



2018

Study on Identifying Cash for Work Opportunities for Women in Za'atari Refugee Camp



SUSTAINABLE RESEARCH & DEVELOPMENT

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Disclaimer

The study has been commissioned by Oxfam Jordan. The views expressed herein are those of the consultants and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of Oxfam or the other international partners interviewed.

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All photos in this report were taken by SRD during the field visit in Za'atari Camp, October 2018. All photos were taken with the consent of Oxfam at the recycling centres.

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Acronyms

BNLWG	Basic Needs and Livelihoods Working Group
CFW	Cash for Work
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
GBV	Gender Based Violence
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
SRAD	Syrian Refugee Affairs Directorate
SRD	Sustainable Research and Development Centre
SWM	Solid Waste Management
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees

Map 1. Map of Jordan and location of Za'atari Camp



1. The Study

1.1 Purpose and Structure

The purpose of the study is to identify opportunities for women to engage in Oxfam's CFW across Za'atari Camp.

The specific objectives of the research were to:

- Review existing Oxfam CFW posts that can be targeted for women;
- Identify key barriers (physical and non-physical) to women's participation in CFW as well as key strengths for women engaging in CFW activities implemented by Oxfam;
- Propose possible interventions to overcome existing barriers and build upon possible strengths; and
- Propose new semi-skilled and skilled CFW activities which can engage women in Za'atari Camp, with a specific section exploring the potential of activities linked to Oxfam's recycling operations.

This report focuses on Syrian women refugees in Za'atari Camp and aims to add further insights into women's livelihoods, evolving socio-cultural dynamics, and mechanisms of inclusion in CFW activities. Building on previous studies conducted by Oxfam and other INGOs, the research specifically explores how emerging social trends and local relations affect women's participation in CFW activities (in particular SWM and recycling), and how this is further influenced by other aspects of women's lives (e.g. access to child care). In conclusion, the report suggests action points to tackle the identified obstacles.

The report is structured as follows. This section lays out the scope of research and methodology used. Section 2 sets the context of the Za'atari Camp and Oxfam's CFW activities. Section 3 presents the findings looking at the key barriers to women's participation in CFW. Section 4 makes recommendations in particular with regard to Oxfam's SWM and recycling projects.

1.2 Methodology and Limitations

The study was conducted during September – October 2018 and drew on desk research as well as qualitative field research in Za'atari Camp (Districts 6, 7, 8, 11).

Fifteen semi-structured focus group discussions were organized between October 7-19, 2018 with 88 respondents (33 women and 55 men). The research team developed interview protocols including a list of questions and additional probing questions to ensure that all aspects pertinent to this study were covered. All FGD protocols are attached as Appendix 1.

All sessions were conducted at Oxfam camp base and each session lasted for approximately one hour and half. All participants were mobilized by Oxfam Community Mobilizers in the camp, who also provided the research team with a schedule and participants' characteristics. Additionally, interviews with Key Informants including Oxfam, NRC, LWF staff were conducted².

Overall the study was conducted as planned and no major incidents occurred. However, the research team would like to note the following limitations:

- **Logistical aspects:** due to difficulties related to obtaining camp access permits, three focus group discussions could not be held (18 FGDs were planned in total, 15 FGDs were held). Given the time constraints, the FGDs could not be rescheduled. However, the research team considered that the sample that was interviewed (88 people) was representative enough to draw conclusions. Triangulation of information showed that answers given did not vary much between groups (both male and female) so there was no need to hold extra meetings.
- **The nature of the study:** this is a qualitative study, which has a deliberately exploratory nature. The research team did not conduct surveys and the numerical / quantitative data in this research come mostly from secondary sources. The research team considered that even though the number of respondents that could have potentially been reached through door-to-door surveys might have been higher than the number of participants in FGDs, the possibility to discuss aspects in more detail and have a direct communication with Za'atari camp inhabitants was chosen as the preferred way of collecting data. Our focus was on going into deeper analysis of the underlying reasons for the identified obstacles rather than collecting a list of pre-defined options / answers. The research team considered that the FGD approach generated a richer picture of women's evolving norms and economic lives, and different challenges faced, even though only collective / group estimates were gathered on women's participation and remuneration, and this data remain less precise in terms of the more quantitative dimensions of women's involvement in CFW.

