. The answers received are illustrated in the graph below. The most common, and unsurprising, reason for non-attendance at school from Syrians was that war had forced them to leave school. Economic reasons for non-attendance were common for Syrian respondents, including “to help out my parents”, “wanted to get money” and “lacked school fees”. A small portion of Syrian children reported that “school harassment” was the reason they no longer attended. For Jordanian child labourers, reported reasons for leaving school were given as “I don’t want to study anymore”, which was not heard from any Syrian respondents. Additionally a small portion of Jordanians reported that they had left school due to economic reasons - lacking school fees – or health reasons, i.e., that they had become sick.

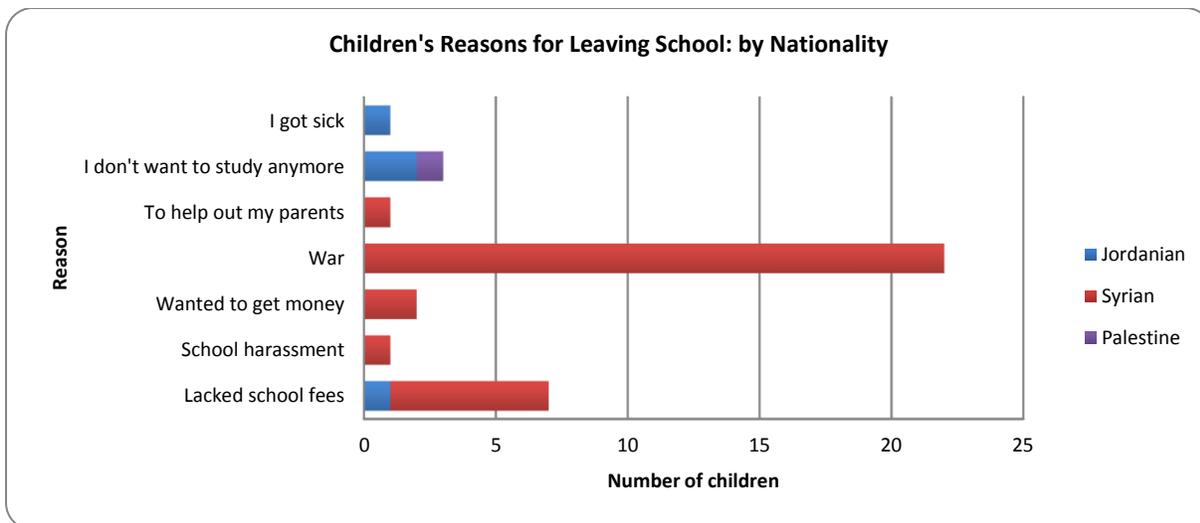


Figure 26 Children's Reasons for Leaving School: by Nationality

From the household survey, which indirectly gathered data on 506 children⁹³, the main reason given for children not attending school was 'work', most commonly for Syrians. Other reasons are indicated in the graph below, disaggregated by nationality.

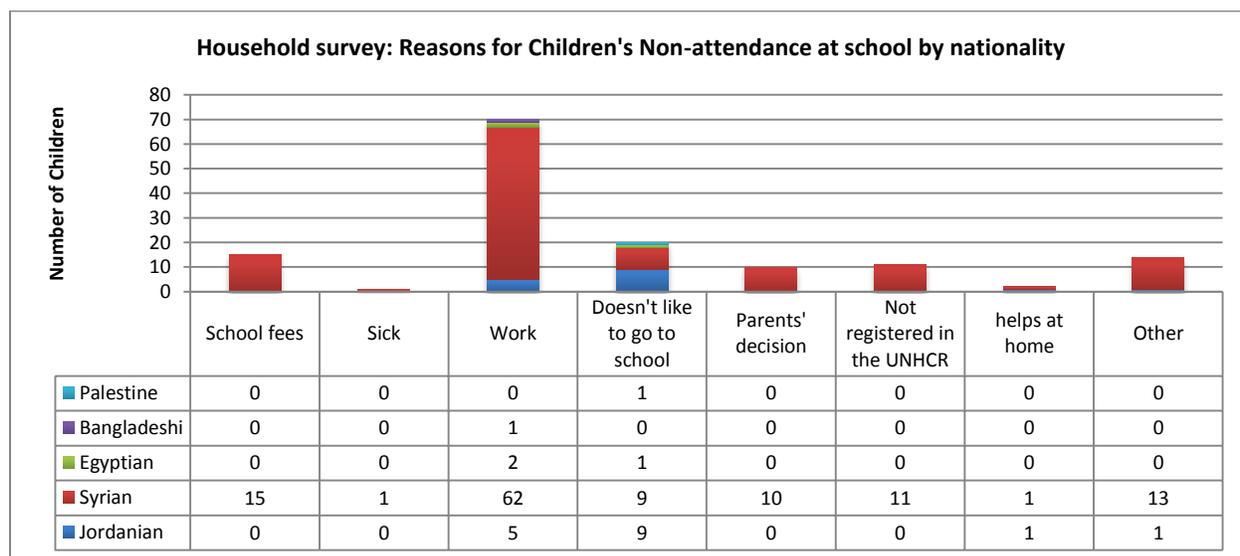


Figure 27 Household Survey: Reasons for Children's Non-attendance at school by Nationality

Researchers came across a variety of **perspectives on the value of education** for children from parents, employers and from children themselves. Key points from the study data are detailed below.

⁹³ NB: Not all children in the households surveyed were in employment; however the responses provided to this question are nonetheless useful to compare with the more specific, smaller-scale child labourer respondents.

Parents and employers believe that paid work provides better skills for a child's future than formal education. School attendance removes the immediate benefit of a child's additional income, while not offering enough in terms of concrete future benefits. The research team heard opinions on this issue during interviews with employers, who felt that "It is better for the child to learn a skill and learn trading, because schools don't help him to earn a living in the future"⁹⁴, and with parents, who similarly believed that "studying is useless - it is better for a young boy to learn a skill to secure himself financially because a pension and social security are not enough for a decent living."⁹⁵

Especially amongst Jordanians, formal education is perceived to lack applicability and relevance to real life. From the surveys conducted for this study, parents, employers and children expressed a range of opinions on formal education's lack of value. This 'lack' was both felt in terms of directly economic matters, as mentioned above, but, also in terms of intrinsic value, because what was taught at school was perceived to not be of benefit children in their future lives or to make them more employable. It appeared the attitude towards formal education among some Jordanians was particularly negative.

From the data gathered for this present study, it was common for child labourers not to attend school. It appeared that Syrian children most commonly did not attend school for economic reasons, while Jordanian children did not attend school because they did not want to study any more.

