



UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL COHESION AND RESILIENCE IN JORDANIAN HOST COMMUNITIES

Assessment Report

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REACH Informing
more effective
humanitarian action

SUMMARY

The Syrian crisis, now in its fourth year, has led to the displacement of 9.3 million people. Although most are currently considered internally displaced within Syria, approximately 2.6 million refugees have crossed borders into neighbouring countries in the region. Jordan is currently hosting 588,979 refugees, of which an estimated 80% live in host communities. **This large influx of Syrian refugees has led to an overstretching of the absorptive capacity of Jordanian communities and as the population grows, service delivery deteriorates and the competition for resources intensifies particularly in northern Jordan.** This situation was well highlighted in the Needs Assessment Review (NAR) of the Impact of the Syrian Crisis on Jordan released in November 2013.

The response by the Government of Jordan (GoJ) in coordination with the United Nations and international organisations has been to establish in September 2013 the Host Community Support Platform (HCSP) for improving access to services, strengthening social cohesion and building resilience, as well as to develop a National Resilience Plan (NRP) for the period 2014 – 2016. The plan aims to coordinate the development response and is structured around the various social services and economic characteristics that are often referred to by government and aid actors as key sectors: water, employment and livelihoods, health, education, and municipal support. The analysis within this report is also disaggregated into these sectors – including as well access to shelter and affordable housing that has emerged as a key challenge on community level.

With support from the British Embassy in Amman, REACH has undertaken an assessment in Jordanian host communities with the aim to shed light on the challenges to social cohesion and resilience. The purpose of this assessment was to create a better understanding of the key dynamics that have emerged in Jordanian host communities as a result of the Syrian refugee crisis, and to support an evidence-based approach to prioritising interventions within and between communities. To effectively do this, the assessment underwent several phases.

First, a desk-review was commissioned to synthesise secondary data available and identify some of the broader areas of interest in identifying challenges to social cohesion and resilience. This was followed by a key informant assessment of 446 communities across the four northern governorates of Ajloun, Irbid, Jarash and Mafrqa, as well as the two central governorates of Balqa and Zarqa. A comprehensive case selection exercise identified 160 communities for further in-depth assessments based on their stated levels of tension, security challenges in accessing basic services, and the overall access to services within the community. These community-level assessments entailed surveys and focus group discussions with Jordanians and Syrians. To complement the community-level assessments, governorate workshops were also held in the six governorates of Ajloun, Mafrqa, Irbid, Jarash, Balqa and Zarqa. This report highlights the findings from these assessments.

All sectors and public services assessed have been significantly impacted by the Syrian refugee crisis. Although these sectors have been affected in their own unique ways, **the implications for social cohesion and community resilience are oftentimes cross-cutting.** For example, the spread of new diseases has emerged as a contentious issue challenging social cohesion both on local administration and community level. However, the spread of new diseases is closely linked to overpopulated schools (where many of these diseases spread), the lack of clean and reliable access to water (affecting hygiene), and the inability of municipalities to address the solid waste management issue (perceived to further precipitate the spread of diseases). In other words, the challenges to social cohesion and resilience are complicated and warrant a comprehensive and holistic approach in both analysis and response.

The challenges to social cohesion in Jordanian host communities emerge as two-fold. First, there is the emergence of community-level challenges negatively impacting social cohesion between the host community and refugee populations, but also more generally within communities as the population grows and resources become strained. These tensions are exacerbated by the widely-held community beliefs that refugees are responsible for the deterioration of living conditions within the community. This attribution instils more negative feelings towards the Syrian refugee population in general, hampering social cohesion. Improved relations and impressions of Syrian refugees are necessary in order for communities to come together and resolve issues in collaboration to bring about unity and convergence. **The second broad challenge to social cohesion is what the Host Community Support Platform identifies as limited communication between citizens and local administration.** The inability of municipalities, to address many visible problems in the communities they represent is decreasing the confidence that citizens have in their local institutions, and weakens the social contract between citizen and government.

Despite the fact that many sectors face daunting challenges in mitigating the impact of the population increase, several also provide ample opportunity to strengthen social cohesion and improve resilience. Most notably, schools can build convergence within communities through increasing understanding and collaboration between Jordanians and Syrians. Furthermore, supporting the role of municipalities in providing service delivery to communities can go a long way in building more resilient communities and local administrative institutions. As the ability of municipalities to fulfil their mandates increases, the confidence and trust of local populations is likely to grow, strengthening the social contract between local government and citizens.

The assessment also suggests that the international community needs to rethink how this support is provided. Although far from being comprehensive in scope, the findings suggest that **support is not perceived as being distributed to those most in need, and many of the communities covered by this assessment seem to fall outside the scope of international support.** In many of the communities that such support is present, it contributes to growing tensions. Thus, **there is a need for greater transparency and accountability** in the way international actors support Jordanian host communities and Syrian refugees. Many people do not understand the decision-making framework being employed, which is creating confusion and tension among host and refugee populations. **To ensure that a Do No Harm approach is integrated**, improved communication and evidence-based prioritisation of needs to be engendered within the humanitarian and development response.

About REACH

REACH is a joint initiative of two international non-governmental organizations - ACTED and IMPACT Initiatives - and the UN Operational Satellite Applications Programme (UNOSAT). REACH was created in 2010 to facilitate the development of information tools and products that enhance the capacity of aid actors to make evidence-based decisions in emergency, recovery and development contexts. All REACH activities are conducted in support to and within the framework of inter-agency aid coordination mechanisms. For more information about REACH and to access our information products, please visit: www.reach-initiative.org. You can also write to us at: jordan@reach-initiative.org and follow us @REACH_info.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CBOs	Community-Based Organisations
GoJ	The Government of Jordan
HCSP	The Host Community Support Platform
MoE	Ministry of Education
NRA	Needs Assessment Review
NRP	National Resilience Plan 2014 – 2016
NRW	Non-Revenue Water
RRP6	Regional Refugee Response Plan 2014
UNDG	United Nations Development Group
WAJ	The Water Authority of Jordan

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INTRODUCTION

The Syrian crisis, now in its fourth year, has led to the displacement of 9.3 million people.¹ Although most of these people are currently considered internally displaced within Syria, nearly 3 million registered refugees have crossed borders into neighbouring countries in the region.² This regionalisation of the Syrian crisis has had particularly significant impacts on Jordan which has received a considerable proportion of these refugees. **Jordan is currently hosting 588,979 registered refugees,³ of which an estimated 80% live in host communities. Most refugees that settle in Jordanian host communities do so in Amman, Irbid or Mafraq governorates.** The large influx of Syrian refugees has led to an overstretching of the absorptive capacity of host communities, and as the population grows, service delivery deteriorates and the competition for resources intensifies, particularly in northern Jordan. With an estimated 200,000 refugees expected to cross into Jordan in 2014, the pressure on local administration and Jordanian host communities is mounting;⁴ Moreover, understanding which sectors are particularly affected from a local administrative perspective becomes integral to strengthening host community resilience and social cohesion.

The response by the Government of Jordan (GoJ) in coordination with the United Nations and international organisations has been to establish the **Host Community Support Platform (HCSP)** for improving access to services, strengthening social cohesion and building resilience, as well as to develop a **National Resilience Plan (NRP)** for the period 2014-2016. The plan aims to coordinate the development response and is broken up into the various social services and economic characteristics that are often referred to by GoJ, humanitarian and development agencies as key sectors: water, employment and livelihoods, health, education, and municipal support. The analysis within this report is also disaggregated into these sectors – including access to shelter and affordable housing that has emerged as a key challenge on community level.

The HCSP identifies the dual nature of challenges to building resilience and strengthening social cohesion. On the one hand, **community tensions arise as host community and refugee populations compete for limited social services and resources.** On the other hand, the HCSP points to a **decreasing level of capacity by local governance structures and public service providers**, as these institutions are unable to deliver services to the population⁵, contributing to a growing gap between local institutions and citizens in host communities.⁶ Both of these challenges create an environment where social cohesion and resilience building should be prioritised to strengthen the social bonds within communities and between citizens and local government.

With support from the British Embassy in Amman, REACH has undertaken an assessment in Jordanian host communities with the aim to shed light on the challenges to social cohesion and resilience. The purpose of this assessment was to create a better understanding of the key dynamics that have emerged in Jordanian host communities as a result of the Syrian refugee crisis, and to support an evidence-based approach to prioritising interventions within and between communities. As the Syrian refugee population in Jordan grows – and as Jordanians become increasingly frustrated with the perceived deterioration of their communities – understanding how these dynamics and challenges come about and interact is imperative. An increased understanding in this area is expected to help inform the humanitarian and development response by improving the targeting and prioritisation of programmes, while furthermore mainstreaming improved social cohesion and resilience principles in the host communities. Integrating social cohesion and resilience building is expected to facilitate the convergence and stabilisation of communities to support long-term development.

¹ OCHA Humanitarian Bulletin Issue 42, p.13 – 26, February 2014.

² Retrieved from UNHCR info portal, <<http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php>> [last accessed April 3rd 2014].

³ Retrieved from UNHCR info portal, <<http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php>> [last accessed April 3rd 2014].

⁴ UNHCR, 'Regional Response Plan 6: Jordan', (Amman, 2013).

⁵ MOPIC and UNDP – Host Community Support Platform, *Needs Assessment Review of the Impact of the Syrian Crisis on Jordan*, November 2013.

⁶ MOPIC and UNDP – Host Community Support Platform, *Needs Assessment Review of the Impact of the Syrian Crisis on Jordan*, November 2013.

METHODOLOGY

STRATEGIC APPROACH

The assessment was based on the current discourse in Jordan as it relates to addressing the impact of the Syrian refugee crisis. **The prevalent narrative is that there has been a reduction in access to basic social services and economic opportunities, which is challenging social cohesion and resilience of host communities** at the governorate, municipality, community and individual level. The design of the research is based on this conceptualisation to inform the discourse and narrative being referred to extensively within parliament, media, and other fora. Building on this, the report is divided into sectors to provide information on how specific sectors are perceived to be affected – both at local administration and community levels.

This study assesses the impact of the Syrian refugee crisis on Jordanian host communities with a particular focus on community resilience and social cohesion. Community resilience and social cohesion can be defined in a number of ways depending on overall goal and context. Planning documents including the National Resilience Plan (NRP) 2014-2016 and Regional Refugee Response Plan 2014 (RRP6) identify strengthening resilience and social cohesion as key strategies to ensuring refugee and host community protection. Within the context of the Syrian crisis, the United Nations Development Group (UNDG) defines resilience as ‘the ability of households, communities and societies to withstand shocks and stresses, recover from such stresses, and work with national and local administrative institutions to achieve transformational change for sustainability’.⁷ Social cohesion falls within the framework of community resilience. Major elements of social cohesion as it pertains to this humanitarian situation include: ‘strengthening social relations, interactions, and ties’⁸; building trust and understanding between communities⁹; reducing community inequalities¹⁰; and adopting a holistic strategy on livelihoods, public services, and other socio-economic interventions to improve community participation¹¹. **For this assessment, resilience is defined in terms of a community’s ability to absorb external shocks and minimise vulnerabilities. Social cohesion is understood as a perceived measure of trust and level of tension between members of community groups as well as between community members and local institutions.**

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Given the elusive and abstract nature of the subject of study, a **mixed methods approach was adopted to help triangulate information and provide a more contextualised and nuanced analysis.** To effectively do this, the assessment underwent several phases. First, a **desk-review** was commissioned to synthesise secondary data available and identify some of the broader areas of interest in identifying challenges to social cohesion and resilience. This was followed by a **key informant assessment** in 446 communities, comprising 1445 interviews¹² across the four northern governorates of Ajloun, Irbid, Jarash and Mafraq, as well as the two central governorates of Balqa and Zarqa.¹³

⁷ UNDP and UNDG Working Group on Resilience – MENA, *Position Paper: A Resilience-Based Development Response to the Syria Crisis*, December 2013, p.2.

⁸ MOPIC and UNDP – Host Community Support Platform, *Needs Assessment Review of the Impact of the Syrian Crisis on Jordan*, November 2013, p. 101.

⁹ UN and Host Community Support Platform, *National Resilience Plan, 2014-2016*, January 2014.

¹⁰ UNDP and UNDG Working Group on Resilience – MENA, *Position Paper: A Resilience-Based Development Response to the Syria Crisis*, December 2013.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² The community was operationalised as the *Basic Service Unit (BSU)* which is based on the boundaries of a community, village or neighbourhood as identified by key informants. For more information on the BSU, please refer to REACH (2014): *Evaluating the Effect of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on Stability and Resilience in Jordanian Host Communities: Preliminary Impact Assessment*, January 2014.

¹³ REACH (2014): *Syrian Refugees in Host Communities: Key Informant Interviews/District Profiling*, January 2014.

A comprehensive case selection exercise¹⁴ identified 160 communities for further in-depth assessments based on their stated levels of tension, security challenges in accessing basic services, and the overall access to services within the community. To complement the community-level assessments, **governorate workshops** were also held in the six governorates of Ajloun, Mafrq, Irbid, Jarash, Balqa and Zarqa. This report outlines findings from all of these data collection exercises.

DATA COLLECTION

In January and February 2014, REACH hosted **six participatory workshops with local administrative representatives from the governorates of Ajloun, Al Mafrq, Balqa, Irbid, Jarash and Zarqa**. The aim of these workshops was to gain a better understanding of the attitudes, challenges and needs of local institutions in providing support to host communities and incoming refugees. In particular, these workshops sought to identify the priority sectors in each governorate to inform programming around social cohesion and resilience. They were complemented by community-level assessments to illustrate a comprehensive and nuanced perspective of vulnerabilities and challenges to resilience in Jordanian host communities.

Local administration officials from each governorate, including governors, district officials, city council members, department representatives, development units and members of community based organisations (CBOs), were invited to participate in the workshops. **Participants discussed their perceptions of the primary challenges facing service delivery and social cohesion as a result of the influx of Syrian refugees into Jordanian communities.** Prior to each workshop, governorate representatives were asked to present on the sectors they found to be most affected by the Syrian crisis. Following these presentations, REACH facilitated a consensus-building discussion where all participants were asked collectively to:

1. Rank and prioritise the sectors affecting their governorates as a result of the Syrian refugee crisis;
2. Explain the effects on social cohesion in the governorate; and
3. Outline the expectations of and recommendations for the international community in regards to addressing the aforementioned challenges.

To complement the information from local government, REACH also undertook **community-level assessments of Jordanians and Syrians living in host communities**. The community-level assessments began 5th December 2013 and were completed on 9th March 2014. Communities throughout the six governorates were selected based on their level of resilience, out of which the **160 communities with the lowest levels of resilience** were selected.¹⁵ In each community, eight focus group discussions were undertaken with an approximate average of six people in each group. Each community contained a focus group discussion with each of the following demographic groups: Jordanian women, Jordanian men, young Jordanian women, young Jordanian men, Syrian women, Syrian men, young Syrian women, and young Syrian men. The upper age threshold determining whether individuals were placed in the younger focus group was 30 years of age. The groups were divided in this manner in order to allow for different types of discussions to surface in the focus group setting. Previous assessments had already indicated the importance of separating Jordanian and Syrian focus groups,¹⁶ but it was also deemed necessary to separate according to gender and age groups to allow for a more nuanced focus group discussion. Therefore during the targeted assessment phase 7158 individual questionnaires were completed and 1280 focus group discussions.