1.3 Sample Demographics

The sample included Syrian women and men living in Za'atari camp of various age groups (from adolescents to the elderly, the youngest participants were in their early 20's and the oldest in their mid-80's). Separate FGDs were held for men and women, who were grouped into two age categories (below age 30 and age 30 and older), and according to their CFW status (those who never participated and those who were involved in CFW).

² Please refer to Appendix II for the list of FGDs held at Za'atari camp.

Marital status: 85% of the respondents reported being married with three to six children (this number includes divorced /separated persons, and widows). 96% of males involved in this assessment defined themselves as responsible for a household with an average of six family members. 15% of female respondents were single women, with no other family members.

Education: Most of respondents can read and write in Arabic but not in English, the level of education did not vary substantially between men and women in the sample (secondary school). Most men had been involved in agricultural / farming work prior to coming to the camp and all women did not work / had household duties.

2. The Context

2.1 Za’atari Camp

Jordan has been a stronghold of political and economic stability in a region troubled by violence and unrest. The country has become accustomed to waves of migrants over the past sixty years. However, the recent influx of Syrian refugees has strained local dynamics, overwhelmed public services and state financial resources, and sparked social tensions in host communities. The public perception that jobs are being taken by refugees has prompted the Jordanian government to curb refugee engagement in formal and informal employment.

Since the start of the Syrian uprisings in 2011, millions of Syrians have fled their country, and a large proportion of them sought refuge in Jordan. UNHCR estimates that there are some 655,000 registered Syrian refugees in Jordan³. However, the actual number of Syrians in Jordan is higher, as some are unregistered. The biggest influx of Syrians took place in 2012 and 2013. Approximately 80% of Syrian refugees in Jordan live outside camps in host communities in urban areas in the north of Jordan; the remaining 20% live in the Za’atari, Marjeb al-Fahood, Cyber City and Al-Azraq camps⁴.

Za’atari is the largest refugee camp in Jordan, located 10 km east of Mafraq (just 25 km away from the border with Syria). The camp was opened in July 2012 to host Syrians fleeing the violence that erupted in 2011. It has gradually evolved into a permanent settlement hosting approximately 80,000 refugees. One out of five households is headed by women. The camp features market-like structures along the main street where goods like vegetables, basic household equipment and clothes can be purchased⁵.

³ <http://www.unhcr.org/syria-emergency.html>

⁴ UNHCR Jordan Factsheet (January 2017) <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/53294>

⁵ UNHCR Jordan Za’atari Camp Factsheet September 2018 <https://data2.unhcr.org/fr/documents/details/65998>

The camp is almost completely funded and operated by INGOs and UN Agencies. The majority of the refugees in the Camp are from rural Dara'a, and had arrived in late 2012 or early 2013. In terms of accommodation, most refugees had moved out of initially supplied tents (some 24,000 caravans have been installed), and lived in purchased caravans in the camp (15m²). Families receive monthly UNHCR vouchers, which can be redeemed in the camp mall (with goods often exchanged for cash in the street market).

The existing political and economic enabling factors for business development in Za'atari Camp are constantly changing and challenging. Without free mobility of goods and access to finance and markets, camp-based refugees will not be likely to achieve economic independence to secure their livelihoods. In addition to this, alternative opportunities for women to engage in livelihoods or short-term resilience programming in Za'atari camp remain restricted; participation in accessing newly available work permits where female participation is very low (not passing 28% according to the latest BNLWG figures). There do exist limited opportunities to engage women into work permit activity, and income generation activities, but these remain highly restricted and exclude the majority of women from being able to engage in income earning activities, particularly for semi-skilled opportunities⁶.

⁶ Oxfam Study « INCOME GENERATION ACTIVITIES FOR WOMEN IN ZAATARI CAMP », October 2017

Map 1. Za'atari Camp⁷



⁷ Source : [UNHCR](http://UNHCR.org)

2.2 Employment and Cash for Work (CFW)

Since the beginning of the Syrian crisis, Jordan's policies towards Syrian refugees have changed. While the Jordanian government has been fairly welcoming of Syrian investors (and Syrian-owned businesses that bring capital and jobs to Jordan), until 2016 Syrian refugee status did not include the right to work. Employment of Syrians is restricted to positions where they do not compete with Jordanians and, even in the most 'open' sectors like construction, sector-specific quotas for foreign workers apply. Syrians, as non-Jordanians, are obliged to apply for a 1-year renewable work permit. The fees for obtaining a permit (ranging from JOD 170 to JOD 370, depending on the economic sector, equivalent to around 1-2 monthly minimum wages) should be borne by the employer but often end up being paid by the worker, due to the abundance in labour supply and strong competitive pressures among migrant workers⁸.