A very low percentage of children (15.5%) who participated in the child survey reported that they go to school five days a week. As all these children were interviewed because they were found working, this indicates that a child's regular attendance at school may be strongly and negatively impacted if they are employed. Of those who do not attend school, a majority (82%) reported that they used to attend school in the past, indicating that these children had at least initially been enrolled in school, and that some level of formal education had been achieved regardless of their reason for no longer attending.

If the reasons "to help my parents out", "wanted to get money" and "lacked school fees" are considered to be closely related in meaning, then approximately 30% (9 out of 26) of Syrian respondents said that they had dropped out of school in Jordan due to financial reasons, making this the second most common reason for this nationality after 'war'. 27% of those respondents who had previously attended school stated that they had left because they just "didn't want to study anymore" (majority Jordanian respondents).

Formal education vs. workplace skills

Surveyed employers valued 'skills' over formal schooling. The perception was that "studying is useless" in comparison to developing work-related skills and that "it is better...to learn a skill to secure [yourself] financially because pension and social security are not enough for a decent living". Surveyed employers particularly emphasised the value of work over education because "it is better for the child to learn a skill and learn trading [...] schools don't help him to earn a living in the future." Child labourers

⁹⁴ Interview with Employer, November 2013

⁹⁵ Interview with Household Survey respondent, November 2013

expressed similar opinions, saying “I like to work, school does not bring money... we have to pay the rent” and “I do not like going to school”.

Economic factors were often discussed as an influence in families and children’s decisions for dropping out or not enrolling in school. The hidden costs of education, such as transport, books, clothes or lunch, are too much for some families to bear. This was found to be especially true for Syrian respondents. Among Jordanians, a commonly heard reason for dropping out or for non-enrolment at school was that the child “didn’t want to study anymore” and that “I want to work”.

Access to education

A child’s education may be impossible for other reasons, and the children may not have been enrolled at school at all. One respondent to the household survey told researchers that he wanted his children “to continue their education but the schools in Jordan rejected them all”.⁹⁶ The team cannot confirm that the schools in Jordan had actively rejected the children in question; however it is possible that overcrowding in the schools nearby led to these particular children being unable to enter the formal education system⁹⁷. Other causes of lack of access to education in Jordan for Syrian children include: lack of physical school capacity in the area in question; lack of income to cover the costs of transport, books, school clothes or other related expenses; or lack of official papers from Syria to prove education attainment level prior to displacement. Of these, transport costs have been shown to be particularly prohibitive for families in urban settings.⁹⁸

For those who had never enrolled in the formal school system in Jordan, reasons included that they had stayed out of school to help their parents (all Syrian) or for financial reasons (10 Syrian, 2 Jordanian), that they “don’t want to study anymore” (5 Jordanian, 2 Syrian) and that they “love to work” (3 Jordanian, 4 Syrian), that they were unregistered with the UNHCR (all Syrian), that they were stopped from attending school by their father (1 Syrian), that the school is too far away (2 Syrian) and that they were at a different level of education (1 Syrian). These results are represented in the graph below.

⁹⁶The issue of Syrian out of school children was identified in UNHCR’s 2013 Future of Syria report, which states that as of September 2013 there were 187, 675 Syrian children registered with the UNHCR in Jordan. According to the Jordanian Ministry of Education data, only 83, 232 Syrian children were enrolled in formal education. This leaves 56% of Syrian children not receiving formal schooling in Jordan.

⁹⁷ See UNHCR (2013) Future of Syria p46-47 ‘Schools are full’. This examines the issue of school capacity in Jordan. A survey in Mafraq in March 2013 found that 15% of 2,397 out-of-school children had requested enrolment but were placed on a waiting list due to there being no space in the school.

⁹⁸ UNICEF (2013) Shattered Lives: Challenges and Priorities for Syrian Children and Women in Jordan, Jordan, p18-20 and Questscope (2013) Participatory Reflection and Action Report: Factors Affecting the Educational Situation of Syrian Refugees in Jordan

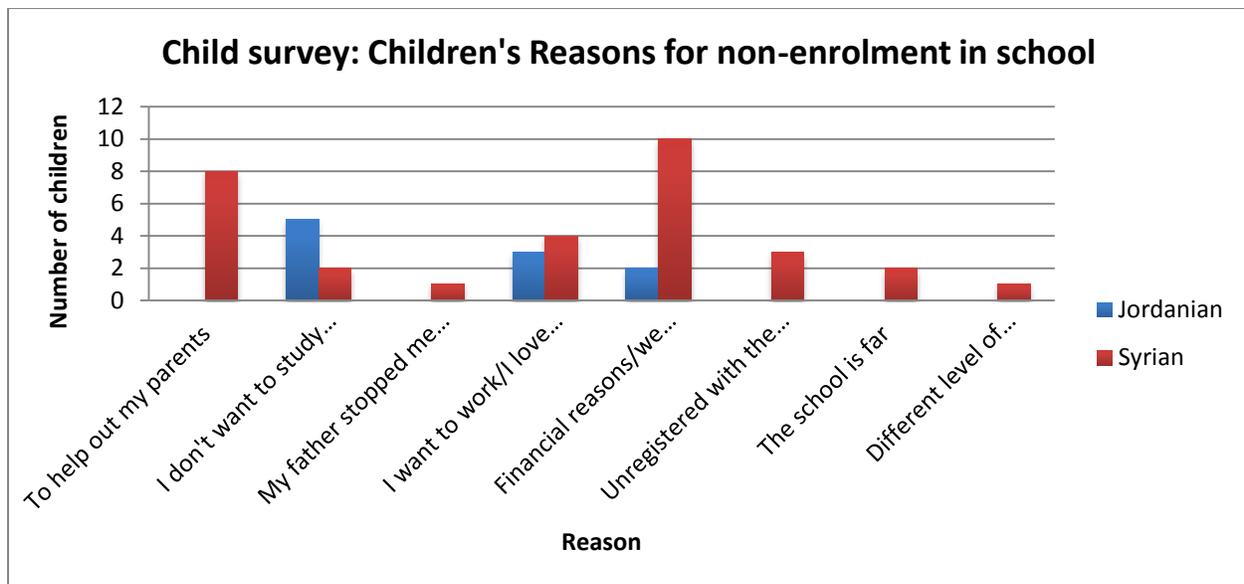


Figure 28 Child Survey: Children's Reasons for Non-enrolment in School

Regardless of whether children had never enrolled or had attended for a period of time before they dropped out, key informants interviewed for this present study felt that the majority of non-school-going children ended up working for money rather than sitting at home, even in cases where economic hardship was not the original motive for a child's non-attendance at school.