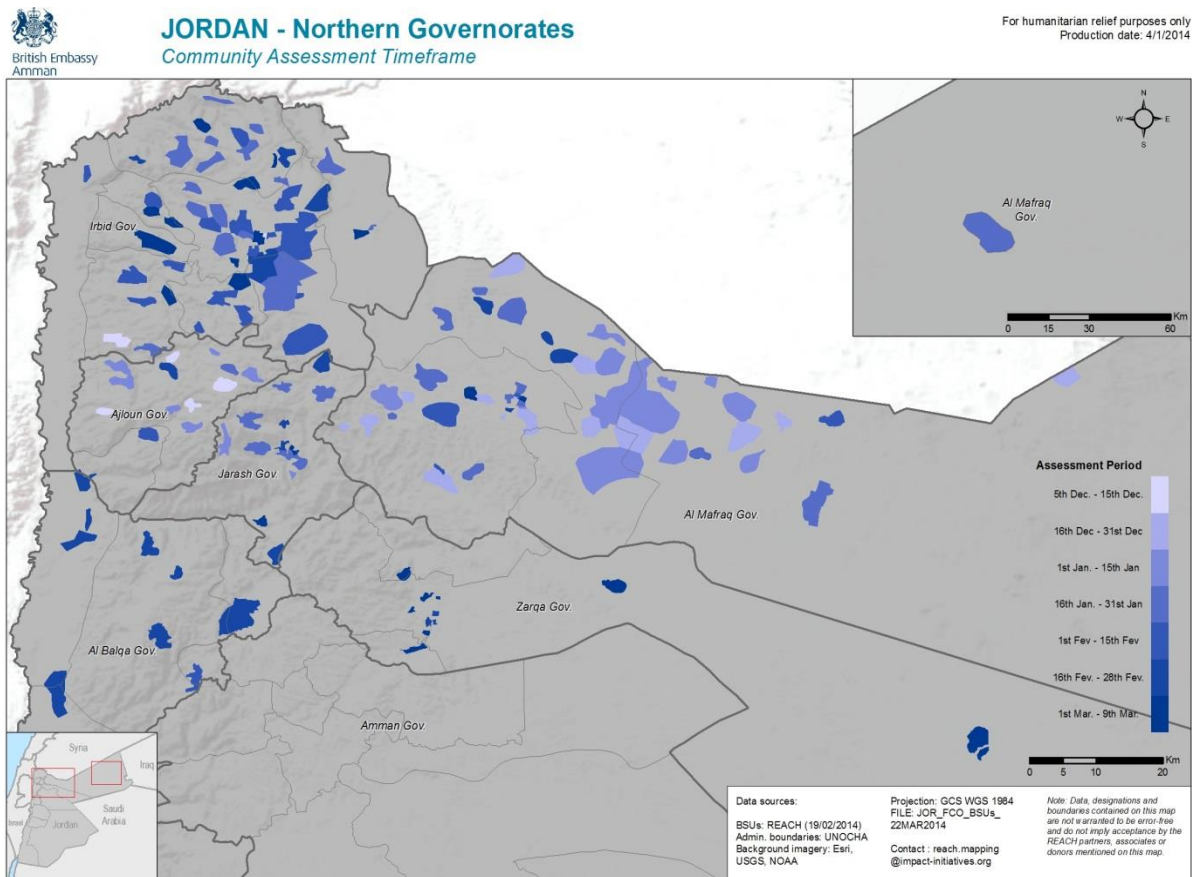
¹⁴REACH (2014): *Evaluating the Effect of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on Stability and Resilience in Jordanian Host Communities: Preliminary Impact Assessment*, January 2014.

¹⁵ REACH (2014): *Evaluating the Effect of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on Stability and Resilience in Jordanian Host Communities: Preliminary Impact Assessment*, January 2014.

¹⁶ Mercy Corps (2013): *Mapping of Host Community – Refugee Tensions in Mafrq and Ramtha, Jordan*.

Prior to each focus group discussion, participants were asked to fill out a **survey questionnaire** using *Open Data Kit* uploaded on mobile phones. The questionnaires were filled out individually and served the purpose of gauging the individual challenges, priorities, and perceptions held by participants in the focus groups. The survey was completed before the focus group discussions so as to not have the group dynamics of the focus group influence the responses. Following the completion of the survey, all participants would sit down for a focused discussion for approximately one hour. The data collection in the communities was undertaken in the following communities and timeframes

Figure 1: Map of Communities Assessed and Assessment Timeframe



CHALLENGES AND LIMITATIONS

A **purposive sampling approach** was adopted for the community-level assessment to clarify the specific challenges to social cohesion and resilience within different demographic groups in Jordanian host communities. Furthermore, the selection of these communities was also purposive, and the sampling approach therefore is **not intended for broad generalisations for Jordan**. Instead, it allows for a more nuanced thematic understanding of the challenges to social cohesion and resilience facing people living in Jordanian host communities.

In some communities, there were occasions when both **Jordanians and Syrians were reluctant to participate** in the assessment. On the whole, this was not a major challenge, but it complicated operational planning as certain focus group discussions had to be rescheduled and moved around in order to get an acceptable participation in the assessment. Furthermore, in some communities it highlighted the **growing feeling of assessment fatigue**; some Jordanians and Syrians feel that there are too many assessments and that there is not enough change on the ground.

FINDINGS

Several assessments have been undertaken across Jordan with the aim of understanding the vulnerabilities of Jordanians and Syrians living in host communities, but none of these have been able to uncover the dynamics of social cohesion and resilience building. Much of this is due to the scope of these other assessments, as well as the methodology applied. Although such approaches have gone a long way to help understand how negative perceptions come about, they fall short of providing a cross-cutting, thematic overview of the challenges to social cohesion and resilience. In the following sections, information and analysis from the community-level assessments sheds light on how needs, priorities and challenges link to social cohesion and resilience in Jordanian host communities.

The challenges faced by local institutions in Jordan are immense. Local administrators across Ajloun, Balqa, Mafraq, Irbid, Jarash, and Zarqa governorates are finding it increasingly difficult to respond to the widening gap between the provision of municipal services and resources, and the growing demands of new refugee arrivals. In some areas, rapid population growth, deteriorating quality of public services, and diminishing capacity of local governance structures are leading to increasing vulnerabilities in both host and refugee communities. Although priorities change from governorate to governorate, there were noteworthy common trends in the challenges identified for each sector.

The section begins with an overview of the education sector, which is under enormous stress due to the large number of refugee children, making it a social service that can either be a focus for deteriorating social cohesion or a vehicle for building peace. This is **followed by employment and livelihoods**, a sector that is at the top of priorities for many communities and households. **Water** is highlighted by many Government actors, a reflection of the fact that Jordan is the fourth most water scarce country in the world. **Shelter and housing**, while not a sector of the HSCP is a priority for many communities and households, lending it to require a specific section to highlight the social, cultural and economic facets of the challenge faced. **Health and access to healthcare** is discussed in terms of challenges and priorities. **Municipal services**, including environmental management is then discussed, outlining the level of satisfaction with the response and services provided in light of the increased pressure on municipalities that were already subjected to a significant amount of stress prior to the Syrian crisis. Finally, **social cohesion is discussed as a mainstream and cross cutting theme, followed by the role and effect of international support.**

EDUCATION

The GoJ has allowed Syrian students access to free education in an attempt to “ensure that refugee children enjoy the right to basic education.”¹⁷ This has led to considerable challenges facing the education sector, from overcrowded classrooms and inadequate school materials, to incidents of violence between Jordanian and Syrian students. As a result of this, the **education sector has emerged as one of the sectors the most critically affected by the Syrian refugee crisis.**

Jordanian local officials have identified overpopulation as the main reason for a decline in the quality of education in Jordan, citing the overcrowding of schools as a major challenge for host communities. In Balqa governorate there has been an unprecedented increase in the student population with additional Syrian students attending school, though many more have yet to enrol as schools have reached their maximum capacity.¹⁸ In Mafraq, it was reported that some classes contained as many as 55 students.

¹⁷ UN and Host Community Support Platform, *National Resilience Plan, 2014-2016*, January 2014, p. 17.

¹⁸ Nuseirat. A. M. [Director of Education in Ain Al Basha District], ‘Balqa Governorate Workshop Speech’, (Balqa, 2014).

Officials in Ajloun have pointed out that teachers are unable to provide each individual student with sufficient instruction and support.¹⁹ In Jarash governorate, the villages of Qafqafa and Belelahave resorted to using caravans as classrooms to accommodate all students, and outdated textbooks are used due to lack of up-to-date school materials for all.²⁰ The Education Department has called for the creation of two new schools in the area to address this challenge, but it is indicative of the magnitude of the challenges that the education sector faces. Similarly, in Zarqa governorate, the Ministry of Education has been forced to rent private buildings to be used as schools and classrooms.

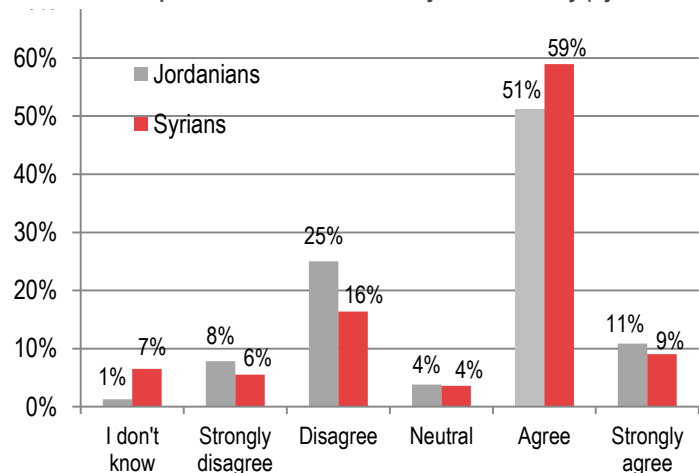
Aside from the issue of overcrowding, workshop participants mentioned that **Jordanian parents were concerned about the behavioural and cultural influences of Syrian children on Jordanian children**, in addition to health issues, and have thus advocated for separate instruction for each set of students. Subsequently, **the majority of schools in the six governorates have adopted a double shift school schedule** to allay these concerns, accommodate the large student population, and mitigate the spread of contagious diseases, with Jordanian and Syrian students attending separate shifts (i.e. morning or afternoon shift). In some cases, classes have been shortened from 45 to 30 minutes to accommodate double-shift schedules. The **shorter duration of classes affects students' understanding and absorption of taught subjects** and forces teachers to spend less time on instruction.²¹ This has led to frustrations, not only amongst Jordanian parents who feel that the Syrian influx is threatening the quality of education, but also among Jordanian teachers who are struggling to keep up with their larger workloads. With the cost of education per student ranging from 850JOD to 1,100JOD per year for the GoJ, there is a growing perception that the quality of education no longer justifies the high costs.²²

Perhaps the most disconcerting for social cohesion is the widespread endorsement of separating Syrian and Jordanian students. Many Jordanians perceive Syrians as having different viewpoints and traditions, and fear the influence of these behaviours on their own children.²³ Syrian students are thought to be less interested in education than Jordanians and therefore prone to skipping school, and there is concern that Jordanian students will adopt this habit.

Furthermore, participants in the workshops stressed that Jordanian students are experiencing psychological effects from interacting with Syrian children who have been exposed to traumatising accounts of

killings and torture, which may be linked to incidents of violence in school and society at large.²⁴ The decision by the GoJ to allow Syrian students to enrol in schools has led to **most people in the community feeling like there is adequate access to education, with 62% of Jordanian respondents and 68% of Syrian respondents reporting adequate access to educational services in their community**. Noteworthy in this regard are the **33% of Jordanian respondents that feel there is inadequate access to education**.

Figure 2: There is adequate access to education in your community (by nationality)



¹⁹ Ajloun Education Directorate, 'Letter No.8/8/16966', (Ajloun, 2013).

²⁰ Banat, A. [Jarash Education Directorate Representative], 'Jarash Governorate Workshop Speech' (Jarash, 2014).

²¹ Ajloun Education Directorate, 'Letter No.8/8/16966', (Ajloun, 2013).

²² Dr. Al-Rosan. M. [Director of Zarqa Governorate Education Directorate], 'Zarqa Governorate Workshop Speech', (Zarqa, 2014).

²³ Mafraq Governorate Education Directorate, (January, 2014), 'Mafraq Governorate Workshop Speech', (Mafraq, 2014).

²⁴ Ajloun Education Directorate, 'Letter No.8/8/16966', (Ajloun, 2013) and Jordanian Ministry of Education, 'Letter No 14/198/13285', (Amman, 2014).

Reports from focus group discussions indicate that this is not because Jordanians are unable to go to school, but rather represents the **perception amongst the Jordanian population that more schools are necessary** to account for the increased population. Reports from both the governorate workshops and focus group discussions indicated that **despite relatively good access to education, this is a sector that is particularly plagued by growing** challenges to social cohesion. Schools have emerged as a forum where Jordanian and Syrian youths meet, and anecdotal information suggests a lot of school violence that is due to perceived differences between Syrians and Jordanians. The perception of differences in values and culture leads to confrontation, and is not necessarily linked to education as such, but **schools become the forum where this tension is expressed**. Government officials also pointed to a close link between schools and the spread of diseases, indicating that the challenges to social cohesion are not sector-specific, but instead cross-cutting in scope.

Figure 3: Map of education as a challenge to social cohesion

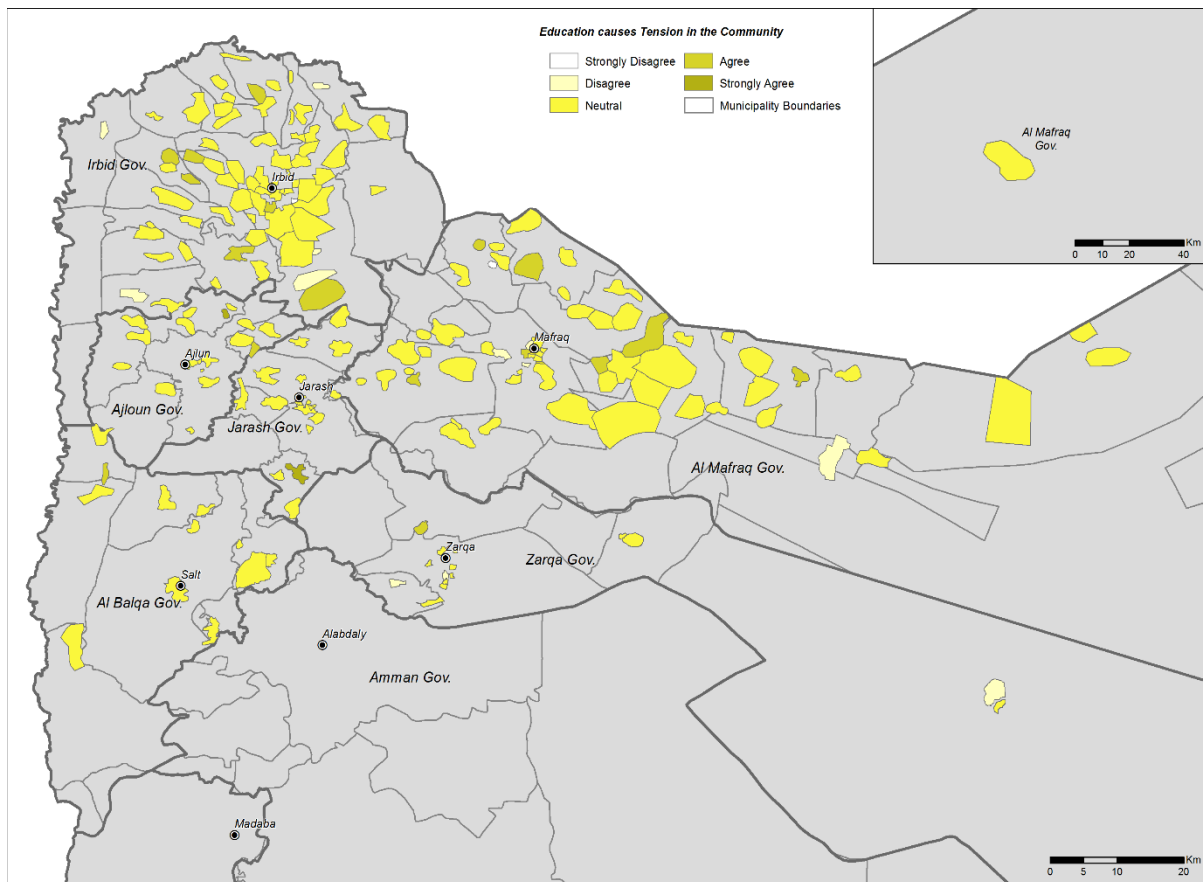
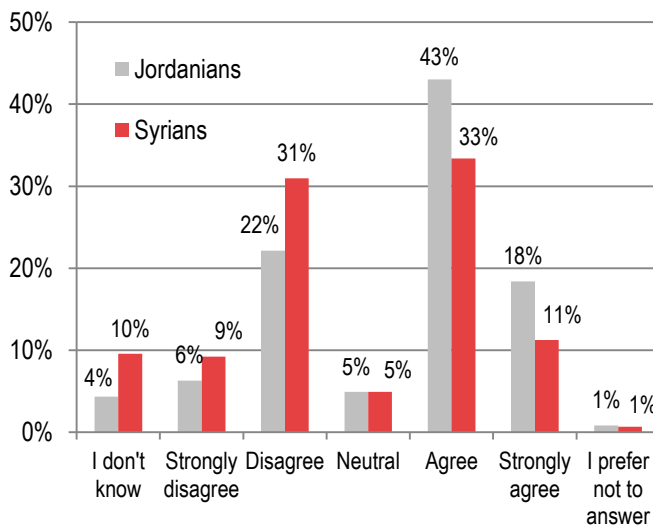