In the Labour Law, Article 12, non-Jordanians may only be employed when they can show qualifications that are unavailable in the local workforce, and when there is a lack of supply to meet demand. Work permits are only available for registered businesses, and thus employers in the informal sector are unable to pursue work permits for non-Jordanian staff.

In February 2016, during the London Donor Conference, Jordan took an unprecedented step among refugee hosting countries, and pledged to provide formal employment opportunities to Syrian refugees. In this context, the Ministry of Labour waived fees and some documentation requirements to ease access for Syrian refugees to formal employment opportunities in professions open to non-Jordanian workers. Following the developments at the national level, in February 2017 the Ministry of Labour announced that Syrian refugees living in camps could obtain permits to work anywhere in the country. The Za'atari Employment Office was established in August 2017 to operationalise this decision, which positively impacts the mobility and the possibility to access jobs of refugees in camps. Run jointly by the International Labour Organization and UNHCR, the employment office offers job matching services for camp residents, information on training opportunities, and counselling – and most of all allows refugees to register work permits and leave the camp for up to one month at the time⁹.

Since the establishment of Za'atari Camp in July 2012, CFW has traditionally been the main form of livelihoods engagement for refugees in Za'atari Camp. The number of refugees between 18 and 59 years registered as residents in the camp is 30,704 individuals, 14,847 of them are males and 15,857 of them females¹⁰. As of May 2018, 5,074 individuals (almost 16%

⁸ [ODI Policy Brief \(February 2017\)](#)

⁹ ILO (2017) https://www.ilo.org/beirut/media-centre/news/WCMS_570884/lang-en/index.htm

¹⁰ UNHCR (2017) « Assets of Refugees in Za'atari Camp. A profile of skills ». [http://www.lsce-mena.org/uploads/resources/UNHCRJordan-ZaatariCampSkillsMapping-FINAL_\(1\).pdf](http://www.lsce-mena.org/uploads/resources/UNHCRJordan-ZaatariCampSkillsMapping-FINAL_(1).pdf)

of the camp population above 18 years old) are currently engaged in various CFW activities across various programs implemented by partners; approximately 28% of them are female participants; and around 16% persons have specific needs. In 2017, Oxfam engaged the largest number of women into CFW programming (32.5% of positions). The majority of women in Za’atari camp were hired in semi-skilled positions (68%), and 63% in the WASH sector, and 18% in education.

In July 2015, the Basic Needs and Livelihoods Working Group (BNLWG) has been established in the camp to unify practice of CFW implementation across NGO programmes and to improve access to available opportunities. The Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) set the rates, and rotational periods according to the classification of skills as per the table below:

Level Classification	Per hour	Maximum Rotation Period ¹¹	Examples of classified CFW activity
Semi-skilled – The CFW activity does not require specialized skills or technical know-how, or heavy physical involvement	1 JD	Quarterly (3 month)	Committee volunteers, outreach, office or camp cleaners, guards ² , day laborers, field assistants
Skilled - The CFW activity requires minimal training or minimum skills to perform tasks.	1.5 JD	Yearly	Tailors, hairdressers, trainers, handcraft makers, data entry, hygiene promoters, hotline operator, supervisors of semi-skilled CFW
Highly skilled – The CFW activity requires specific skills or experience relevant to the task performed.	2 JD	No maximum, but yearly rotation is highly encouraged	Medical personnel, store keepers, office assistants, welders, carpenters, plumbers, painters, supervisors of skilled CFW, Makani centre facilitator
Technical – The CFW activity requires specialized knowledge and experience, such as with specific tools or machinery, or requires a specific educational background ¹² .	2.5 JD		Teachers, machinery operators, engineers, site inspectors and surveyors, draftsmen (AutoCAD designers, etc.), supervisors of highly skilled CFW

¹¹ Given the varying positions and contexts of CFW positions in the camp, there are exceptions for the CFW rotations. However, these exceptions must be clearly discussed with the BNLWG co-chairs and approved before agencies engage positions with rotation exceptions.