Displacement as a result of conflict

Another influencing factor that causes children to labour in Amman, Mafraq and Irbid is that they and their families have been displaced by conflict. For many Syrians, their need for additional income is created as a result of their displacement from their home country. Even if they had savings to begin with, as their displacement continues their private resources begin to run dry and they must turn to other sources for support. The **lack of access to the labour market for Syrian adults** is one of the reasons that refugee families not resident in Za'atri or one of the other camps⁹⁹ are finding it hard to keep up with the daily costs of living¹⁰⁰. Syrian adults are not currently permitted to work in Jordan without government-issued work permits that, for many Syrians, are prohibitively expensive. During focus group discussions, researchers heard that the opinion that, because Syrian adults cannot afford the cost of a work permit, they send their children out to work as a coping mechanism that helps provide for the family.

Other sources of support are also, provided by international agencies such as the UN-provided cash assistance, which is channelled through implementing partner agencies, and sometimes through national organisations such as the Association of the Quran and Sunnah, the Orphans Association, the Association of the Parents of Homs. In order to supplement the basic costs of living in urban

⁹⁹ Around 80% of Syrian families are not resident in camps in Jordan, according to figures from the International Rescue Committee's Syria: A Regional Crisis (2013)

¹⁰⁰ Mercy Corps Analysis of Host Community-Refugee Tensions in Mafraq (2012, p3) quotes a Syrian refugee as saying "You pay your rent on the first of the month, and by the tenth you are already starting to worry about how you will pay the next month"

environments in Jordan, children are working to support their families. From the primary research carried out for this study, it appears that there is normally only one child per family who works outside the home and that this child is normally a male child. Although this may be due to female-headed households where mothers either do not want to work outside the home or feel that they cannot do so because of societal restrictions or safety fears, the eldest male child may also work even when there is a father, or other adult male, in the household. Syrian families in Jordan who have lost their livelihoods are, in many cases, now relying on support from international and national organisations to pay their basic living costs; for them, child labour is a coping mechanism that helps to keep the family financially afloat.¹⁰¹

Employers require full-time commitment from their child employees

According to the employers, 58% of the working children have never been to school, while 24% dropped out and 18% are still in school. Out of those who dropped out, 74% reached an intermediate level while 26% reached primary school. When asked whether they allow the child labourers to go to school, 86.7% of employers responded that children working at their establishment are allowed to enrol and attend school, while 13.3% responded that they are not. Reasons given for not allowing the working child to attend school revolved around the fact that the job requires the presence of a child at all times, including during school hours.

When asked about the reasons behind employing children, the most stated response (46.7%) was 'empathy'. The reason with the second highest number of responses was that children demand less pay. 42.2% of employers confirmed that their main motivation for employing children was the fact that they are less costly than employing an adult, and are therefore good for business. Another repeated response was that employers hire children based on their parents' request, with 31.1% of employers stating this as the main reason for employing children. The other two significantly repeated responses are interrelated, including that children were easy to manage (26.7%) and that they were flexible workers in terms of time (28.9%).

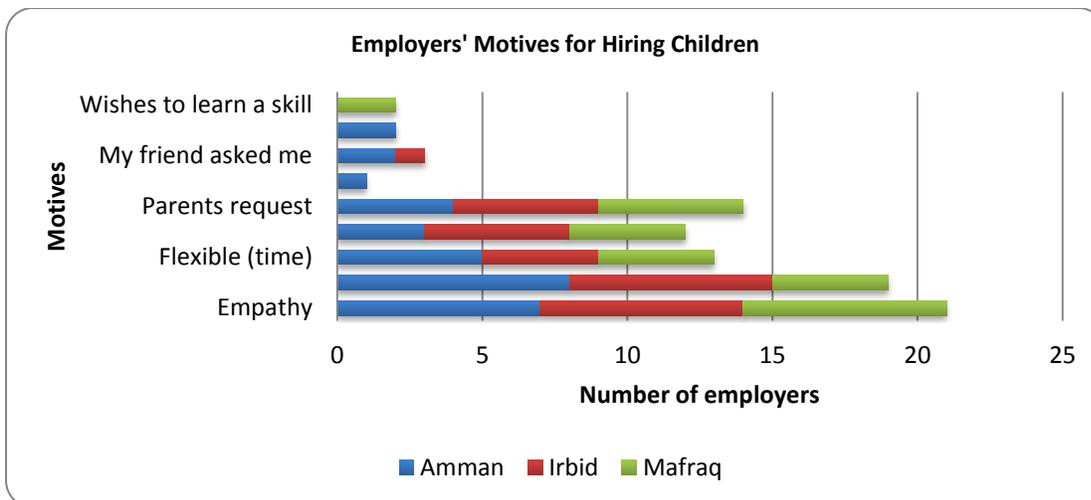


Figure 29 Employers' Motives for Hiring Children

Family and Community Perceptions of Child Labour

As part of the Household survey, a series of 'Agree/Disagree' statements regarding child labour were posed to respondents. The 'Agree' responses are tabulated below. Particular responses of note were to the following statements:

- **“As long as it is for the benefit of the family children should be allowed to do any work that comes their way”**: 65% of respondents agreed with this statement, again with only a small variation between the Jordanians who agreed, 67%, and the Syrians who agreed, 64%.
- **“Child labour is work carried out by children under the age of 16 years old”**: 54% of respondents agreed with the statement. A higher percentage of Jordanians (84%) recognised the concept of child labour in comparison to Syrians (43%).
- **“Work does not interfere with children’s education”**: Respondents were almost evenly split, with 48% agreeing that work does not interfere with children’s education and 52% thinking that it did.
- **“Child labour helps raise the standard of living for households”**: 84% of respondents agreed with this statement versus 16% disagreeing. The majority of Jordanians (69%) and Syrians (90%) agreed that child labour helped increase the standard of living in their households.
- **“It is possible to employ young people 16-18 years of age in Jordan under certain conditions”**: 84% of respondents agreed with this statement, 10% disagreed and 7% responded that they didn’t know. 90% of Jordanians agreed, as did 82% of Syrians. The main difference between nationalities showed itself among the respondents who didn’t know. Of these, all respondents were Syrian, which indicates that knowledge of Jordan’s labour law regarding 16-18 year olds is lower among Syrian respondents.