Figure 4 indicates that many of those who live in tension-prone communities report that these challenges are significant in the education sector. 61% of the sampled Jordanian population and 44% of the Syrian respondents report challenges in the educational sector. The notable differences between the nationalities likely come from the fact that **Jordanians perceive a gradual decline in the quality of education in their communities**, and ascribe much of this to the influx of the Syrian refugees. However, Jordanians also indicate that local institutions bear responsibility for this, which could demonstrate a lack of social cohesion between citizens and service providers

Figure 4: Access to education causes tension in your community (by nationality)



The education sector is vital from a social cohesion and resilience building perspective. It is the forum where Jordanian and Syrian youth mix, and therefore has the ability to bring both communities together or drive them apart. **Challenges within the education sector are likely to have ripple effects in the community**, as incidents in schools are discussed in households, and help shape community perceptions.

Education is also integrally important from a community security perspective, in preventing the formation of youth gangs as a defence mechanism, which in turn perpetuates a decrease in community security. Given this, understanding how to engage the education sector on issues of social cohesion and resilience building becomes important. Currently, this sector is struggling to come to terms with the growing demand, and there is little room to

adequately address issues of social cohesion and resilience. Understandably, schools are more focused on providing students with adequate classrooms and school materials than actively managing the social dynamics of the student body. However, **given the intricate role that education plays in the community, this is a sector that needs more support in order to build convergence and cohesion within the community.**

HEALTHCARE

The Syrian crisis has had a negative impact on healthcare services in Jordan according to the community and government, driving up demands for medical staff, equipment and supplies, and putting additional pressures on already limited infrastructure. Subsequent to the influx of Syrian refugees, there has been a **rise in the spread of diseases such as TB, hepatitis A, and polio, reported by health professionals**. Furthermore, a large number of Syrians suffering from psychological issues and war trauma are placing new demands on the health system, which is already overstretched. **Across Jordan, human resources, medicines and equipment are all in short supply**, and the cost of treating Syrian refugees is exorbitant, at around US\$167 million.²⁵ In addition there is the cost of purchasing drugs and vaccines, estimated to cost around US\$58.1 million in 2013.²⁶ Yet significant financial shortcomings mean that the Jordanian government is unable to adequately afford to support these increased demands. This situation has led to **a projected reversal in some of the most important indicators of health anchored in the Millennium Development Goals.**²⁷

In the health sector, workshop participants cited **financial constraints, limited capacity, and insufficient or outdated equipment, medicine, and other materials as major barriers to providing quality health care** to host populations and refugees. Jordanian health officials in the six governorates were particularly concerned with the emergence of diseases, including polio, hepatitis and measles, which had previously been eradicated in Jordan.²⁸ However, there is no substantial evidence to suggest that this phenomenon is linked directly to the Syrian crisis.

²⁵ Government of Jordan, Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, 'National Resilience Plan 2014', p.29.

²⁶ Government of Jordan, Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, 'National Resilience Plan 2014', p.29.

²⁷ Government of Jordan, Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, 'National Resilience Plan 2014', p.28.

²⁸ Tubeshat, A. [Director of Ajloun Governorate Health Department], 'Ajloun Governorate Workshop Speech' (Ajloun, 2014).

Nevertheless, the introduction of these reported diseases combined with a growing patient population have placed significant pressure on the Jordanian health sector to respond. In an effort to halt the spread of these diseases, **Syrian refugees have free access to vaccination campaigns carried out across Jordan.** Further, **the influx of Syrian refugees has had a notable impact on the capacity of health service providers.**

Across the governorates, demand for health services has risen. In 2012, 21,000 Syrian refugees visited hospitals and health centres in Ajloun governorate which amounts to roughly 15% of total patients in the governorate.²⁹ In the governorate of Jarash, officials reported that a total of 24,127 Syrian refugees sought medical attention in 2013, with 16,102 visiting medical centres and 8,025 visiting hospitals.³⁰ **Many health centres and hospitals across Jordan have reported related capacity constraints. Without adequate financing, stocks of medicine are depleting quickly with severe delays in replenishment.** There is a particular concern with stock levels for medicine related to hypertension and diabetes.³¹ The shortage of drugs has caused prices to increase³² which is a significant barrier to accessing proper medical care, particularly for those with limited income.

Furthermore, **poor maintenance and overuse of existing equipment and apparatuses in hospitals and medical centres have a negative impact on the delivery of health services.**³³ In Zarqa governorate, for example, the Director of the Health Directorate reported that before the Syrian crisis, an x-ray machine might be expected to scan 20 photos a day; now, the same machine scans 40 photos a day.³⁴ Such extensive use rapidly shortens the life span of these machines. However, many hospitals and health centres across the country lack the financial resources to purchase new machines.³⁵

Jordanians consider the influx of Syrian refugees as the primary cause of the decline in the quality of healthcare services in the country as institutions, equipment and staff struggle to respond to the growing patient population, with Jordanians increasingly concerned that they will not be able to access quality medical care. **57% of Syrian respondents and 49% of Jordanian respondents reported adequate access to healthcare services in their community,** with Syrians more satisfied with access overall.

Figure 5: There is adequate access to healthcare in your community (by nationality)

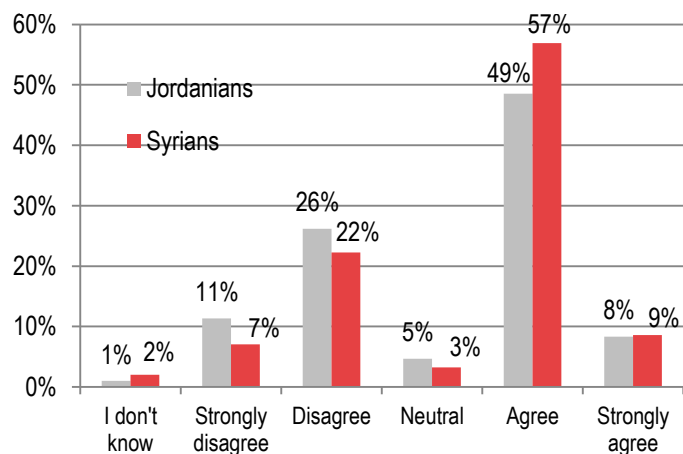
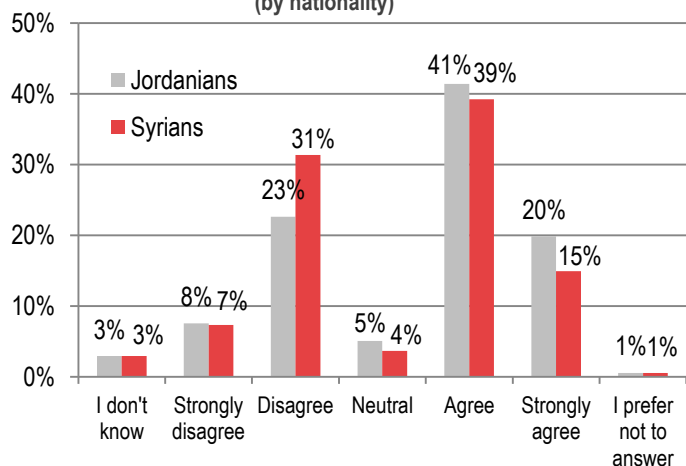


Figure 6: Access to healthcare causes tension in your community (by nationality)



²⁹ Ajloun Health Directorate, 'Letter No. 9/2/4850 and Letter No. 75/8/4482', (Ajloun, 2013).

³⁰ Al-Qadiri. A. [Jarash Health Directorate Representative], 'Jarash Governorate Workshop Speech' (Jarash, 2014).

³¹ Ajloun Health Directorate, 'Letter No. 75/8/4482', (Ajloun, 2013).

³² REACH, (January, 2014), 'Workshop Focus Group Discussion Minutes –Jarash (internal document)'.

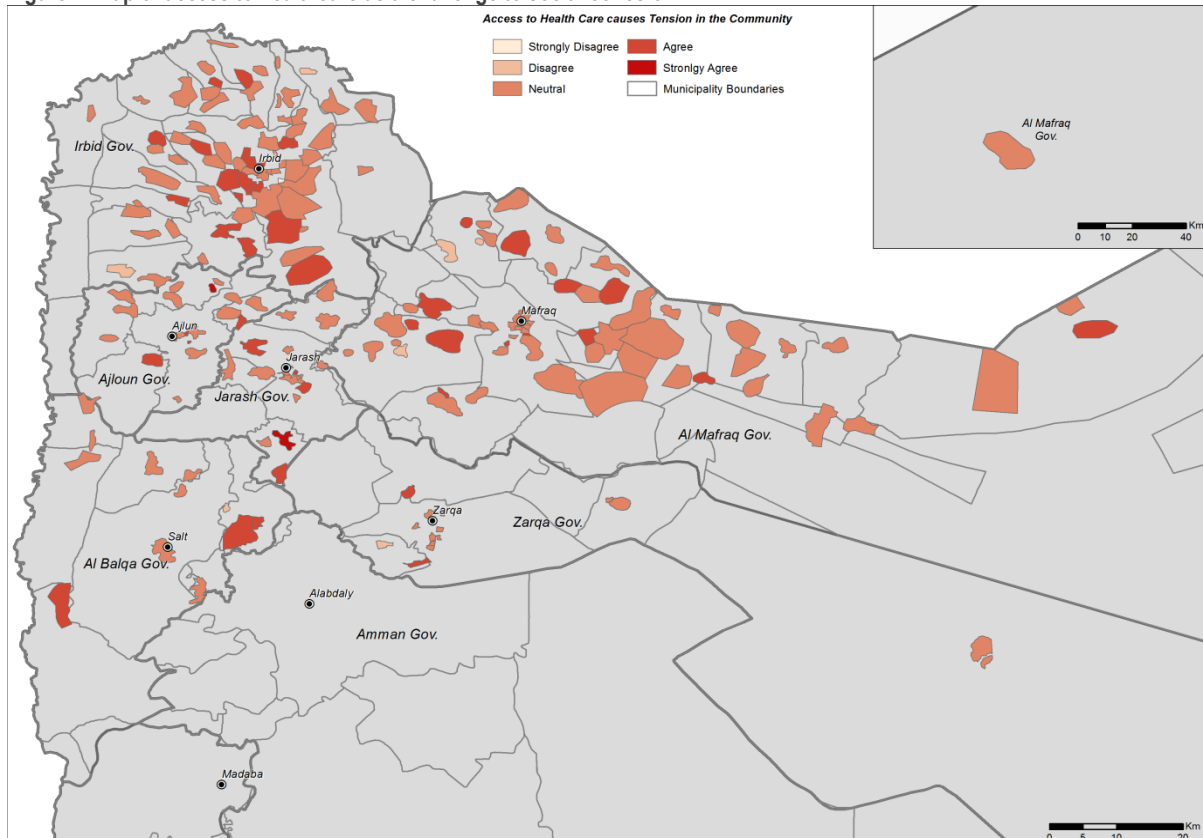
³³ Dr. Al-Hosban. D. [Director of Mafraq Governorate Health Department], 'Mafraq Governorate Workshop Speech', (Mafraq, 2014).

³⁴ Dr. Kharabsheh. T. [Director of Zarqa Governorate Health Department], 'Zarqa Governorate Workshop Speech' (Zarqa, 2014).

³⁵ Ajloun Health Directorate, 'Letter No. 75/8/4482', (Ajloun, 2013).

Nonetheless, the majority of respondents reported that **access to healthcare is a source of tension in the community**, with 41% of Jordanian respondents and 39% of Syrian respondents expressing this opinion. This may be attributed to the visible increase of the population leading to perceptions of more competition for **limited medical supplies and expertise**. Focus groups also cited **long waiting lists and queues** as key drivers of negative perceptions with regards to healthcare provision. Some Syrian participants also expressed dissatisfaction with the healthcare attention that they had received, complaining of poor treatment by medical staff. Additionally, many focus group participants highlighted that **healthcare centres were under-staffed and over-burdened with patients**, and thus were struggling to keep up with demand, which has weakened social cohesion.

Figure 7: Map of access to healthcare as a challenge to social cohesion



WATER

As the fourth most water scarce country in the world, Jordan is struggling to meet increasing demand for this most basic need. **The large influx of Syrian refugees has put severe strain on the water supply**, which suffered from shortages even prior to the Syrian crisis.

A rapid increase in population in the northern governorates has weakened social cohesion around water access, putting additional pressures on already stretched infrastructure, which is in desperate need of rehabilitation and regular maintenance. Water shortages and a lack of adequate drinking water supplies were more prevalent in some governorates, with officials reporting negative attitudes towards Syrian refugees due to these resource constraints. Jordan's water deficit predates the Syrian crisis but all local government officials agreed that the situation has been exacerbated by the additional demands of Syrian refugees.