¹² Given the high salary pay, the volunteers cannot receive more than 120 JD per week (e.g. maximum: 2.5 JOD per hour X 8 hours per day X 6 days per week).

2.3 Solid Waste Management and Recycling in the Camp

The Camp Management lead agency is UNHCR, and the Camp Coordination structure is co-chaired by the government's camp management authority, Syrian Refugee Affairs Directorate (SRAD) and UNHCR. Underneath this sit the various sector working groups who feed into national level counter parts based in Amman. Oxfam maintains close consultation with camp management (UNHCR) via the Site Planning Committee working group, and through a variety of other sector working groups including Basic Needs and Livelihoods Working Group (BNLWG), the Water Sanitation and Hygiene WG, the Protection WG and GBV/Child Protection WG and has been put forward to lead the Za'atari camp Solid Waste Management Task Force.

The realization that the Camp will be more permanent has been accompanied by the recognition that it needs to become more self-sustaining and better integrated within the Jordanian community hosting the camp. Since 2017, Oxfam has taken the lead in the area of SWM and recycling in the camp. The waste management is based on a collection system including different-sized bins and dumpers that were distributed throughout the households in the districts. Currently, there are 1001 dumpsters throughout and around the camp.

The idea behind SWM and recycling activities in the Camp is to introduce a functional waste separation and recycling system. The activities ultimately aim to offer income generation sources for the refugees, reduce the waste accumulation within the camp, minimize the volume of the solid waste sent to landfill, and facilitate the reuse or resale of recyclable waste materials.

Oxfam implements several SWM activities in all the 12 districts of the camp and SWM 4Rs programme (Reduce, Reuse, Recycle, and Recover) in two municipalities of Mafraq Governorate in Jordan. The total number of direct beneficiaries reached in the framework of these GIZ funded activities is estimated at 2,739 men and 178 women, including 2,679 men and 118 women in the camp and 60 men and 60 women in the host communities. In addition, with funding from DFAT, Oxfam could additionally reach 1,109 Syrian refugee households (6,654 individuals, 3,307 women)¹³ with access to improved livelihood opportunities and skills development through solid waste management and income generating activities.

¹³ Average household size is 6 people per caravan. 49.7% of refugees in Za'atari are women according to UNHCR, Last Updated 03 Jul 2017. <http://www.unhcr.io/about-us-2/figures-at-a-glance/>

Recycling Centres in Districts 8 and 11

Oxfam operates two recycling centres in Districts 8 and 11, which have the capacity to cover all the 12 districts in the camp. Through CFW, Oxfam employs the following workers at each recycling centre:

- 54 trolley workers (rotating every 3 months) who collect waste from communal areas across all districts on a daily basis, waste that is separated at the household level.
- They are supervised by 6 team leaders (rotating every 12 months).
- The recycling centre then receives, processes and stores the solid waste. The recycling centre has 12 separation workers (rotating every 6 months) who maintain the operations.
- They are led by two technical Team Leaders (rotating every 12 months).
- Finally, there are 4 guards (rotating every 6 months) who supervise the recycling centre. Waste is then sold by Oxfam to pre-identified buyers.



Photo: Workers at the Recycle Centre in District 8

In total, both recycling centres provide 201 CFW opportunities in 3, 6, or 12-month rotations. Oxfam also provides on-the-job training including work place Health & Safety and position specific technical support related to managing a recycling centre.



Photo: Recycled plastic – final product at the recycling centre in District 11

CFW Litter Pickers in District 6, 7 and 8

Oxfam maintains CFW solid waste management teams in the whole camp. On a weekly basis, 450 semi-skilled workers (litter pickers or street sweepers) are responsible for ensuring the cleanliness of public spaces, and in particular the areas around the dumpster bins, in their respective blocks. The street sweepers rotate every two weeks depending on the district and on the number of interested refugees in that district, on the whole rotation varies from 8 to 22 weeks (i.e. one full rotation). The teams are supervised by team leaders (39 in total, one for each team), who also monitor the collection of the waste from the dumpster bins, to ensure that the local contractor respects the schedule, and ensures a quality service delivery. The team leaders are hired on an annual basis. Oxfam has an additional 12 bins monitors positions, which created rotational positions for 24 CFW workers, who work 7 days a week and cover all the 12 districts in the camp (2 workers per district, one worker works 3 days and the other one the remaining 4 days).