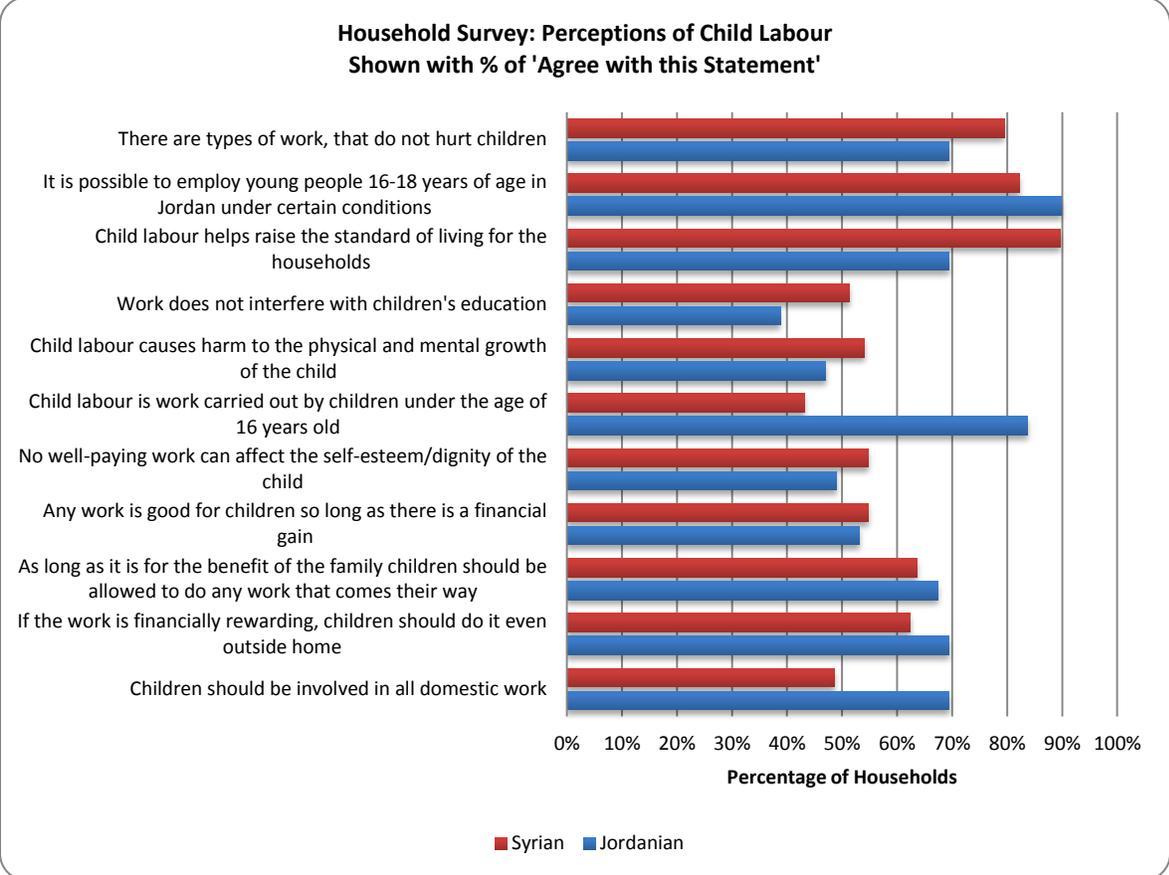


Figure 30 Household Survey: Perceptions of Child Labour Shown with % of "Agree with its statement"

Section Four: Effects of Child Labour

The effects of child labour can be distinguished into those that are positive, for example for the families and households where children’s wages form a significant part of the monthly income, or negative, for example the effects that employment has on a child’s rights to education and free time, among others. In addition, the increased responsibility on the child can risk a loss of precious childhood time, and the feeling among these children that they have to behave like adults. The effects of child labour are discussed in more detail below.

On the family

Child labour is both a positive and a negative coping mechanism. For the family at least in the short term, the net effect of child labour is economically positive. This impacts positively on the family’s quality of life; with children’s contributions to household expenses, they are better able to cover the costs of basic living. Both nationalities reported that child labourer’s wages formed a considerable contribution to the household income. In the household survey conducted for this study, researchers asked about the sources of the household income. Among Syrians UN cash assistance was identified the main source of income as well as UN coupons for food and other items. Another source was income from casual work. While only a minority identified children’s wages as the main source of income, when researchers asked about additional sources of income, nearly all Syrian respondents (92%) identified

children's wages as a significant secondary source of income. This indicates that, while Syrians in Jordan are heavily dependent on international support from UN agencies, their incomes are being significantly supplemented by the wages earned by children.

When asked to identify **the main, or joint-main breadwinner(s) of the family**, respondents to the household survey gave 'father' (56%), 'child under 18' (45%) and mother (10%)¹⁰² as their main answers. That 45% of respondents identified a child under 18 as the main or joint-main breadwinner of the family indicates that child labourer's wages should be considered as a significant component of family incomes, therefore making a considerable impact in terms of maintaining quality of life for the family, even if this quality of life is comparatively low.

Respondents to the household survey were asked about their monthly household income. The minimum given was JOD100/month (approx. USD140) and the maximum as JOD700/month (approx. USD990). To further illustrate the impact that child labourer's wages can have on a household's income, included in the graphs below are the responses to the household survey question about sources of income. For Jordanian respondents, their main sources of income were most commonly their own privately-owned businesses. This was followed by income gained through casual work, through a retirement pension and, as a very small percentage for Jordanians, salary from a child who was below 17 years old.

By contrast for Syrians, the main sources of income were clearly connected to international support offered by UN agencies, either as cash assistance or as coupons for food or other household items. A small percentage of Syrian respondents indicated that they were supporting themselves through their own savings, and through the wages earned by a child under 17.

¹⁰² This was a 'multiple response' question where respondents were allowed to check more than one answer, such as in the case of a household having 'joint-main' breadwinners. Hence the combined percentages for this particular response totalling more than 100%.