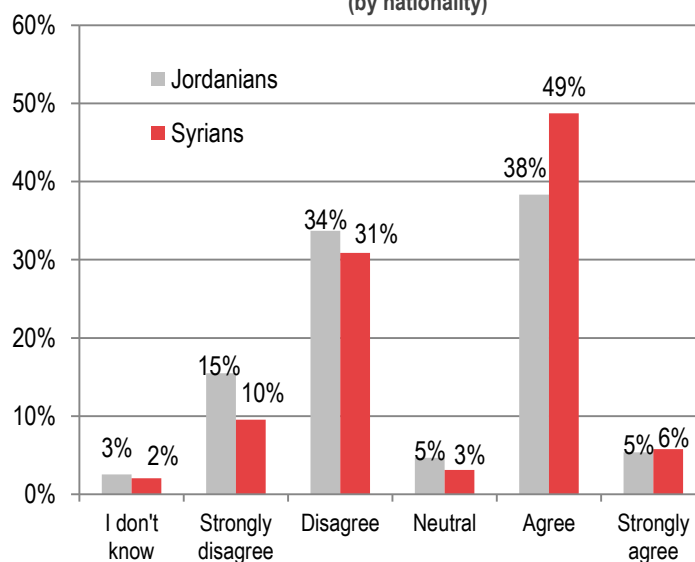
Frustrations over insufficient supply of water have been intensified by the **widespread belief amongst Jordanians that Syrians are not accustomed to rationing water because it is more abundantly available in Syria.**³⁶ Though this perception pervades Jordanian narratives concerning Syrian refugees, it cannot be verified by secondary data. However it should be noted that water usage has increased and has been documented by the GoJ as a result of the Syrian refugee crisis.³⁷

Additional demand has meant that the quantity of water supplied per capita in Jordan has recently decreased to as little as 30 litres per person per day in some areas, while the Water Authority of Jordan (WAJ) stipulates a standard is 100 litres per person per day.³⁸ Districts hosting Syrian refugees have been severely affected, with the **frequency of water supplied to some consumers reduced from once per week to once per month.** This has forced residents to resort to water rationing and the **adoption of other coping mechanisms such as rainwater collection, purchasing water from private tankers, and digging wells.** Furthermore, water infrastructure and piping networks are generally out-dated and in need of repair. Shockingly, as much as forty to fifty per cent of water produced is Non-Revenue Water (NRW) that is lost as a result of leakages, weak infrastructure and illegal consumption.³⁹ Chronic water shortages are putting sewerage networks under stress, and compounding existing problems with solid waste management, causing levels of sanitation to deteriorate.

Not only has the quantity of water supplied per capita been reduced but the **quality of water is perceived to have also decreased, with concerns raised over the contamination of water sources** due to more cesspits and septic tanks in use at increased frequency. The possibility of contamination is amplified by poor water network conditions, which is a major issue that emerged in discussions with officials in Irbid governorate. The old distribution networks in place were not built to support the current population figures. Additional stress on existing water infrastructure **requires the urgent repair and maintenance of water pumping stations and renovation of wastewater treatment plants** to prevent further water supply contamination. Potential solutions brought up during governorate workshops included raising the cost of new water subscriptions and imposing harsher restrictions on fuel consumption for water pumping stations and wastewater treatment plants.⁴⁰

The **majority of respondents agreed that they had access to clean water in their community with some 49% of Jordanians and 38% Syrians** indicating this response. However, marginally more Jordanians (34%) than Syrians (31%) expressed dissatisfaction with their access to water. This may be attributed to water scarcity in Jordan predating the Syrian crisis. Subsequent to the influx of Syrian refugees, Jordanians accustomed to the status quo will have witnessed a gradual decline in water supply and quality. Notably, some **47% of Syrians and 48% of Jordanian respondents agreed that access to water was causing tension in their community.**

Figure 8: Access to water causes tension in your community (by nationality)



³⁶ Abu. A. E. [Director of Ajloun Water Authority], 'Ajloun Governorate Workshop Speech', (Ajloun, 2014).

³⁷ Jordanian Ministry of Water and Irrigation, 'Quantification of the Impact of Syrian Refugees on the Water Sector in Jordan', (Amman, 2013).

³⁸ Government of Jordan, Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, 'National Resilience Plan 2014', p.61.

³⁹ Government of Jordan, Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, 'National Resilience Plan 2014', p.61.

⁴⁰ Al-Shlool. S. [Irbid Water Authority Representative], 'Irbid Governorate Workshop Speech', (Irbid, 2014).

This may be due to water representing a visibly scarce communal resource that must be shared among a rapidly increasing population. Additionally, Jordanians may be used to conserving water, perceiving Syrians in their community as squandering precious water supplies. Focus group discussions corroborated community assessment findings, with a large number of participants identifying **shortages in supply, weak infrastructure, and deteriorating water quality as fuelling intra-communal tensions**.

Figure 8: There is adequate access to water in your community (by nationality)

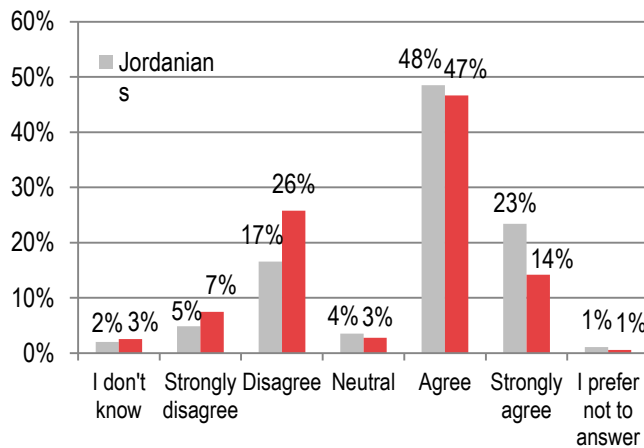
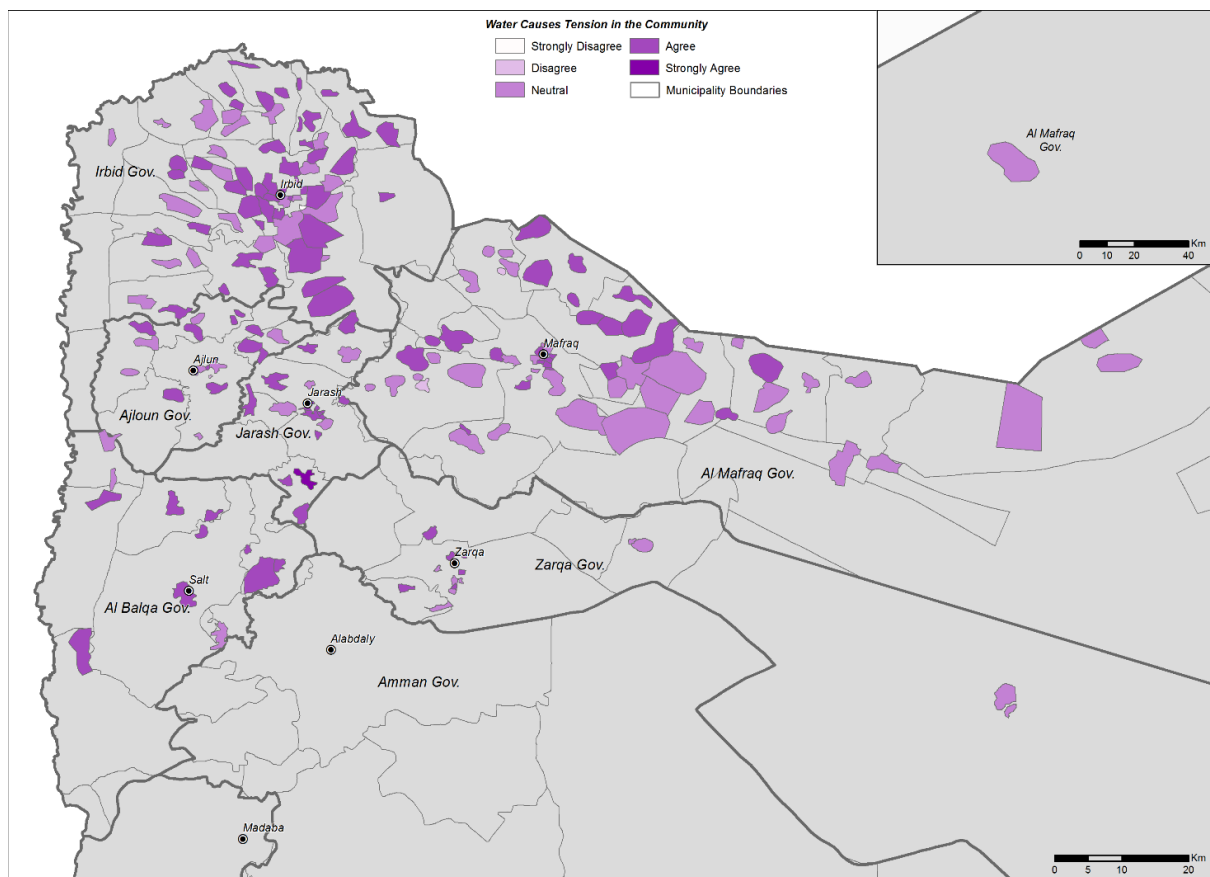


Figure 9: Map of water as a challenge to social cohesion



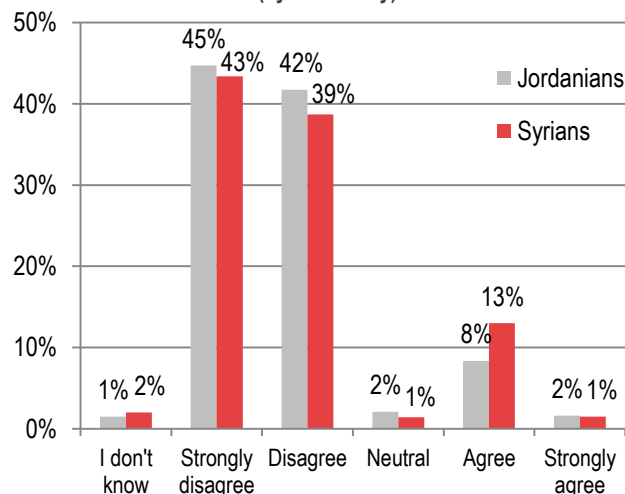
EMPLOYMENT AND LIVELIHOODS

The Syrian crisis has had a significant impact on Jordan's labour market, exacerbating conditions for the already informal workforce, and intensifying competition for employment opportunities, especially in rural areas. Jordan's employment sector faced serious challenges even prior to the onset of the crisis, and these have only been deepened by the large influx of Syrian refugees. Across Jordan, in Mafraq, Irbid and Zarqa governorates in particular, communities have been severely affected by a shortage of job opportunities and a lack of investment. Vulnerable host community families have been hard hit, with many struggling to meet their most basic needs. In addition, youth unemployment has risen exponentially while an increasing demand for unskilled and semi-skilled employment has not been met, with local markets only able to generate a limited number of new employment opportunities. **Access to social safety provision has also been reduced for local communities**, due to increased competition between Syrian refugees and the poorest Jordanian demographics.

Increased labour market competition due to limited employment opportunities has represented a major point of contention in Jordan. For instance, one representative from the Labour Department in Jarash Governorate suggested that Syrians were favoured over Jordanians in almost all skill-related sectors.⁴¹ In particular, **host communities felt that they were losing out on job opportunities in the casual labour sector**. Although Syrians are not granted work permits, the existence of a strong informal employment sector across the country has seen labour market competition become more pronounced.

The recent trend that has seen Jordanians increasingly being employed through informal channels has exacerbated the vulnerability of many Jordanian households, as their livelihoods have become increasingly exposed due to competition in the informal labour market. For instance, in Balqa large numbers of Syrian refugees have been replacing Jordanians and Egyptians who would previously have provided labour for seasonal agricultural work.⁴² This has resulted in host community households being pushed below the poverty line.⁴³ Workshop participants also suggested that **Jordanian employers were employing Syrians over other groups as they were willing to accept lower standards of working conditions and benefits**.⁴⁴ This trend has led to Syrians feeling exploited by their employers, while members from host communities feel that they are being discriminated against and denied opportunities that they would previously have had access to.

Figure 10: There is adequate access to livelihoods in your community (by nationality)



Perceptions of injustice between the two groups are contributing to weakened levels of social cohesion.

The combination of these factors renders host communities increasingly vulnerable to external shocks caused by the protracted Syrian crisis. Growing discontent caused by the lack of employment opportunities in Jordan, particularly the northern governorates, is clearly reflected in the results of the community assessment.

⁴¹ Al-Rabadi, Irshad, [Director of Jarash Labour Directorate], 'Jarash Governorate Workshop Speech', (Jarash, 2014).

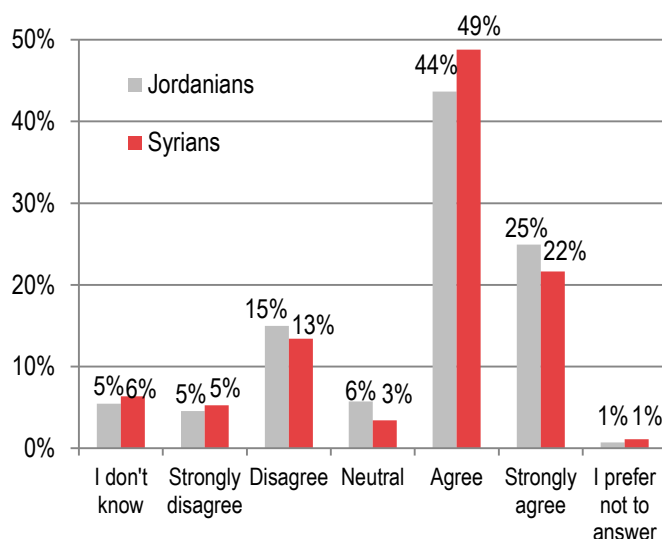
⁴² REACH, 'Workshop Focus Group Discussion Minutes - Balqa (internal document)', (Balqa, 2014).

⁴³ Government of Jordan, Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation and UNDP, 'Needs Assessment Review of the Impact of the Syrian Crisis on Jordan', (Amman, 2013).

⁴⁴ Mafraq Governorate Labour Directorate, 'Impact of Syrian Influx on the Labour Sector', (Mafraq, 2014).