Oxfam has also piloted using women only teams of street sweepers for one week in every district during the project, which engaged 118 women. The street sweeper CFWs are paid at the lowest rate (semi-skilled = 1 JOD per hour), and targeting is specifically addressed at the most vulnerable unskilled households. It is recognized that the activity is the most effective means of providing the most vulnerable households of Za'atari Camp with a basic source of revenue, whilst ensuring camp cleanliness.

3. Findings

3.1 Opportunities

Oxfam's experience of engaging refugees as CFW volunteers in the entire camp has shown that there is high demand for CFW positions from women, which is confirmed by the Oxfam 2017 CFW Assessment. This indicates that there is a notable change in social practices towards women's participation in work opportunities outside the home.

The focus groups conducted with 33 women and 55 men across the target districts revealed the following:

- All the women (both those who were involved in CFW and those who never engaged in CFW activities) said that working and being able to earn money for their families is a positive thing. 100% of the women who have CFW experience noted that work gave them a sense of pride and self-worth.
- 100% of the interviewed women also stated that they would not mind getting involved in work that was outdoors or outside their homes, since this was

- generally acceptable to others in their community (a positive shift in attitudes compared to 2012/2013, but also due to the increasing pressure of meeting family needs that forces women to accept any type of work).
- 100% of the women who undertook trainings¹⁴ (e.g. women involved in the Bag Recycling project or the Greenhouse Project) said they were pleased to learn new skills.
 - Overall, all focus-group discussion participants (100% of both 33 female participants and 55 male participants) said that the CFW activities were generally well designed and organized.
 - 100 of the participants (both female and male) also noted that consulting with women and men in communities before launching CFW projects was a good idea, and all women said they would happily take part in such cash-for-work activities in future.
 - All of the women involved in CFW reported facing minor difficulties from males in the community as a result of their involvement in CFW projects (e.g. reluctance at first), but they were able to overcome them in time (e.g. spouses able to see what the women do / knowing what their job entails). All the interviewed women who were married said that their spouses were generally supportive of their participation.
 - When willing to accept work outside their homes, 100% of the interviewed females attach importance to working conditions and environment. All the interviewed women (and all the interviewed men) noted that the working environment would have to be 'culturally appropriate', i.e. separate entrance / exit for women, separate working space or protected working space to protect dignity.

Overall, the results from FGDs confirm that both women and men are open to CFW activities and attitudes have changed in the camp over time (in part due to the awareness and communication campaigns conducted by INGOs, but also due to the fact that many households find themselves in dire circumstances and look for opportunities to earn their living, whether it is the man or the woman earning cash has therefore become secondary). Nevertheless, several barriers persist.

3.2 Barriers

The FGDs pointed to the following physical and non-physical barriers preventing women from engaging in CFW. We grouped these obstacles under the following headings:

¹⁴ Of the 33 women who participated in the FGDs, 6 were involved in training activities.

Enabling Environment & Legal

The biggest challenge for both men and women in the camp is to find work. There are approximately 6,000 CFW opportunities, of which some 5,000 go to men. Currently, participation among women in CFW within Za'atari camp is reported to be limited (28% of women). Coupled with the legal restrictions to finding employment outside the camp, programmes to build the skills or entrepreneurship capacity of refugees therefore find limited success in such a restrictive policy environment. Under such circumstances, it is increasingly difficult for Oxfam and other agencies and refugees themselves to implement long-term livelihood strategies. These obstacles have an even bigger negative impact on women. 100% of the interviewed women and men told us that they often found it easier (for security, cultural, logistical reasons discussed below) to work on the camp. Since only one member can access cash-for-work at any given time in any given household, preference is often given to male members.