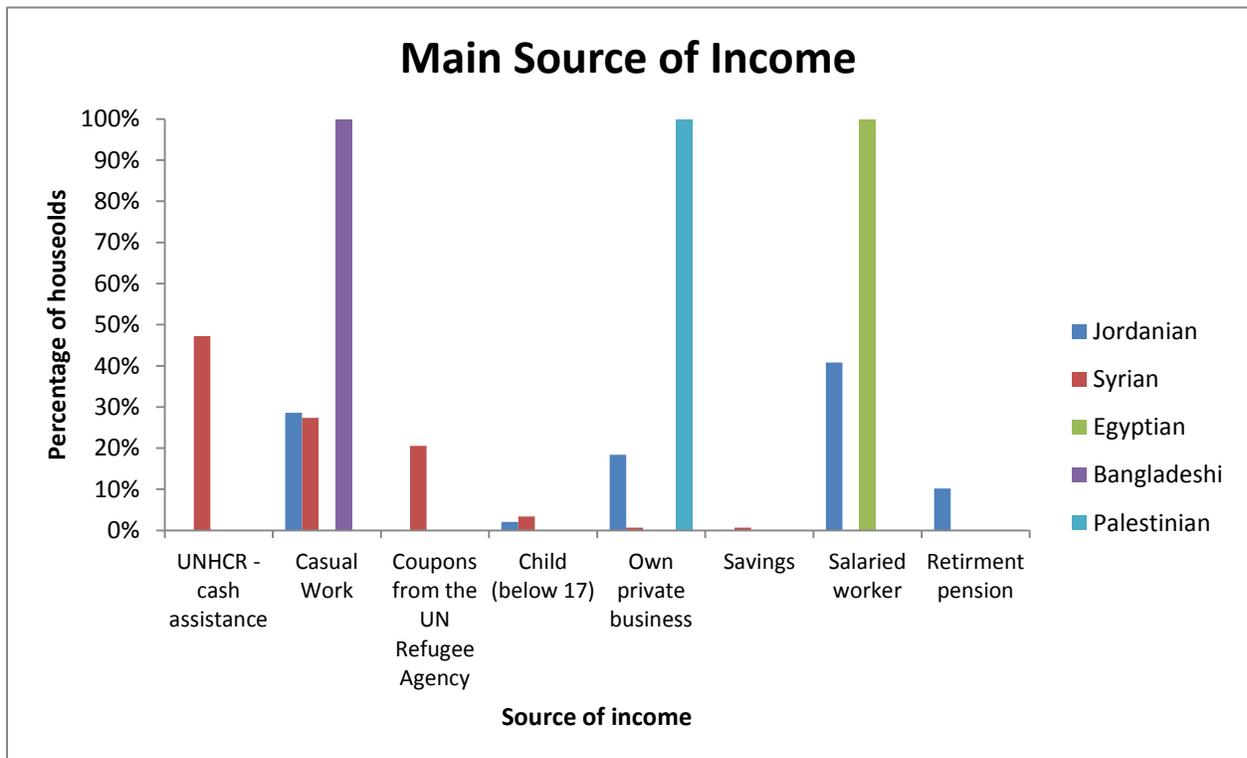


Figure 31 Main Source of Income for Households

When respondents were asked about their secondary income sources, it became clear that this is where child labour wages have their biggest impact. All nationalities who took part in the survey indicated that the wages from a child below 17 were a significant secondary source of income. For Jordanian respondents, secondary sources of income for a small percentage of respondents also included casual work, the wages from a member of the household who was over 18 years old, from philanthropic donors, from self-work or national social security, By contrast again, and in line with the answers given for the main source of income, Syrian respondents indicated that wages from a child below 17 years old were an extremely significant portion of their secondary income, with other sources including international support as mentioned above, plus casual work, wages from household members over 18 years old, and from savings.

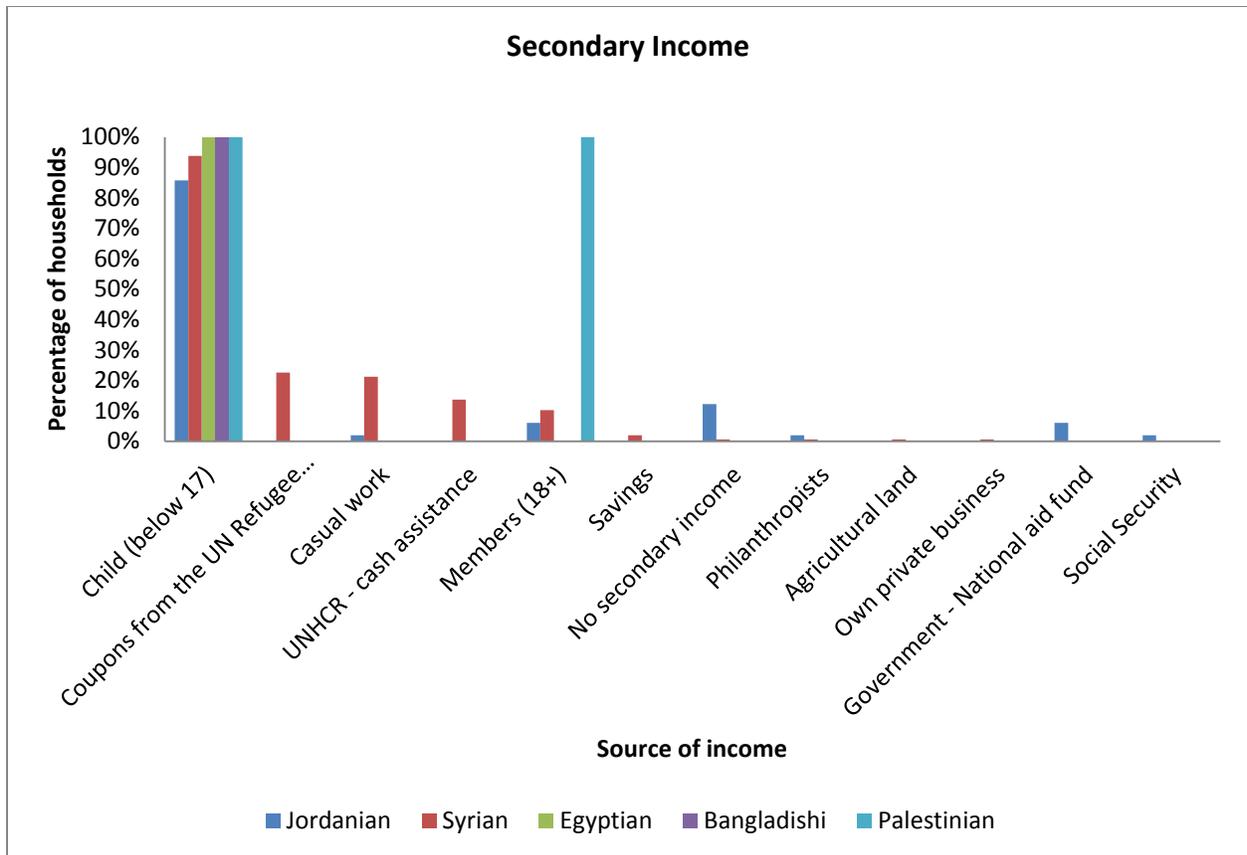


Figure 32 Secondary Source of Income for Households

Researchers additionally asked about any other sources of income beyond the two main answers stated as ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’ sources. There were only Syrian and Jordanian respondents to this question, and therefore the given data is out of a total 90% of respondents rather than the 100% who answered the primary/secondary income questions.

Respondents stated that this support responded that the extra assistance they received came from a range of organisations the Christian Association, the Association of the Quran and the Sunnah, the Orphans Association, the Association of the Parents of Homs, and came in a range of forms including cash assistance and in-kind donations of food and non-food items.