A majority of Jordanians and Syrians felt strongly that there were not adequate employment opportunities in their community, with some 45% of Jordanians and 43% of Syrians choosing the ‘strongly disagree’ response. Both groups were unanimous on this issue, with a mere **10% of Jordanians and 14% of Syrians satisfied that there were sufficient livelihood opportunities.**

Figure 11: Access to livelihoods causes tension in your community (by nationality)



Focus group discussions corroborated these high levels of dissatisfaction, with participants raising the **lack of employment as a common concern and reporting that many families were struggling to survive.**

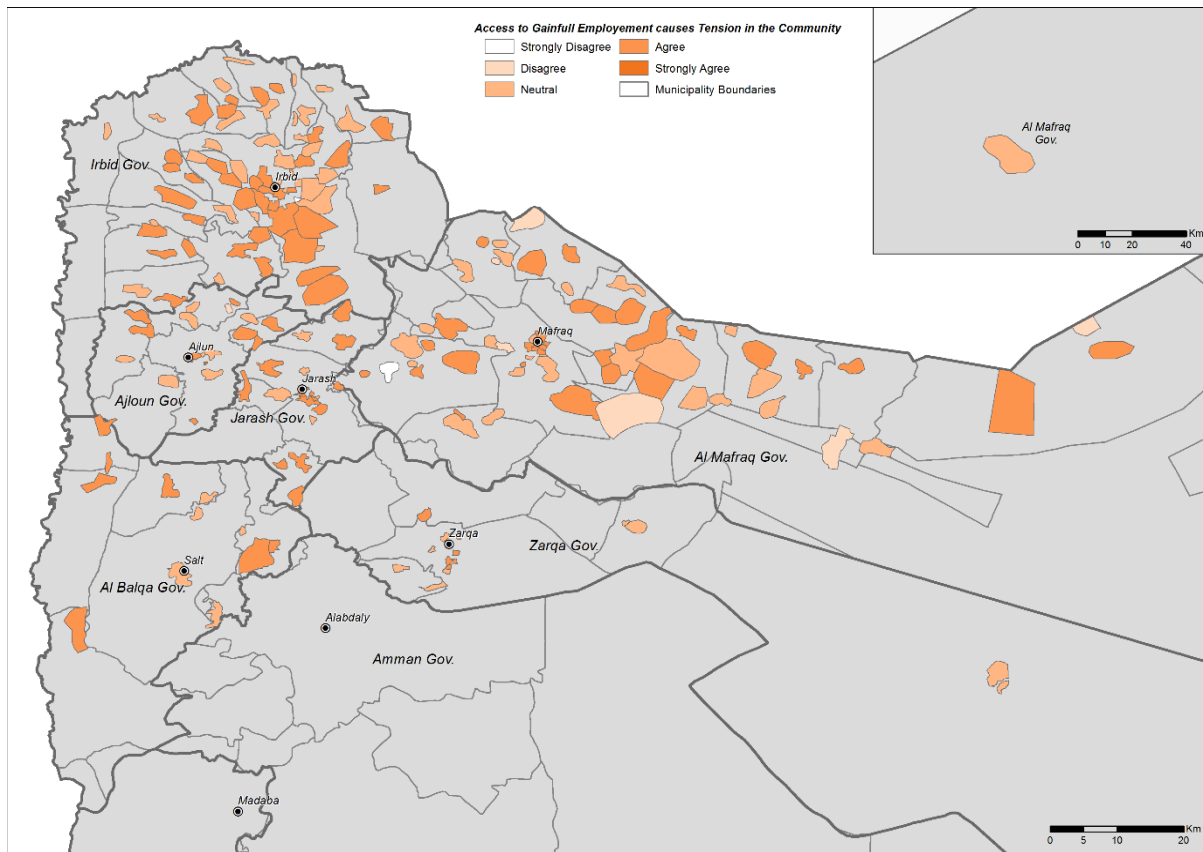
This coincides with other reports stating that approximately only half of households have an income-generating member, and even then there is significant underemployment; while other reports highlight the **exacerbation of coping mechanisms leading to an increase of informal settlements or multiple households in the same shelter.**⁴⁵ Moreover, some focus groups indicated that **vulnerable families were resorting to taking their children out of school in order for them to work for a living.** This chronic lack of employment opportunities is diminishing the ability of communities to anticipate, manage, and recover from shocks.

An overwhelming majority of respondents including some 49% of Syrians and 44% of Jordanians were in agreement that lack or limited access to gainful employment was responsible for causing tension in their community. This consensus was reflected in focus group discussions that raised a number of concerns surrounding competition for income generating activities.

A large number of Jordanians expressed concerns about Syrians working illegally and taking their jobs. Meanwhile, a **significant proportion of Syrians were frustrated by poor working conditions imposed by Jordanian employers, their inability to obtain work permits and a lack of adequate employment.** Despite this frustration voiced by many Syrians, they also stated that their ability to generate an income in the informal labour market was critical to their ability to afford the living costs. In other words, despite the exposed nature of many of the Syrian workers in the informal labour sector in Jordan, Syrians seem to perceive the employment opportunities that do exist as largely positive. But amongst those struggling to cover their daily living costs, high levels of tension concerning livelihoods and employment opportunities were prevalent. **Hardships suffered by some Syrian refugees and Jordanians as they struggle to sustain livelihoods are likely to contribute to deteriorating levels of endogenous trust and horizontal social cohesion within the host communities.**

⁴⁵See for example, UNICEF and REACH (2013): "Informal Tented Settlements in Jordan: A Multi-sector, Baseline Assessment", December 2013.

Figure 12: Map of access to livelihoods as a challenge to social cohesion



SHELTER AND HOUSING

Host communities of northern Jordan have been significantly impacted by a lack of adequate and affordable housing across the region. This **acute lack of shelter** has meant that urban neighbourhoods have been unable to absorb the waves of Syrian refugees coming across the border, leading to increased community instability and intra-communal tensions. A **large number of residents have been forced to adopt various coping mechanisms such as living with extended family, relocating to other areas, or selling valuables to cover rental costs**. Meanwhile, others have resorted to living in inadequate or partially-constructed accommodation. The influx of Syrian refugees has driven up the cost of living and increased competition over already scarce housing, **causing the number of informal tented settlements to grow**. Furthermore, some landlords are reportedly evicting Syrian refugees and vulnerable Jordanians in order to charge tenants higher rents.

According to figures released by the Jordanian Ministry of Interior, **Syrians in Jordan are in need of approximately 120,000 housing units** – a demand which is not currently being met by the Jordanian housing sector that produced only an annual average of 28,600 units between 2004 and 2011 against a total demand of 32,000 units.⁴⁶ Rented properties represent the most affordable form of housing for Jordan's poorest five per cent. However, **low-cost housing rentals are in scarce supply**, while the middle to upper end of the housing market is saturated. This has led to a lack of physical security and diminishing resilience in host communities, with an **urgent need to focus on shelter support given the large number of people living in desperate conditions**. In the governorates of Balqa and Irbid, population pressures are leading to a physical deterioration in the housing market, particularly since **many buildings are old or need of refurbishment**.

⁴⁶Government of Jordan, Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, 'National Resilience Plan 2014', p.35.

The limited availability of housing means that across all governorates, **rental market prices have risen**. For example, in Mafraq governorate officials stated that the price of monthly rent has increased from 70 – 150 JOD before the crisis to 200 – 300 JOD at present.⁴⁷ During the workshops, officials also pointed out that Jordanians are struggling to access housing because of price and availability.

Figure 14 indicates that **a majority of Syrian and Jordanians considered that shelter provision in their community was inadequate**, with some 46% of Jordanian respondents and 38% of Syrian respondents identifying a lack of adequate housing. This trend was highlighted in focus group discussions that repeatedly linked an acute housing shortage and unaffordable rents to overpopulation. Focus group discussions provide one possible explanation for the larger proportion of Jordanians perceiving a lack of adequate shelter, as they highlighted that some **Syrians were being favoured by landlords over Jordanians as they were often willing to pay higher rents**. It is possible that the 22% of Jordanians and 38% of Syrian respondents who perceived there to be adequate shelter in their community represent the middle to upper-income Syrian refugees and Jordanians who would have less difficulty covering higher rental costs.

Figure 13: There is adequate access to shelter (by nationality)

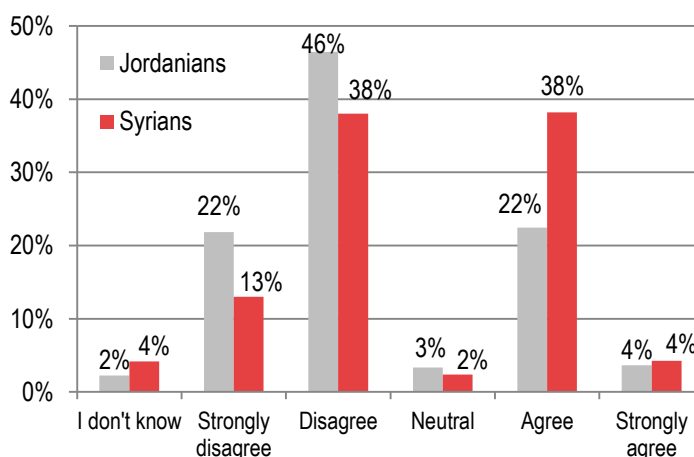
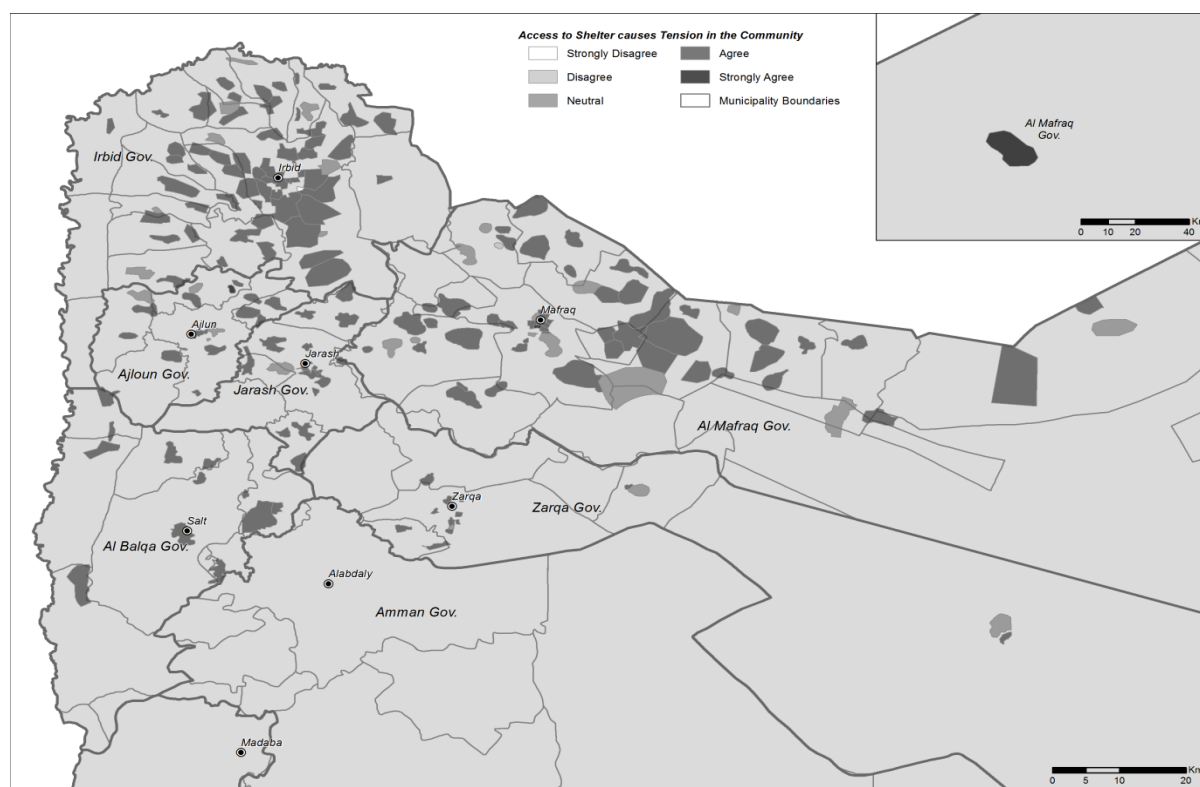


Figure 14: Map of Shelter as a Challenge to Social Cohesion

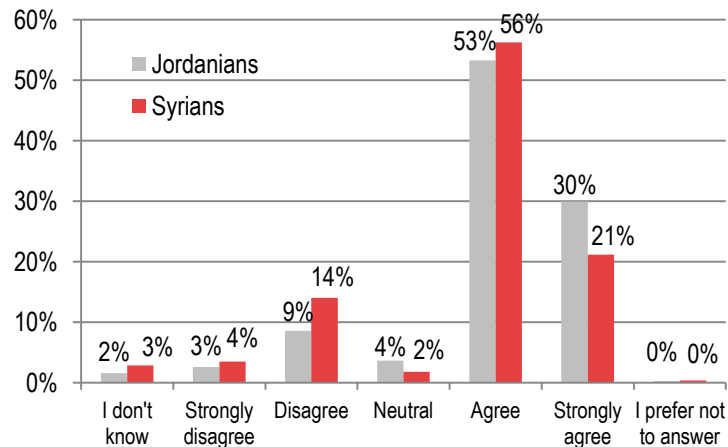


⁴⁷ Eng. Omosh.H. [Mayor of Greater Municipality of Mafraq], 'Mafraq Governorate Workshop Speech', (Mafraq, 2014).

Figure 16 is illustrative of high tensions surrounding housing across the northern governorates, with some **56% of Syrians and 53% of Jordanian respondents perceiving shelter as a driver of tension in their community**. Notable here is the high proportion of Jordanians and Syrians who ‘strongly agreed’ that access to shelter contributes to tension within the community.

It is clear that a **lack of physical security, particularly for the population’s poorest, is contributing to increased levels of vulnerability and deteriorating social cohesion in these communities**.

Figure 15: Access to shelter causes tension in your community (by nationality)



The focus group discussions corroborated community assessment findings, with many participants expressing serious concerns over rising rental costs and securing housing in their community. Participants described adopting new coping mechanisms, such as young adults postponing marriage due to the unsustainable financial burden of moving out of home, and families sharing housing arrangements in order to save money.

MUNICIPAL SERVICES

Municipalities in Jordan were experiencing financial constraints prior to the Syrian crisis. However, **local government administrators are finding it increasingly difficult to respond to the widening gap between the provision of municipal services and the growing demands of new refugee arrivals**.⁴⁸ One oft-cited example of this is solid waste management, which falls under the municipal mandate and has seen a rapid decrease in level of satisfaction.⁴⁹ Solid waste management is regularly mentioned in the discourse as being the key challenge for municipalities, and an issue that is increasingly visible and affecting many communities.

The fiscal constraint faced by municipalities has come to light as they grapple with addressing the exacerbating conditions. These **fiscal challenges have led to a significant amount of attention on policy reform** in this area. However, in the immediate context, the key challenge is that municipalities are unable to meet the service needs of their communities, which leads to friction between municipalities and the communities that they represent. Across all workshops, **governorate officials expressed expectations of further international support**, specifically towards bolstering local infrastructure and improving livelihood opportunities for Jordanians and Syrians. In addition, workshop participants expressed a desire to contain refugee populations in camps to minimise the impact on host communities. Officials in Ajloun governorate explained that a “change in lifestyle” as a result of the refugee influx has produced greater levels of solid waste.⁵⁰ In Irbid governorate, officials estimated that levels of solid waste had almost doubled since the arrival of Syrian refugees into their communities. This is corroborated by statistics from Greater Irbid municipality which prior to the crisis collected around 300 tons of solid waste per day, compared to 500 tons after the population increase.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Al-Jagbeer. M. [Deputy Governor of Jarash], ‘Jarash Governorate Workshop Speech’, (Jarash, 2014) and Qoqaza. A. [Mayor of Jarash Municipality], ‘Jarash Governorate Workshop Speech’, (Jarash, 2014).

⁴⁹ UN and Host Community Support Platform, *National Resilience Plan, 2014-2016*, January 2014, p 47.

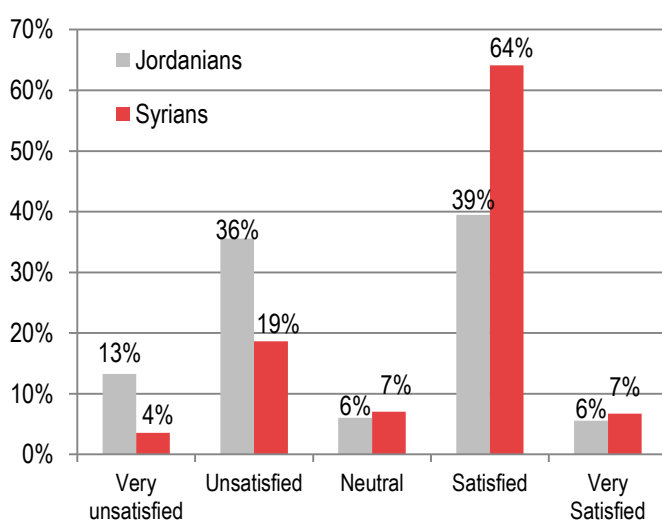
⁵⁰ Kufranfeh Municipality Office, ‘Letter No.28/2995’, (Ajloun, 2013).