All female and male respondents have highlighted the fact that there are not enough job opportunities in the camp. This is not necessarily a barrier, but it is one of the biggest frustrations expressed by all the respondents. While all the FGD participants acknowledge the need for a rotation system and understand that the current SOPs system agreed among all partners in the camp provides more coordinator and a fairer distribution of the existing jobs, all respondents felt that that they were 'stuck'. Jobs in the camp are limited in number and the rotation system in place means that each individual household would on average get a chance to work perhaps once a year (or once every two years). *"How can we provide for ourselves and our families if we only get the chance, if ever, to work once a year for about 20-30 JD per month? How long is the amount we earn going to last for?"* This limitation is also connected to the training opportunities in the camp. All of the respondents who were previously involved in trainings¹⁵ noted that having access to training was 'nice', but it didn't always lead to employment opportunities. *"I participated in the Greenhouse training programme. It was a good programme, but I was sad though that at the end we didn't get a job. We are not allowed to grow anything on the camp and water is scarce, how am I going to use my skills then?"*, one woman said. Oxfam has indicated that a potential solution to this issue would be running Cash for Training programmes in the future.

It is worth noting here that both female and male participants, in particular those who took part in the FGDs for individuals not involved in CFW, have raised the issue of 'favouritism' as an obstacle for both genders. This comment also related to the compliance with the rotation system. As one female participant put it: *"To be honest, I*

¹⁵ About 6 women and 15 men.

got my current job through favouritism. Sometimes I consider it as networking not favouritism, however if we are being honest favouritism is something we all in the camp have experienced and are still experiencing the unfairness resulting from it". One male participant responded when asked about the CFW system *"It is a good system on paper, but when it comes to applying the rules, most agencies do not comply. It is sad to see the unfairness resulting from favoritism and not applying the rotation system properly"*. Participants were not talking about Oxfam projects in particular and did not refer to any agency. These comments should therefore be interpreted as feedback reflecting a general feeling / experience across different agencies and positions.

Cultural and Social

Although attitudes and perceptions of 'cultural and social acceptability' have shifted over time towards more openness and a higher degree of understanding and flexibility, it is imperative to understand that the refugees in Za'atari camp come from a background of traditional (southern) Syrian society and gender roles. Men are expected to be the primary breadwinners and protectors, and women are largely responsible for domestic duties. Young married women are particularly constrained over their choices of paid work (with husbands preferring homebased work).

Women's participation in CFW activities would therefore largely depend on creating a working environment and work conditions that are deemed appropriate. This may imply additional costs to be incurred by the implementing partners (e.g. providing separate entry / exit for female / male employees if the activity requires a mixed environment; isolating the area where women work so they can 'protect their dignity'; overall limiting interaction between female and male employees).

Opinions shared by male participants in FGDs were polarized. 95 % of the interviewed men (the absolute majority) were positive about female participation in Oxfam's CFW programmes in 'appropriate jobs' and noted: *"Women can do anything and everything they want, we have to start thinking about encouraging and empowering females to work, women are strong and they can handle anything"*. On the other extreme, two male participants were quite categorical and said: *"This is impossible, I will not let my wife or any woman in my family to participate in this programme. I would rather go and beg for money than to allow this to happen"*. With regard to Oxfam's recycling centres, 13% of interviewed women strongly objected to getting involved in the project (jobs not deemed 'appropriate' or 'too heavy'), 28% of the interviewed men shared this opinion and 9% of the interviewed men said they were willing to participate if they were offered supervisory positions, such as managing the recycling centres or managing staff but not in the separation / sorting or any heavy work.

With regard to SWM and recycling activities, one of the assumptions formulated prior to the field research was that such work is regarded as 'dirty' and would not be appropriate / attractive to women. FGDs did not confirm this assumption. Around 70% of the interviewed women noted that they were ready to perform 'heavier work' or 'operate machinery' with appropriate training. *"The opportunity to work and earn money for my family is important. I don't think that collecting trash or recycling waste is 'dirty', it provides me with a job"*, as one female respondent put it. Another woman, 85 years old, said: *"I am not ashamed of my work, I don't have any providers, and at least what I do is honourable so that makes me proud regardless of the negative comments I may receive sometimes."* Some 40% of the interviewed men agreed that women could do 'heavier work' if they received training.