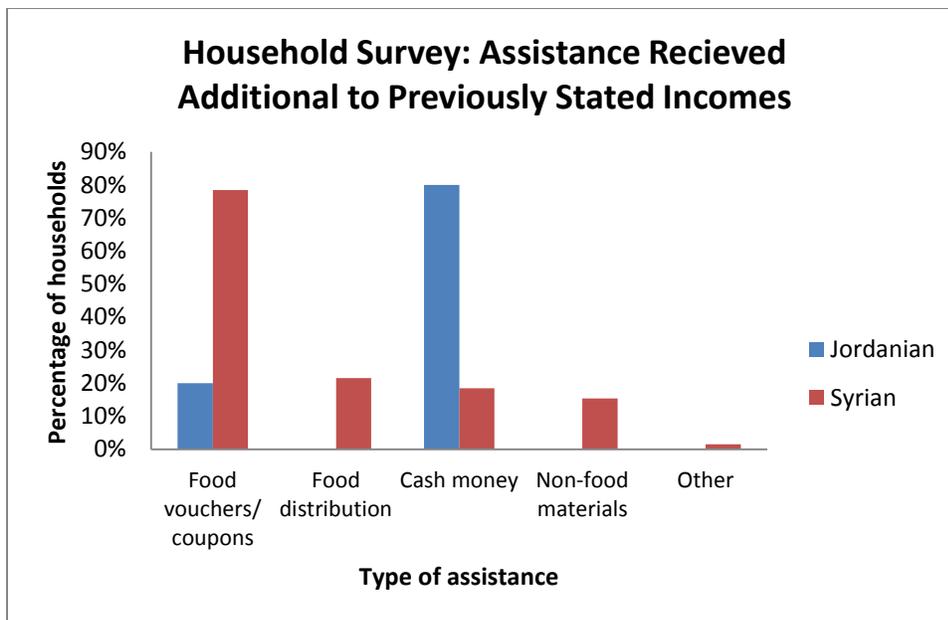


Figure 33 Household Survey: Assistance Received Additional to Previously Stated Incomes by Nationality

Respondents were also asked to estimate in percent (%) the contributions made by children between the ages of 5-17 to the household income. The mean contribution of all males between 5-17 was estimated at around 30% of household income. This was slightly higher for Syrian respondents, around 35%) and lower for Jordanian respondents (around 19%). There were 14 respondents who estimated that males between 5-17 brought in between 70-90% of their household income, of which all 14 were Syrian.

On the child's rights

The positive impact that a child labourer's income has on maintaining the economic status quo in the household is arguably outweighed by the negative effect that being employed can have on a child's rights. Long working hours and working weeks often between 6 or 7 days long mean that the child's right to education is infringed and their right to play curtailed. They may be unable to socialise with others their own age, and they may feel cut off from friends or acquaintances due to the burden created by the financial responsibility on their shoulders.

On the child's health and safety

There are also indications from the data gathered for this current study on the negative effects that labour has on a child's health and safety. In terms of physical health, the primary data indicated that, from long working days and weeks, it is possible that children are more susceptible to illness and that, in some cases, **both guardians and children are attributing their illnesses to work**, and to their working conditions.

The data also suggested that children aged 16-18 in Amman, Mafraq and Irbid are working in environments that are, by ILO definition, classified as hazardous, such as metal works, where **the potential of physical harm** to the child is high.

In focus groups held for this present study, some participants felt that certain kinds of work could build a child's personality and skills, and additionally meant a child could earn a living without resorting to 'stealing or incorrect behaviour'. Other participants felt that a child would not necessarily gain new skills or experience through their labour, and felt that in the workplace, a child was more likely to be surrounded by non-related adults and therefore potentially more likely to be exposed to negative behaviours, such as smoking, drinking, drugs or violence, bad language and/or attitudes that are inappropriate for their age. It was also felt that children who work and who do not attend school are more likely to lose their 'general knowledge and culture', which would disadvantage the child in the future, and cause him to have a lower level of education than her/his contemporaries.

Although there is no data on such behaviour from the quantitative surveys carried out in this study, researchers heard from participants in focus group discussions that child labourers are potentially exposed to negative behaviours, for example, smoking, drinking alcohol or taking drugs¹⁰³, to which children who do not work are less likely to be exposed. Adopting these behaviours would also impact negatively on a child's physical health. Secondary literature on child labourers indicates that the perception that labouring can have negative effects on a child's behaviours are valid.

Regarding the **mental health** of children who labour there are indication from focus group discussions and from primary data, that this is negatively impacted both as a direct result of work itself, but also as a result of the associated pressures that come from the responsibility of being a wage-earner in a household. Although focus group participants felt that certain kinds of work, such as in the commercial sector or in a family-owned business, were less likely to be harmful to a child and could, in fact, help develop their knowledge and skills in a particular area. Other participants believed that even if there is no direct danger of physical harm to the child from their work, that is no guarantee that the child's emotional or psychosocial wellbeing is ensured. Although no child labourer mentioned it in their response to the survey, other studies have mentioned the psychological effects of labour on children and the pressure that working can create on a child was also mentioned during focus group discussions, where children suffering from insomnia and sleep talking were given as examples of psychological trauma.¹⁰⁴

In terms of physical safety, focus group participants indicated that they had heard reports of children working in dangerous circumstances – perhaps because they were working early in the morning or late at night, or had breaks in their working day where they were unsupervised by adults – that resulted in their being at risk of physical harm in various forms.

On the child's future

The loss of or infringement to these rights, such as the right to education or to play, can impact negatively upon the options that are open to children as they grow older. Loss of education particularly may negatively impact on the opportunities available to a child, and reduce their chance to develop new

¹⁰³ The CHF International (now Global Communities) and NCF (2010) report published in collaboration with the MoL and Questscope, on the Physical and Psychosocial Impact of Child Labour in Jordan identified potential risk behaviours for child labourers that included smoking, non-prescription drug usage, drinking alcohol p60-61.

¹⁰⁴ For more detail on this, see the same CHF International (now Global Communities) and NCF (2010) report

skills. Loss of education can mean the child lacks basic literacy and numeracy skills, and access to the opportunities that formal education can offer, for example, qualifications and certificates that assist in getting future jobs in a different field, access to peer group connections, career advice, higher education, education abroad and so forth.

Conclusion and Findings

This research has shown that the phenomenon of child labour in Jordan appears to be on an upward trend among Jordanian children, and is evidently a major concern among non-Jordanian children, most notably Syrians.