⁵¹ Government of Jordan, Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation and UNDP, ‘Needs Assessment Review of the Impact of the Syrian Crisis on Jordan’, (Amman, 2013).

Municipal services are financially constrained and under-equipped in terms of vehicles, equipment and manpower, which further hinders an effective response.⁵² Workers in Ajloun governorate have been asked to rotate between three shifts per day to maximise the number of services provided.⁵³ Officials also complained that ease of mobility within the main governorate cities has declined because of overpopulation and traffic congestion.⁵⁴

Many of the challenges in providing municipal services are further exacerbated by expansion of new settlements. As communities and peri-urban areas expand, many new households fall outside the original areas of service provision for municipalities. With not only an increased population, but also higher demands in terms of geographic coverage, sustaining municipal service provision poses a major challenge.

Figure 16: Level of satisfaction with municipal services (by nationality)



Despite difficulties in public service provision, **58% of respondents in the community assessment reported being satisfied or very satisfied with municipal services.** However, when this figure is disaggregated by nationality, it becomes evident that Jordanians are divided: 45% of sampled Jordanians reported at least being satisfied with municipal services, but 49% reported they are dissatisfied or very dissatisfied. According to a poll conducted by the Centre for Strategic Studies in April 2013, 60% of Jordanian citizens believed that the government was doing as much as it could to meet public demand for services.⁵⁵ Some focus group participants echoed this sentiment and attributed poor service provision to funding and staffing shortages, as well as the increased population. It is possible that this understanding

works as a mitigating factor. Municipalities, although unable to deliver services in a satisfactory manner, are not entirely at fault since they are working in a challenging environment.

Figure 19 (below) illustrates levels of satisfaction across some of the service areas that municipalities are responsible for. Although the average levels of satisfaction fluctuate between dissatisfied and satisfied, there is a **clear discrepancy between how Jordanian respondents and Syrian respondents feel about municipal service delivery.** The sampled Jordanian population reported much lower levels of satisfaction with municipal services, irrespective of the type of service. The difference in level of satisfaction can be explained in a few different ways. Jordanians may compare service delivery today to pre-crisis delivery, and the relative decline in delivery translates into higher rates of dissatisfaction. Furthermore, Jordanians may expect certain services from their municipalities, whereas Syrians may not within their refugee context. The inability to meet these expectations would undoubtedly yield a higher rate of dissatisfaction. On the contrary, Syrians may not feel it is the responsibility of the municipality to care for them specifically, resulting in higher satisfaction rates amongst this group.

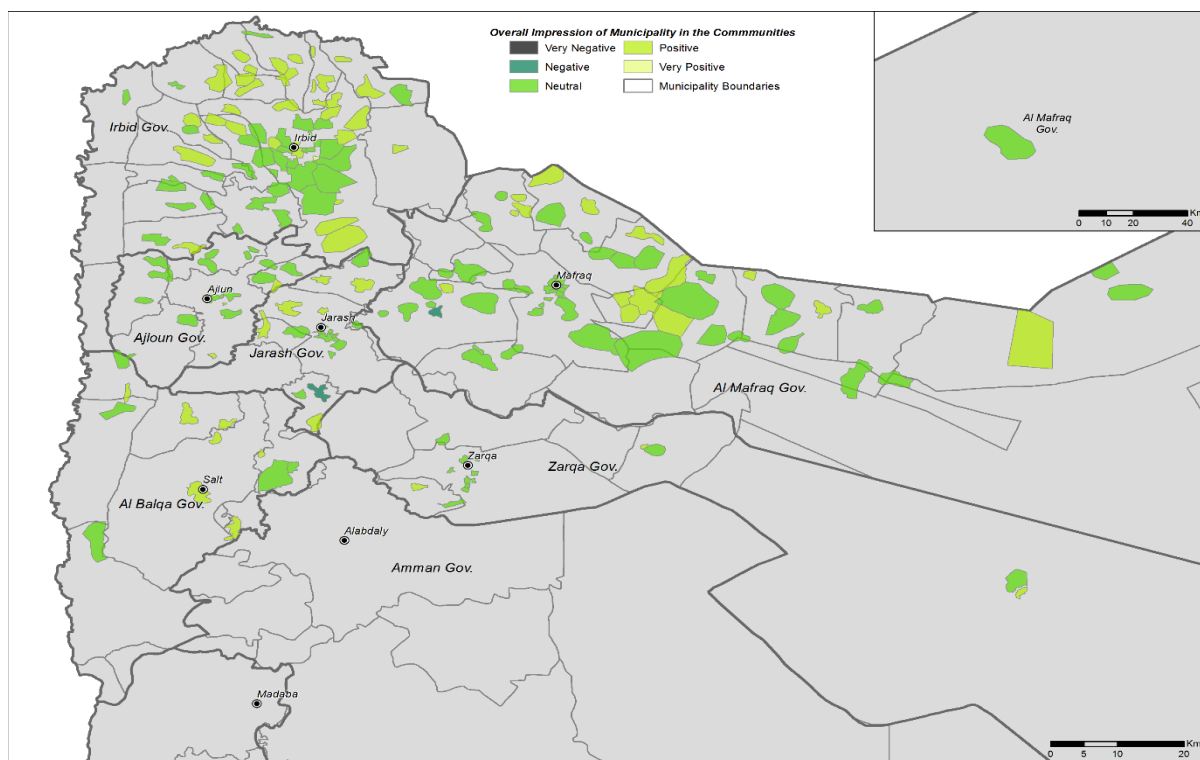
⁵² Khasawneh, M. [Director of Municipal Affairs in Ajloun], 'Ajloun Governorate Workshop Speech', (Ajloun, 2014).

⁵³ Kufrañeh Municipality Office, 'Letter No.28/2995', (Ajloun, 2013).

⁵⁴ Abo Zaid, Kh. [Governor of Irbid], 'Irbid Governorate Workshop Speech', (Irbid, 2014).

⁵⁵ Center for Strategic Studies, *Government Opinion Poll*, April 2013 in MOPIIC and UNDP – Host Community Support Platform, *Needs Assessment Review of the Impact of the Syrian Crisis on Jordan*, November 2013.

Figure 17: Map of Overall Impression of the Municipality in the Communities



It is also worth noting that Figure 19 focuses specifically on municipal services that are highly visible in the community. It is likely that people are more dissatisfied with these services since their ineffectiveness is evident and ubiquitous across the community. Furthermore, the lack of service delivery in these areas are seen as proxies for how municipal government functions in general. For example, in Karamah in Balqa governorate, focus group participants reported the accumulation of waste and dead animals in the streets as having resulted in unpleasant odours and the spread of diseases. The inability of municipalities to address the solid waste issue is thus perceived to be directly exacerbating other sectors, like health.

Challenges like these caused both Jordanian and Syrian focus group participants to call on municipalities to play a more active role in resolving issues, perceiving them as failing to fulfil their remit. **The failure of municipalities to keep streets clean represents a visible and tangible manifestation of inadequate public services.** How satisfied people are with municipal services is expected to be closely linked to perceptions of the municipality in general.

Figure 20 (below) suggests that not all those who are dissatisfied with municipal services have a negative impression of the municipality. For example, **49% of the sampled Jordanian population reported dissatisfaction over municipal services, but only 38% reported actually having negative impressions of the municipality.**

Figure 189: Average level of satisfaction with different municipal services (by nationality)

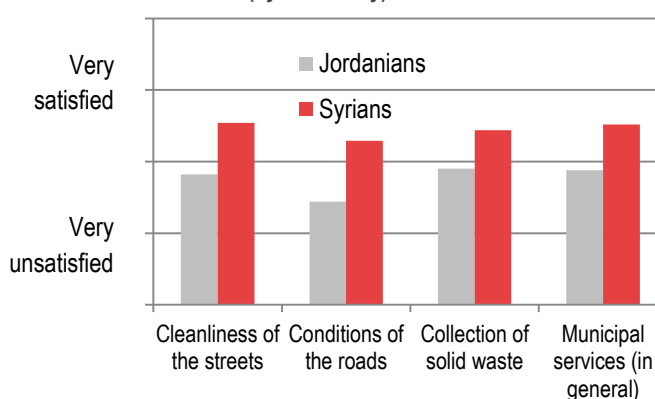
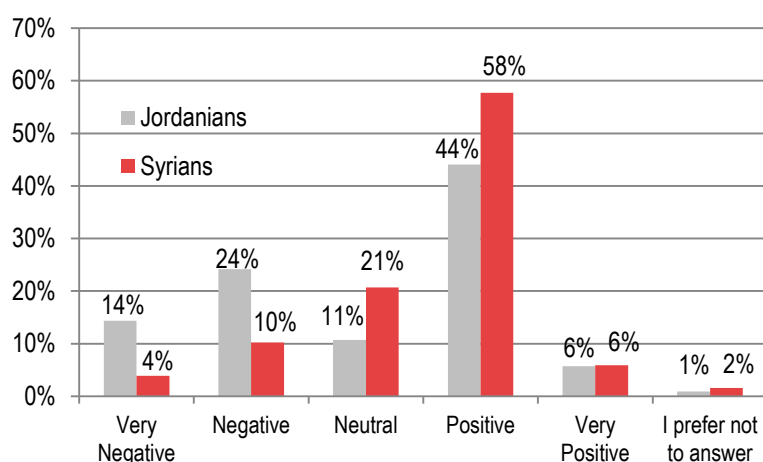


Figure 19: Impressions of Municipal Government (by nationality)



It can be seen resultantly that the distributions in Figure 17 and Figure 20 are quite similar, indicating that there may well be some overlap in satisfaction with municipal services and impressions of municipal government. Local officials and participants in the focus group discussions allude to a close linkage between levels of satisfaction and impressions.

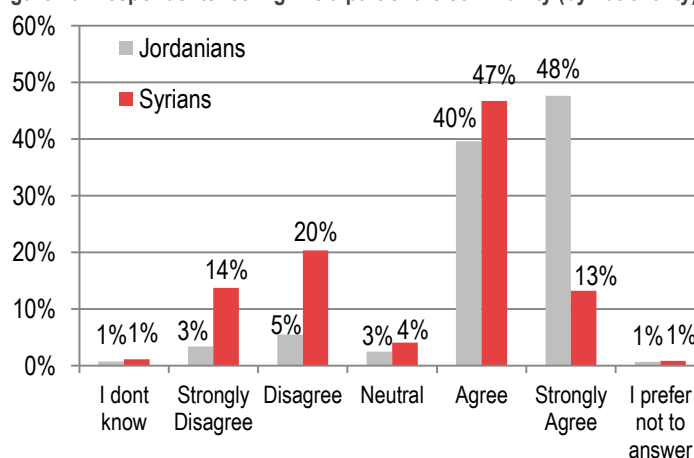
The challenges faced in the municipal services sector are significant. With the increasing pressure on public services, **satisfaction with service delivery has declined, particularly amongst the sampled Jordanian population.** Of increasing concern is what the HCSP identifies as the **growing gap between local administration and its citizens.**⁵⁶ The inability of municipalities to fulfil their mandate, especially in areas that are visible to the community (like solid waste management and maintenance and rehabilitation of roads) constitutes a major challenge as it leads to decreased confidence in local government. Amongst some Jordanians in particular, this lack of confidence seems to have translated into outright negative impressions of municipalities. Supporting the municipalities in addressing some of the most urgent community-wide challenges could go a long way in **restoring confidence and trust in municipalities, and supporting their role in absorbing the shock of the refugee crisis in a way that fosters social cohesion and resilience.**

SOCIAL COHESION

Although access to sector-specific services clearly do affect social dynamics, it is important to take a broader perspective to understanding social cohesion. Social cohesion is not simply a product of the access to services, but also includes elusive dynamics of community relations and individual perceptions. It is therefore imperative to understand **social cohesion as a cross-cutting issue**, whereby sector specific challenges certainly impact, but do not tell the whole story.

A good measure of social cohesion is the level to which community residents feel they belong to the community. Figure 21 suggests that Syrians feel they belong to their host communities in varying degrees. Approximately **60% of Syrian respondents feel they are a part of the community, whereas 34% feel they are not.** 52% of those who reported not feeling like a part of the community stated that they felt this way because of difficulties integrating.

Figure 20: Respondents feeling like a part of the community (by nationality)

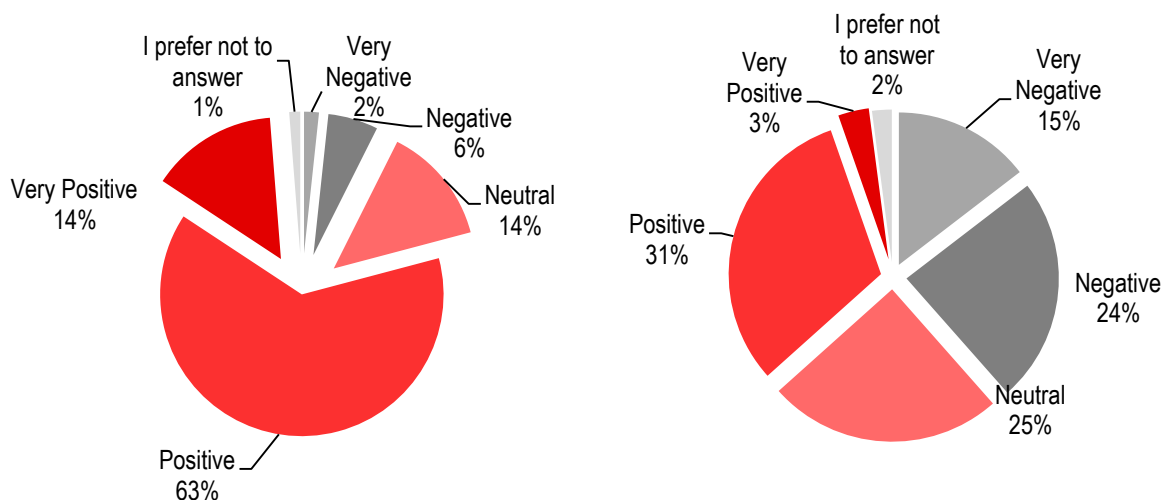


⁵⁶ MOPIC and UNDP – Host Community Support Platform, *Needs Assessment Review of the Impact of the Syrian Crisis on Jordan*, November 2013.

Citing difficulties integrating, as opposed to for example a desire to integrate, suggests there are obstacles on community level that divide communities. Unsurprisingly, almost all of the Jordanians feel that they are part of the community. The challenges to integration aside, many Syrians still have largely positive impressions of their Jordanian hosts. Figure 22 indicates that an **overwhelming majority (77%) of Syrian respondents have either a positive or very positive impression of Jordanians in their community.**

However, the same figure also illustrates that only 34% of Jordanians have a positive or very positive impression of Syrian refugees. **39% of the sampled Jordanian population report a generally negative impression of the refugee population** in their community. The focus group discussions indicate that many Jordanians attribute the decrease in community services and resources to the influx of Syrian refugees. This attribution instils more negative feelings towards the Syrian refugee population in general, hampering social cohesion. Improved relations and impressions of Syrian refugees are necessary in order for communities to come together and resolve issues in collaboration to bring about unity and convergence.

Figure 21: Syrian Perceptions of Jordanians (left) and Jordanian Perceptions of Syrians (right)



THE ROLE AND EFFECT OF INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

The challenges to social cohesion and resilience across the different sectors are many, requiring a multi-faceted and multi-sectoral response at the individual, household and community level. The mainstreaming of social cohesion as a cross-cutting theme in the NRP provides the necessary framework to strengthen social cohesion and resilience, but these themes need to be better integrated into the work by humanitarian and development actors in Jordan.

A staggering **67% of respondents who reported that the community was receiving international support also perceived that this support was not distributed evenly between Jordanians and Syrians.** 78% of the sampled Jordanian population and 58% of Syrian respondents held this view. This is not an issue in and of itself, but the perception that Syrians are receiving support because they are Syrians rather than vulnerable, risks entrenching social divides between Jordanians and Syrians.

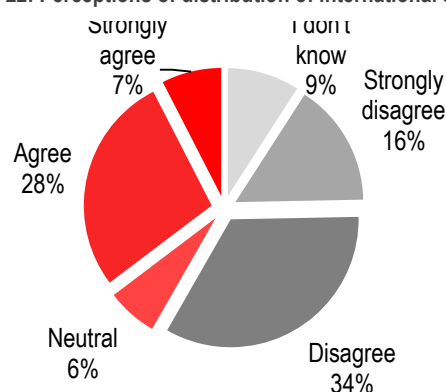
Figure 23 suggests that around **half the people in the community also do not perceive support as being distributed to those most in need**. This opinion is further fuelled by the perception that those that receive international support in the form of material items and vouchers simply sell this support because they do not need it. The reality is that the sale of these items serves as a necessary means for many individuals to pay rent and other necessary living costs.

Nevertheless, the widely held community perceptions that international support is not distributed to those most in need, and that it is unfairly distributed toward Syrians, is alarming from a social cohesion perspective. Fostering social cohesion and building community resilience in **communities that are divided by how international support is currently being distributed** emerges as a major challenge.

In order to address these challenges, support to Jordanian host communities needs to be undertaken in a vastly different way. Of respondents who stated their community receives support, 42% reported that this support had negative effects on the community. Whether it is true or not that international support is not targeting those most in need is difficult to say, but the **perception that the most vulnerable in the community are not receiving assistance challenges social cohesion and the Do No Harm principles of many organisations**.

It is also worthwhile noting that the perceptions are targeting mainly towards household level assistance, and does not reflect negatively on the community level support – such as schools, health facilities, and the like where all members are benefiting from. There is thus a **need for increased transparency about the criteria for distributing household target assistance, with greater emphasis on community support**, as well as improved accountability in line with the Humanitarian Accountability Principles. With an increased understanding among communities as to why certain households receive assistance and others do not, the negative attitudes and perceptions of the assistance provided are likely to subside.

Figure 22: Perceptions of distribution of international support



CONCLUSION

As Jordan faces a range of immediate challenges and endures a substantial amount of strain on its government, social services, economy and general resilience, an end to the Syrian crisis remains distant. The need for on-going support to the communities that host the refugees, as well as targeting the most vulnerable households remains at the top of the priorities for the Government of Jordan and the international community. The findings in this report highlight the need **to consider priorities as identified by the local administration and community, as well as to mainstream socially cohesive approaches to improve resilience in the longer term.**

Despite the fact that many sectors face daunting challenges in mitigating the impact of the population increase, several also provide ample opportunity to improve resilience. Most notably, schools can build convergence within communities through increasing understanding and collaboration between Jordanians and Syrians. Furthermore, supporting the role of municipalities in providing service delivery to communities can go a long way in building more resilient communities and local institutions. **As the ability of municipalities to fulfil their mandates increases, the confidence and trust of local populations is likely to grow, strengthening the social contract between local administration and citizens.**

Nevertheless, bringing about these changes in a context that has witnessed many vulnerable Jordanians and Syrians struggling to afford their rent and other basic living costs presents a real challenge. **With many households focused on how to address their most immediate needs, building social cohesion through long-term resilience-based approach will not be easily achieved.** This complexity highlights the dual nature of the context of northern Jordan. On the one hand, humanitarian assistance is needed to support vulnerable households in addressing their basic needs, but on the other hand a development approach is necessary to build on the capacity of communities to cope with these challenges in the medium to long term. The international community needs to support the Government of Jordan in both of these roles.

In so doing, the current assessment suggests that the international community needs to rethink how this support is undertaken. Although far from being comprehensive in scope, **the findings suggest that support is not perceived as being distributed to those most in need, and many of the communities covered by this assessment seem to fall outside the scope of international support.** In many of the communities that such support is present, it contributes to growing tensions. Thus, there is a need for greater transparency and accountability in the way international actors support Jordanian host communities and Syrian refugees. Many people do not understand the decision-making framework being employed, which is creating confusion and tension among host and refugee populations. **To ensure that a Do No Harm approach is integrated, improved communication and evidence-based prioritisation needs to be engendered within the humanitarian and development response.**

The elusive and cross-cutting nature of social cohesion and resilience means these challenges are affected by a range of dynamics on national government, local government, community and household level. The complex nature of addressing these challenges calls not only for a long-term approach, but also one that is led by local communities themselves. **An inclusive approach driven by national and local ownership will ensure that cohesive approaches and resilience is built from the ground up and that it is built in a sustainable manner.** The international community can support this through increased accountability and transparency, and an approach that increasingly sees the challenges faced by Jordanian and Syrian communities as interlinked. A holistic, area-based approach to supporting social cohesion and resilience building that integrates sustainable solutions into the humanitarian and development response will go a long way in helping the Government of Jordan and Jordanian communities in ensuring social stability throughout the on-going refugee crisis.

This report highlights the on-going need for supporting host communities, while recognising the need for improved approaches to ensure evidence-based decision making. This report builds on a wealth of data that REACH makes publicly available in the form of community profiles, maps, presentations and more.

ANNEX 1: KEY INFORMANT QUESTIONNAIRE

Syrian Refugees in Host Communities: Key Informant Questionnaire						
A	Preliminary information					
A.1	Name of Interviewer					
A.2	Governorate					
A.3	District					
A.4	Neighbourhood/BSU					
A.5	Location Type	City	Village			
A.6	Respondent information:					
	Name					
	Position					
	Age					
	Gender	M	F			
	Nationality					
B	Information on Displacement					
B.1	Approximately how many Syrian refugees are there currently in this community (BSU)?					
	Families					
	Additional individuals					
	Total refugees					
B.2	What % of the households in the community are Jordanian/Syrian					
		% of households in the community are Jordanian				
		% of households in the community are Syrian				
B.3	When did the majority of refugees arrive in this community (BSU)?					
	<1m	1-3m	4-6m	7-9m	10-12m	>12m
B.4	Is the number of refugees in BSU increasing or decreasing at the moment?					
	Significantly increasing		Increasing a little		Staying the same	
	Decreasing a little					
B.5	What percentage of refugees in this community (BSU) are registered with UNHCR?					
	0-10%	10-20%	20-30%	30-40%	40-50%	50-60%
	60-70%	70-80%	80-90%	90-100%		
	What percentage of refugees in this community (BSU) are in process to be registered with UNHCR?					
	0-10%	10-20%	20-30%	30-40%	40-50%	50-60%
	60-70%	70-80%	80-90%	90-100%		
B.6	Are there any unaccompanied minors in this community (BSU)?					
	Yes	No				
B.6.1	If yes, what percentage of the refugee population are minors?					
Current Context						
C	Shelter					
C.1	What are the main shelter arrangements for refugee families in this community?					
		Hosted by Jordanian family same accommodation %				
		Hosted by Jordanian family separate accommodation %				
		Hosted in temp accommodation facilities %				
		Own accommodation-no support %				
		Accommodation shared with other families %				

		Other (explain) %	
C.2	And what is the type of shelter for refugee families in this community?		
		Apartment/house %	
		Unfurnished/empty building %	
		Tent/temporary structure %	
		Public building %	
		Garage/basement/outdoor rooms %	
C.3	What are the challenges to refugees accessing shelter? (check all which apply)		
	Rent is too expensive		
	Lack of availability		
	Too small for family size		
	Lack of electricity and/or water in the accommodation		
	Poor location - distance from basic services		
	Physical structure of the shelter is in a bad condition/dangerous		
	Other reason (specify)		
D	Food		
D.1	What is the primary source of food for refugee households?		
		Food vouchers %	
		Purchased food by the refugee household %	
		Family and friends providing food to the household %	
		NGO or UN agency providing food to this household %	
		Other (specify) %	
D.2	Are refugees able to access adequate food in this community?		
	Yes	No	
D.2.1	If no, why not?		
	Food in shops/market is too expensive		Lack of cash
	Shops/market too far away		Security problems on the route to shops/market
	Community not included in food voucher or food distribution		
	Other (specify)		
D.3	How does the number of refugees who can access adequate food compare from six months ago to now?		
	Significantly increased	A little increased	Stayed the same
	A little decrease	Significantly decreased	
E	Education		
E.1	What types of schools exist in, or within walking distance of this BSU (tick all which apply)?		
	Primary	Secondary	Vocational college
E.2	What percentage of refugee children aged 5-11 in this community attend primary school? %		
E.3	What percentage of refugee children aged 12-16 in this community attend secondary school? %		
E.4	What are the challenges for children attending primary school in this community (tick all which apply)?		
	No known service available	Different curriculum to Syrian	Lack of supplies
	Lack of teaching staff	Lack of available places	Too expensive
	Security concerns	Distance	Children not registered with UNHCR
	Other (specify)		
E.5	What are the challenges for children attending secondary school in this community?		
	No known service available	Different curriculum to Syrian	Lack of supplies

	Lack of teaching staff	Too expensive	Security concerns			
	Distance	School does not allow refugee children to attend				
	They do not attend school because they are working		Other (specify)			
F	Water					
F.1	Where do refugees in this community get water for drinking and bathing/washing (all other uses also)					
	Public water network piped into household %					
	Purchased water in shop %					
	Purchased from a private water tanker %					
	Other (specify) %					
F.1.1	If there is a secondary source of water which people rely on, what is this?					
	Private well ore borehole %					
	Purchased water in shop %					
	Purchased from a private water tanker %					
F.2	If water is piped into households through public network, how many days per week is the water piped into households?					
	1day	2days	3days	4days	5days	6days
	7days	Less than once per week per ever 2 weeks				
F2.2	And how many hours per day?					
	1-4 hours	5-10 hours	11-14 hours			
	15-20 hours	21-24 hours				
F.3	If water is delivered by truck in this community, on average how many days per week is it delivered?					
	<1 day per week		1-2 days per week			
	3-7 days per week					
F.4	Overall how has the access to water for refugees in this community changed when compared to six months ago?					
	Significantly better	A little better	Stayed the same			
	A little worse	Significantly worse				
G	Sanitation					
G.1	What percentage of refugee households use:					
	Private latrines linked to sewage system %					
	Private latrines linked to septic system/cess pit %					
	Outside latrine (for family) %					
	Outside latrine in public area %					
	No latrine %					
	Other (specify) %					
G.2	What are the main challenges to refugees accessing latrines (check all which apply):					
	Distance	Safety	Lack of separate latrines for females			
	Lack of separate latrines for children		Latrines are frequently locked and hard to access key			
	Other (specify)					
G.3	How has the number of refugees with access to latrines they can use changed?					
	Number has significantly increased		Number has increased a little			
	Number has stayed the same		Number has decreased a little			
	Number has significantly decreased					

H	Sewage Management		
H.1	How do refugee households manage the disposal of sewage?		
		Public sewerage networks %	
		Dispose of it on the streets %	
		Private tank and desludging %	
		Other (specify) %	
H.2	What are the challenges to refugee households who rely on desludging (tick all that apply)?		
	No service in community	Service exists but refugees not included	
	Service exists but refugees have to pay for it		
	Desludging not frequent enough		Other (specify)
H.3	How does the number of refugees who need or rely on desludging services compare from six months ago to now?		
	Number has significantly increased		Number has increased a little
	Number has stayed the same		Number has decreased a little
	Number has significantly decreased		
I	Garbage Removal		
I.1	How do households dispose of their garbage?		
		Municipal collection system %	
		Drop anywhere outside %	
		Other (specify) %	
I.2	What are the challenges to refugee households regarding disposing of garbage (tick all that apply)		
	No service in community	Service exists but refugees not included	
	Service exists but refugees have to pay for it		
	Service exists but not frequent enough		Other (specify)
I.3	How does the cleanliness of the community compare from six months ago to now?		
	Significantly better	A little better	Stayed the same
	A little worse	Significantly worse	
J	Electricity for Household Use		
J.1	What are the sources of electricity that refugees use in this community?		
		Public network %	
		Private supply (e.g. generator) %	
		Other (specify) %	
J.2	What are the challenges to refugees accessing electricity (check all which apply)		
	Too expensive	Only available some of the time	Other (specify)
	If not available some of the time how many hours a day is it available?		
	1-4 hours	5-10 hours	11-14 hours
	15-20 hours	21-24 hours	
J.3	What do people use as backup electricity if no public supply?		
		Generator %	
		Solar %	
		Other (specify) %	
J.4	How does the price of electricity supply for refugees compare from six months ago to now?		
	Significantly worse	A little worse	Stayed the same
	A little more expensive	Significantly more expensive	

K	Health		
K.1	What healthcare facilities can refugees access in this community?		
		Primary health clinic (national) %	
		Hospital (national) %	
		Primary health clinic run by NGO or UN %	
		Hospital run by NGO or UN %	
		UAE hospital %	
		Jordanian military/civil defence hospital %	
		International military field hospital/emergency care %	
K.3	Are refugees able to access adequate healthcare in this community?		
	Yes	No	
K.3.1	If no, why not?		
	Too expensive	Too far away	Lack of medical staff
	Lack of medical supplies		Not suitable for women
	Not have UNHCR file		Security problems
	Lack of vaccination services for children		Other (specify)
K.4	How does the number of refugees who can access adequate health care compare six months ago to now?		
	Significantly better	A little better	Stayed the same
	A little worse	Significantly worse	
L	Livelihoods		
L.1	What are the income generating activities for Syrian households in this community?		
		Business, commercial, trade %	
		Agriculture %	
		Construction %	
		Other daily labour %	
		Head of household unemployed %	
		Other (specify) %	
L.2	Who is the primary earner in each household?		
	Male under 18 years old		Female under 18 years old
	Male over 18 years old		Female over 18 years old
L.3	What are the challenges faced by Syrian households to accessing livelihood activities (tick all which apply)?		
	Not enough jobs	Low salary	Other (specify)
	Difficult to get a work permit/experience not accepted in Jordan		
	Need to take care of children in household		
M	Monthly Household Costs		
M.1	What are the average monthly costs of Syrian households? JOD		
		Shelter	
		Food	
		Water	
		Health	
		Education	
		Clothing	
		Items for personal hygiene (for example, soap, toothpaste, shampoo, nappies, kitchen items)	

N	Ranking of Needs		
N.1	What are the 3 most immediate needs of refugees in this community?		
N.1.1	Priority 1		
	Water	Shelter	Cash for rent
	Food assistance	Health assistance	Education
	Cash for work/job	Sanitation	Household items
	Winter items	Other	
N.1.2	Priority 2		
	Water	Shelter	Cash for rent
	Food assistance	Health assistance	Education
	Cash for work/job	Sanitation	Household items
	Winter items	Other	
N.1.3	Priority 3		
	Water	Shelter	Cash for rent
	Food assistance	Health assistance	Education
	Cash for work/job	Sanitation	Household items
	Winter items	Other	
N.2	Are there any tensions between refugees and the host community?		
	Yes	No	I don't know
N.3	If yes, what does the reason for tension relate to (tick all which apply)?		
	Water	Shelter	Cash for rent
	Food assistance	Health assistance	Education
	Cash for work/job	Sanitation	Household items
	Winter items	Other	
N.4	If yes, how much has the level of tension changed in the last 6 months?		
	Level of tension has decreased significantly		Level of tension has decreased a little
	Level of tension has stayed the same		There is a little more tension
	There is significantly more tension		
N.5	Do you know Syrians in your community that could provide insight into these questions?		
	Yes	No	
N.5.1	If yes, can you provide their name and telephone number? This information will be kept confidentially by ACTED.		