The cities of Amman, Mafraq and Irbid, in which the research took place, have witnessed major concentrations of child labourers working in the informal urban sector, mainly in the service industries, such as in shops selling tea and coffee, in customer service roles, as cleaners in shops and restaurants or on the street selling drinks or other items. A small number of mainly older children have been reported working in hazardous environments, such as welding or metal workshops or on the street. It was found Child Labourers are generally working long hours and between 6-7 days per week. The employment of children under the age of 5 was not found in the study's research and the majority of child labourers were males between the ages of 5 and 17 years old. Females were found working outside the home, but were very uncommon especially under the age of 16.

The causes of child labour include the economic need of the family which, in the case of many Syrian families, has been exacerbated by their displacement to Jordan as a result of the conflict in their home country. Households of working children in Jordan are relying on children's wages, mainly as a secondary source of income. For both Syrians and Jordanians, children's wages are contributing to meeting the basic costs of living, although for Syrians this occurred more frequently. It has been reportedly difficult for Syrian adults to obtain work permits, although the research team was not able to validate this particular situation, and since for many households the cost of living is outstripping their income, it is unsurprising to find that Syrian families are, as a consequence, relying on children's income among other sources as one way of maintaining their basic standard of living. Other causes noted during this research were attitudes that did not value education, especially among Jordanian respondents. Although Jordanian children were also working as a consequence of economic need, there was a noticeable difference in attitude towards education in comparison with Syrians. In some cases, education was valued by respondents, but was impossible for their children for reasons that included the necessity of additional income from a child's wages so that monthly expenses could be met, but also references were heard by researchers to Jordan's education system being overloaded, and unable – in certain areas – to accept more students in the classroom.

Effects of child labour as seen from the primary data gathered from the three surveys in the Governorates, and from key informant interviews and focus group discussions, included the positive effect that child labour has on household income. Children under 17 provided significant portions of the monthly income and children's wages, most especially from the younger children found working, nearly always went towards paying household bills, rent, and buying food for the family. Despite this positive economic effect for the family, the other effects of child labour were mainly found to be negative – including negative effects on a child's rights, a child's health and safety, and therefore potentially on a child's future.

In terms of the interventions addressing child labour in Jordan, and of the policy frameworks in place to guide future interventions. It was heard that there are certain weaknesses in the NFCCL, for example a lack of CSO and other actors.

More specific findings from the quantitative and qualitative data analysed in this study are:

- Child labour in Amman, Mafraq and Irbid is mainly carried out by male children between the ages of 5 and 17. Incidences of female child labourers are low, and in general appear among older age groups;
- Child Labourers in Urban environment tend to work full time, no seasonal child labourers were found in the surveys conducted in this study indicating that the Urban Informal Sector is characterised by low seasonal alterations, unlike the highly seasonal agricultural sector;
- In particular, Syrian families in Amman, Mafraq and Irbid are in a very difficult economic situation, and their standard of living is very low. Syrian children are making very significant contributions to rent and other basic household expenditures from their wages;
- Syrian Children perform a wider range of jobs than other nationalities; this includes working in shops and restaurants as cleaners and selling food and drinks on the street;
- Child labourers are working long days and weeks which have a negative effect on their physical health. It was reported that child labourers' mental health is also affected however this study's primary data did not investigate this area comprehensively. A small number of serious injuries were reported by children labourers, and researchers heard reports of serious risks faced by children in certain locations;
- Child Labourers were found to earn between 3 to 5 JDs per day;
- Jordanian children contribute to rent and other household expenses, but also use their wages for entertainment purposes or for personal items, such as mobile phone credit;
- There are low enrolment and school attendance rates among child labourers of all nationalities. For Syrians, this was most commonly for economic reasons alone. Generally, Jordan child labourers appeared to see less value education or see school as an opportunity to improve their chances in later life;
- Children of all nationalities can drop out of school for a variety of reasons including economic hardship, lack of interest, desire to work, cultural reasons such as lack of support from their parents and an unattractive school environment;
- There are CBOs that have successful track record in identifying child labour cases and working with them and their families to re-direct children back to the schooling system or train and equip them with relevant skills based upon the case of each child. However, they haven't been engaged officially as part of the NFCCL.

Recommendations

Education

- There needs to be a clearer national definition of ‘school drop-out’;
- Regarding education, the design and development of innovative and creative education programmes for Syrian refugees should continue, with the intention of encouraging their return to school and to ensure that they remain there. This will involve policy dialogue with national and international stakeholders, particularly the MoE, to address the reasons why children are either not enrolling in school in Jordan, or why they are dropping out;
- Extra-curricular activities for children in schools and in communities should be encouraged by all national and international actors, to try and improve school environments and to enhance the range of activities that are available outside school hours, with the intention of occupying children in useful learning situations and allowing them a chance to socialise in a safe environment. These actions can be developed in cooperation with the informal education systems that are in place across Jordan, to ensure that activities have an educational element for all children participating in them.

Cash Assistance

- Provision of cash assistance to child labourer families must be maintained, expanded and increased to the extent possible.

Awareness Raising and Alternative Support

- National awareness campaigns on child labour should be designed and implemented as quickly and comprehensively as possible. These should focus on what child labour is in the Jordanian context, including hazardous work for juvenile workers above the minimum age of employment, and the consequences of child labour on children in the immediate and in adulthood. Campaigns should also provide information on services and options available to child labourers and their families;
- Information for Syrians specifically regarding child labour and Jordanian labour laws in respect of minimum age of employment and hazardous work should be distributed in UNHCR registration centres, as well as via media outlets such as the ‘Syrian Hour’ radio show. Particular focus should be on the impact of child labour on children’s health, well-being and future by being deprived of an education;
- For children who labour, and their families, there needs to be more than just cash assistance that targets economic issues. There needs to be improved labour market access, vocational education that is especially focused on youth (although not to the exclusion of others) and income generating activities;

- This action should be preceded by a forum for policy dialogue between national and international stakeholders to discuss the sensitive issues of labour market access, employment opportunities and access to vocational education for Syrian refugees which, at present, have not been comprehensively addressed;
- Improving the awareness levels and training for labour inspectors tasked with identifying child labour cases, as well as offering practical support on how to deal with children and their families in these cases

Frameworks and Coordination

- The National Framework for Combating Child Labour should, in its next phase, work to formally engage civil society and employers in order to enhance identification and follow-up of child labour cases, and to improve the coordination of services for child labourers and their families. This should include addressing the situation of child labour among the Syrian refugee population.
- A coherent and monitored follow-up system for the child after an intervention is implemented should be formalised in the NFCCL;
- Improve and institutionalise the coordination between the Ministries and the service providers that are not currently named in the NFCCL but who are providing services to child labourers and their families;
- Improve and institutionalise the cooperation between the three Ministries named in the NFCCL with child labour cases - the MoL, the MoE and the MoSD – thereby facilitating them in carrying out their assigned tasks relating to child labour cases;
- Coordination efforts among all child protection actors – developmental and humanitarian - must continue to strive for improvements to the provision of services for child labourers and their families.