ANNEX 2: MICRO LEVEL ASSESSMENT TOOL (FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION)

1	CORE QUESTIONS
	<p>What are the main challenges facing this community?</p> <p>How is your community coping with these challenges?</p> <p>For how long do you think your community could continue coping with these challenges?</p> <p>What would you do if the situation deteriorated?</p> <p>Are there any safety concerns in this community? If so, what are they?</p> <p>What do you think could be done to improve the safety in your community?</p> <p>How are disputes most commonly resolved in the community? (e.g. by involving police, neighbours, community leaders, tribal leaders etc.)</p> <p>What are the three main sources of tension in your community? (by priority: 1, 2, 3)</p> <p>In your opinion, what do you expect will happen to these sources of tension in the future? And why? (i.e. get worse, get better, stay the same, disappear etc)</p> <p>In your opinion, what is the best way to address these three tensions?</p>
2	ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS
	<p>Are there any public buildings in your community that are in need of service?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do they have issues with access to water? - Do they have issues with sanitation? - Do they have any infrastructure needs? (like leaking sealing, broken pipes etc)

ANNEX 3: MICRO LEVEL ASSESSMENT TOOL (INDIVIDUAL ASSESSMENT)

Micro Level Assessment Questionnaire				
Location of the Community				
Governorate			Neighbourhood	
District			GPS coordinates	
Focus Group				
Jordanian:	Men	Women	Young Men	Young Women
Syrian:	Men	Women	Young Men	Young Women
Date and Name of the Enumerator				
Date of the Assessment:				
Enumerator Leading/Recording the Answers:				
1	Demographics			
1.1	Please state your gender:	a. Male	b. Female	
1.2	Please state your age			
1.3	Are you currently working/in school?	Yes	No	
1.4	How long have you been living in this community?			
	a. Less than 1 Month	b. Between 1 and 6 months		
	c. Between 6 and 12 months	d. Between 1 and 2 years	e. Longer than 2 years	
2	Population			
2.1	If Syrian, where in Syria are you from?			
2.2	What has been the change in the number of people living in this community compared to 12 months ago? (if c, d or e, please skip to Q2.3)			
	a. Significant increase	b. Slight increase	c. No change	
	d. Slight decrease	e. Significant decrease		
2.2.1	If increased, who came?			
	a. Mostly men	b. Mostly women	c. Mostly children	
	d. Equal number of men, women and children		e. I don't know	
2.2.2	Where did most of these people come from?			
	a. Directly from Syria	b. From Za'atari camp	c. From another camp in Jordan	
	d. From another Jordanian city or town		e. I don't know	
2.2.3	Why do you think these people came to the community?			
	a. Jobs	b. Education	c. Available housing	
	d. Security	e. Health	f. People knew family/friends here	
	g. Access to natural resources (land for agriculture/farming)		h. Other (please explain)	
2.3	What changes do you think there will be to the population of your community over the next 12 to 24 months?			
	(if c, d, or e please skip to next section)			
	a. It will increase significantly	b. It will increase slightly	c. It will stay the same	
	d. It will decrease slightly	e. It will decrease significantly		
2.3.1	If increasing, who do you think will come?			
	a. Mostly men	b. Mostly women	c. Mostly children	
	d. Equal number of men, women and children		e. I don't know	
3	Access to Water			
3.1	There is adequate access to reliable and clean water in your community:			

	a. Strongly Agree	b. Agree	c. Neutral
	d. Disagree	e. Strongly Disagree	f. I don't know
3.2	Access to water causes tension in your community:		
	a. Strongly Agree	b. Agree	c. Neutral
	d. Disagree	e. Strongly Disagree	f. I don't know
	g. I prefer not to answer		
3.2.1	Describe the reason:		
	a. Uneven access to water between Syrians and Jordanians	b. Water services are poorly managed	
	c. Water is unreliable	d. There is a shortage of water	e. Water is too expensive
	f. Security issues getting water	g. Water is undrinkable	h. Other (Please explain)
3.3	How urgent would you rate the challenges to water in your community?		
	a. Extremely Urgent	b. Very Urgent	c. Urgent
	e. Less important		d. Prioritised
	f. Not important at all		
3.4	I believe the access to water will improve in the near future (if a, b, c, or f, please skip to next section)		
	a. Strongly Agree	b. Agree	c. Neutral
	d. Disagree	e. Strongly Disagree	f. I don't know
3.4.1	If no, why?		
	a. More people moving into the community	b. Access to water has been getting worse	
	c. Lack of investment in the community		
4	Education		
4.1	There is adequate access to educational services in your community:		
	a. Strongly Agree	b. Agree	c. Neutral
	d. Disagree	e. Strongly Disagree	f. I don't know
4.2	Is the school day split between Jordanian and Syrian children in your community?		
	Yes	No	
4.3	Access to educational services causes tension in your community: (if c, d, e, f, or g please skip to Q4.4)		
	a. Strongly Agree	b. Agree	c. Neutral
	d. Disagree	e. Strongly Disagree	f. I don't know
	g. I prefer not to answer		
4.3.1	Describe the reason:		
	a. Uneven access to services between Syrians and Jordanians	b. Educational services are poorly managed	
	c. Security issues at educational institutions	d. Combined classes	
	e. Disagreement over the curricula	f. Schools are overcrowded	
	g. Other (please explain)		
4.4	How urgent would you rate the challenges to education in your community?		
	a. Extremely Urgent	b. Very Urgent	c. Urgent
	e. Less important		d. Prioritised
	f. Not important at all		
4.5	I believe the education services will improve in the near future: (if a, b, c, or f, please skip to 5.1)		
	a. Strongly Agree	b. Agree	c. Neutral
	d. Disagree	e. Strongly Disagree	f. I don't know
4.5.1	If no, why?		
	a. More people moving to community	b. Lack of funding	c. Lack of qualified teachers
	d. Other (please explain)		

5	Livelihoods			
5.1	There are sufficient opportunities in your community to make a living: (if a, b, c, or f, please skip to 5.2)			
	a. Strongly Agree	b. Agree	c. Neutral	
	d. Disagree	e. Strongly Disagree	f. I don't know	
5.2	Access to gainful employment causes tension in your community: (if c, d, e, or f, please skip to 5.3)			
	a. Strongly Agree	b. Agree	c. Neutral	
	d. Disagree	e. Strongly Disagree	f. I don't know	
	g. I prefer not to answer			
5.2.1	If yes, describe the reason:			
	a. Uneven access to employment between Syrians/Jordanians		b. Jobs do not pay enough	
	c. Security issues at work		d. Discrimination in the work place	
	e. Lack of documentation		f. Other (please explain)	
5.3	How urgent would you rate the challenges to livelihoods in your community?			
	a. Extremely Urgent	b. Very Urgent	c. Urgent	d. Prioritised
	e. Less important		f. Not important at all	
5.4	I believe the prospect of livelihoods will improve in the near future: (if a, b, c, or f, please skip to the next section)			
	a. Strongly Agree	b. Agree	c. Neutral	
	d. Disagree	e. Strongly Disagree	f. I don't know	
5.4.1	If no, why?			
	a. More people moving to community		b. Recently worsening situation	
	c. Lack of investment in the community		d. Other (please explain)	
6	Shelter			
6.1	There is adequate shelter in your community:			
	a. Strongly Agree	b. Agree	c. Neutral	
	d. Disagree	e. Strongly Disagree	f. I don't know	
6.2	Access to shelter causes tension in your community: (if c, d, e, f, or g, skip to 6.3)			
	a. Strongly Agree	b. Agree	c. Neutral	
	d. Disagree	e. Strongly Disagree	f. I don't know	
	g. I prefer not to answer			
6.2.1	If yes, describe the reason:			
	a. Not enough houses/apartments	b. Too expensive	c. Houses are unliveable (e.g. falling apart, major leaks etc)	
	d. Houses/apartments are overcrowded		e. Discriminatory practices in obtaining a house/apartment	
	f. Overcrowding	g. No space to put tent	h. Other (please explain)	
6.3	How urgent would you rate the challenges to shelter in your community?			
	a. Extremely Urgent	b. Very Urgent	c. Urgent	d. Prioritised
	e. Less important		f. Not important at all	
6.4	I believe the shelter situation will improve in the near future: (if a, b, c, or f, please skip to net section)			
	a. Strongly Agree	b. Agree	c. Neutral	
	d. Disagree	e. Strongly Disagree	f. I don't know	
6.4.1	If no, why?			
	a. More people moving to community		b. Recently worsening situation	
	c. Lack of investment in the community		d. Other (please explain)	

7	Security
7.1	Where are you most likely to feel unsafe?
	a. In the streets b. In the home c. At the market/In the store
	d. In school/work e. At the mosque f. Nowhere (I feel safe everywhere)
	g. Other (please explain)
7.2	Why are you most likely to feel unsafe?
	a. Not enough police b. Youth roaming around c. Feel discriminated against
	d. Feel threatened e. Other (please explain)
7.3	Who is most likely to make you feel unsafe?
	a. Youth b. Jordanians c. Syrians
	d. Authorities e. Neighbours f. Other (please explain)
8	Health
8.1	There is adequate access to healthcare services in this community:
	a. Strongly Agree b. Agree c. Neutral
	d. Disagree e. Strongly Disagree f. I don't know
8.2	Access to healthcare services (or lack thereof) causes tension in your community: (if c, d, e, f, or g, please skip to 8.3)
	a. Strongly Agree b. Agree c. Neutral
	d. Disagree e. Strongly Disagree f. I don't know
	g. I prefer not to answer
8.2.1	If yes, describe the reason:
	a. Uneven access to services between Syrians and Jordanians b. Healthcare services are overcrowded
	c. Healthcare is too expensive d. Not suitable for women
	e. Too far away f. Lack of valid paperwork to access services
	g. Security issues at healthcare facilities h. Other (please explain)
8.3	How urgent would you rate the challenges to health in your community?
	a. Extremely Urgent b. Very Urgent c. Urgent d. Prioritised
	e. Less important f. Not important at all
8.4	I believe the healthcare situation will improve in the near future: (if a, b, c, or f, skip to next section)
	a. Strongly Agree b. Agree c. Neutral
	d. Disagree e. Strongly Disagree f. I don't know
8.4.1	If no, why?
	a. More people moving to community b. Recently worsening situation
	c. Lack of investment in the community d. Other (please explain)
9	Culture, Traditions & Identity
9.1	I feel like a part of this community: (if a, b, c, f, or g, please skip to 9.2)
	a. Strongly Agree b. Agree c. Neutral
	d. Disagree e. Strongly Disagree f. I don't know
	g. I prefer not to answer
9.1.1	If no, why?
	a. Difficult to integrate b. Don't want to integrate
	c. Community/culture is too different from me d. Other (please explain)
9.2	Jordanians and Syrians have similar cultures: (if a or b, please proceed to 9.2.1; if c or d, please skip to 9.2.2)
	a. Strongly Agree b. Agree c. Neutral
	d. Disagree e. Strongly Disagree f. I don't know

	g. I prefer not to answer		
9.2.1	If yes, what is the main similarity?		
	a. Language	b. Religion	c. Clothing
	d. Values	e. Socio-economic	f. Political
	g. Other (please explain)		
9.2.2	If no, what is the main difference?		
	a. Language	b. Religion	c. Clothing
	d. Values	e. Socio-economic	f. Political
	g. Other (please explain)		
9.3	What is most important to you?		
	a. Nationality	b. Tribal allegiance	c. Religion
	d. Geographic connection (regional or local)	e. Family	f. Other (please explain)
10	Aid Appropriation		
10.1	Has this community received external support/aid? (if no, skip to next section)		
	Yes	No	
10.1.1	This support has been evenly distributed between Jordanians and Syrians:		
	a. Strongly Agree	b. Agree	c. Neutral
	d. Disagree	e. Strongly Disagree	f. I don't know
10.1.2	Has aid been distributed to those most in need:		
	a. Strongly Agree	b. Agree	c. Neutral
	d. Disagree	e. Strongly Disagree	f. I don't know
10.1.3	This support has helped the community:		
	a. Strongly Agree	b. Agree	c. Neutral
	d. Disagree	e. Strongly Disagree	f. I don't know
10.1.4	Has the support had any negative effects on the community? (if no, please skip to the next section)		
	Yes	No	
10.1.4.1	If yes, how has the community been affected?		
	a. Things are more expensive	b. There is more tension	
	c. More people moved into the community	d. Other (please explain)	
11	Community Relations		
11.1	What is your overall impression of the following in your community:		
11.1.1	Jordanians		
	a. Very Positive	b. Positive	c. Neutral
	d. Negative	e. Very Negative	f. I prefer not to answer
11.1.2	Syrians		
	a. Very Positive	b. Positive	c. Neutral
	d. Negative	e. Very Negative	f. I prefer not to answer
11.1.3	Police		
	a. Very Positive	b. Positive	c. Neutral
	d. Negative	e. Very Negative	f. I prefer not to answer
11.1.4	Neighbours		
	a. Very Positive	b. Positive	c. Neutral
	d. Negative	e. Very Negative	f. I prefer not to answer
11.1.5	Youth		

	a. Very Positive	b. Positive	c. Neutral
	d. Negative	e. Very Negative	f. I prefer not to answer
11.1.6	Municipal Government		
	a. Very Positive	b. Positive	c. Neutral
	d. Negative	e. Very Negative	f. I prefer not to answer
11.1.7	District Government		
	a. Very Positive	b. Positive	c. Neutral
	d. Negative	e. Very Negative	f. I prefer not to answer
12	Additional Questions		
12.1	Is there a system for collection of household waste in your community? (if no, skip to 12.2)		
	Yes	No	
12.1.1	Does this include your household? (if no, please skip to 12.2)		
	Yes	No	
12.1.2	If covered by services, how satisfied are you with waste collection in your community?		
	a. Very Satisfied	b. Satisfied	c. Neutral
	d. Unsatisfied		e. Very Unsatisfied
12.2	How satisfied are you with the cleanliness of the streets in your community?		
	a. Very Satisfied	b. Satisfied	c. Neutral
	d. Unsatisfied		e. Very Unsatisfied
12.3	How satisfied are you with the municipal services in this community?		
	a. Very Satisfied	b. Satisfied	c. Neutral
	d. Unsatisfied		e. Very Unsatisfied
12.4	How satisfied are you with the collection of solid waste in this community?		
	a. Very Satisfied	b. Satisfied	c. Neutral
	d. Unsatisfied		e. Very Unsatisfied
12.5	How satisfied are you with the water management in this community?		
	a. Very Satisfied	b. Satisfied	c. Neutral
	d. Unsatisfied		e. Very Unsatisfied
12.6	How satisfied are you with the employment opportunities in this community?		
	a. Very Satisfied	b. Satisfied	c. Neutral
	d. Unsatisfied		e. Very Unsatisfied
12.7	How satisfied are you with the conditions of the roads in this community?		
	a. Very Satisfied	b. Satisfied	c. Neutral
	d. Unsatisfied		e. Very Unsatisfied