Capacity Building

- The capacity of relevant government actors, especially those responsible for the implementation of the NFCCL, needs to be improved starting immediately and looking at the medium-term future, with the support of government and international actors, particularly the ILO. Early consideration should be given by the MoL to hire and train additional labour inspectors to improve national coverage of labour inspection and to strengthen identification, reporting and monitoring of child labour cases. Development of the National Database on Child Labour should continue and greater efforts made with relevant government staff to ensure broad uptake and use of the database once completed. The database should ultimately cover all nationalities of child labourers in Jordan.

National Statistics

- In view of the fact that the incidence of child labour appears to be increasing, not only among Syrian refugees, and in order to keep abreast of trends in this phenomenon, the government should include a specific focus on child labour in existing national surveys through appropriately designed questions as soon as possible. The Department of Statistics is ideally placed to coordinate this process based on its previous experience in this field.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Data Collection Methods and Instruments

Quantitative primary data

Enumerators underwent a 2-day training programme, which covered a general introduction to research, sampling procedures and why they are important, types of questions and their administration, and how to approach and handle respondents. 12 enumerators (both males and females) were chosen based on the following criteria: 1) Intelligence and an interest in work of this nature; 2) Full understanding of the context 3) Ability and willingness to work unsociable hours 4) Ability to relate to strangers 5) A presentable appearance

Fieldwork personnel were also trained to be sensitive to difficult questions or areas of experience that respondents and participants felt reluctant to talk about, particularly females at the households and children. Regardless of the experience, all fieldwork personnel involved in the study underwent a rigorous briefing programme, comprising class and field training that covered:

- Nature and sensitivity of the research
- Trust building - Confidentiality and safety of respondents and participants
- Administration of the questionnaire
- Survey protocol

The training was conducted face to face by MRO key Fieldwork personnel and a researcher from To-Excel Consulting involved in this research. Supervisors double-checked the questionnaire to ensure quality. Due to the sensitivity of topic, before the data collection field work, piloting of 5 questionnaires from each target group was conducted, this is to ensure that the flow of the questionnaire is logical and that the desired meaning of each question is clearly conveyed to and understood by respondents, and bring to the attention of the research team any aspects which are considered inappropriate and which might jeopardize the discussions.

Data Entry and Cleaning: In regards to open-ended questions that were included in the questionnaire and from our experience, the precise meaning and sense of responses to open-ended questions can

easily be lost, condensed or misinterpreted in translation. It is therefore our usual practice to develop the coding frame and undertake coding in Arabic, thus eliminating the possibility of inaccuracy or dilution caused by translation.

Once the code frame was complete, the agreed response statements (code frame) are translated into English. The senior executive who was responsible for the development of the code frame undertook translation of these statements; this ensures that the English version reflects the envisaged meaning of each statement and accuracy of the translation. The code frame for the open-ended responses will be developed based on at least 25% of randomly selected questionnaires from all areas of the total sample. At least five sample responses will be provided for each proposed category. The frame will be sent to the client for approval prior to the coding procedure. Coding was undertaken by experienced MRO staff that are regularly engaged in this type of work. The coders will additionally carry out a third stage check on each questionnaire for completeness and consistency and to ensure that filter instructions have been correctly followed. Any queries will be referred to a project executive for necessary action.

Qualitative primary data

Focus Groups and Interviews

Focus groups discussions were conducted with parents, professionals from community-based organisations (CBOs), non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and International NGOs, community leaders, volunteers, teachers and principals, and media specialists. Focus groups aimed to achieve a detailed understanding of the behaviour, attitudes and provide recommendations using a well-designed discussion guide covering the main objectives of the study. Semi-structured Interviews were held with a range of international and national organisations working with refugees, with children, with families or in the specialised field of child protection. Interviews lasted between 30 and 60 minutes, and took place between October 2013 and January 2014. Three Jordanian government Ministries (Ministry of Education, Ministry of Labour and Ministry of Social Development) were also interviewed in this phase of research. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) offered support in contacting relevant individuals and organisations.

Recruitment and identification

For the survey distribution a random selection of households selected on an interval basis. Households were asked if they have children in the labour market and if they were willing to participate in the study. If they refused, the enumerator would go to the next eligible home, following a 'right turn' approach. For the focus groups, the research team located potential venues during the interview process. These included the Islamic Centre in Amman, the Family and Childhood Protection Society in Irbid and the Jordan Women's Union (JWU) in Mafraq. Eligible and willing candidates for participation were identified by the research team or referred via other contacts. These candidates were then emailed or informed by phone of the venue, date and time of the focus group.

Data analysis

The data gathered were analysed progressively over three main stages which were i) a desk review of relevant literature on the topic of child labour ii) preliminary analysis of field data and iii) feedback from the ILO on the preliminary analysis and draft report.

- i) Desk Review
- ii) Field data analysis
- iii) Feedback from ILO

Appendix 2: Key Informant Interviews

International organisations and UN interviews

Organisation	Date interviewed
UNHCR	02.12.13
Terre des Hommes	11.12.13
UNICEF	11.12.13
ILO	09.12.13

QuestScope	11.12.13
Global Communities (formerly CHF)	09.12.13
Un Ponte Per...	17.12.13
Save the Children International	09.01.14

Jordanian government department interviews

Jordanian Government Department	Date interviewed
Ministry of Education	08.12.13
Ministry of Social Development	01.12.13
Ministry of Labour	09.12.13

National organisation interviews

Organisation Name	Date Interviewed
JWU (Jordanian Women's Union) (Amman, Mafraq and Irbid)	24.12.13
Family and Childhood Protection Society in Irbid	03.12.13
NCFA (National Council for Family Affairs)	02.12.13
Nihayat Dabdoub, Former Director of the Social Support Centre	02.12.13
Social Support Centre (SSC)	04.12.13
Islamic Centre	30.12.13

Focus group locations and dates:

Location	No. of Participants	Date held
Irbid	11	03.12.13
Mafraq	9	21.12.13
Amman	17	07.01.14

Organisations who participated in focus group discussions:

Orphans Centre, Social Care Unite, Islamic School, Islamic Centre, ARDD Legal Aid, Save the Children Jordan, Jordanian Women's Union, Social Support Centre, Care International, Islamic Centre Association, InterSOS, JOHUD, Family and Childhood Protection Society, IMC and a range of social activists, journalists, teachers and volunteers.