Access to Childcare

This is undoubtedly the biggest obstacle to women's participation in CFW, in particular for women below 30 years old, who have small children (0 – 5 years old). All the interviewed women noted that childcare options on the camp are limited or not available in their districts. According to feedback received in the FGDs, all interviewed women have to rely on family or neighbours for child care at some point. However, this option is not always possible and will depend on the availability of the potential carer. All the women mentioned that neighbours wouldn't want to take care of children for free and expect some remuneration. Given that work in SWM and at the recycling centres is often qualified as "low-skilled" the monthly wage would not be enough to cover such costs and would therefore not motivate women to work there. All the women agreed that taking care of toddlers or new-born babies is *"a big responsibility"*. During the cold season, women prefer keeping their babies at home so as to prevent them from getting sick. *"From 5-6 years old and onwards children are independent enough and you can leave them in the care of their older siblings or family members. A small child requires special care, you cannot just ask anyone"*, one female respondent explained.

Transportation / Access

All the women we spoke to mentioned that lack of transportation options in the camp was another major impediment to engaging in CFW, especially when it comes to work outside their district. The issue of transportation & access has been raised by all the men too, albeit mostly in connection with work outside the camp. Inside the camp men can ride bicycles, which provide a good means of getting around the camp. Women, on the other hand, cannot ride bicycles as this is considered culturally inappropriate. They have to rely on their male relatives to transport them and their children on the back seat of their bicycles. The other options of transportation in the camp include the free of charge UNHCR buses and private transportation in pick-up cars usually operated privately by

Jordanians from the neighbouring village outside the camp. While the busses cover the entire area of the camp, all the respondents have reported that they “*are not frequent*” enough. Private transportation is beyond the financial means of many residents in the camp (one ride is 3 JD, with an average income of 20 – 30 JD per month per household it is clear that this is not a viable means of transportation on a daily basis). UNHCR has announced that it would increase the number of buses to four. However, if the intention is to attract more women to work, this barrier would have to be tackled by the implementing agencies too.

4. Recommendations and Lessons Learnt

4.1 Lessons Learnt

- **Participatory process:** The FGDs have shown that the participatory approach in cash-based programming remains a good practice and something that is appreciated by the refugees. It helps to identify needs and to ensure that resulting CFW opportunities are accessible to all intended beneficiaries, foster long-term recovery and build resilience whilst not worsening potential protection risks. Oxfam applies this approach as it actively involves a range of representative women and men in specific assessments, analysis and planning of CFW activities (including in the SWM and recycling sector). The study team encourages Oxfam to continue pursuing this practice at all stages of the process, during the planning, but also during implementation to share good examples and motivate other women to follow suite.
- **Co-ordination:** Co-ordinating with other actors within the working group and/or specific sectors is vital. Oxfam and other partners engage in regular meetings within the respective clusters. Nevertheless, the study team felt that there was room for more co-ordination in view on ensuring linkages between activities. For example, LWF has indicated that they opened childcare centres for children aged between 3 and 5 years (in September 2018). These centres are open to any woman involved in CFW regardless of the district they live in. This could be useful for Oxfam to motivate women to engage in work at the recycling centres and could provide a solution to the childcare issue raised in the FGDs.

4.2 Recommendations

If the objective is to attract more women in CFW opportunities, and in particular to employ at least a few women at the recycling centres (the current number of women

working there is zero), Oxfam will have to respond to the main barriers identified by the women. The study makes several recommendations in that sense:

Enabling Environment & Legal

If the intention is to increase the number of women involved in CFW at the camp (any sector), the UNHCR, the camp management authorities and the implementing partners should consider changing the rules. Currently the SOPs in the camp allow only one member from any given household to be employed at any given time. As discussed in section 3.2, experience in the Camp shows that in all the cases when faced with a choice, preference will be given to men's employment (in some cases, even if the woman's job would bring more income or offered longer term employment than the man's job, the choice was still made in favour of the male member). The SOPs should be modified to allow one male and one female member of the household to be employed at the same time or even to remove any limitation to the number of females that can be employed per household. This would remove the pressure of making a choice of who should work in the household and would encourage more women to apply / get employed.

The obstacles mentioned under this heading are connected not only with the CFW opportunities available in the camp, but also with the type and number of jobs available outside the camp. Oxfam (and other implementing agencies) would only be able to successfully connect refugees with employers or train them for specific jobs if such opportunities exist in the host community and if employers are willing to hire refugee workers. Livelihood programmes should therefore be designed not only with the camp conditions in mind, but also with the local labour market context. Otherwise, even those refugees who successfully complete training programmes may not be able to find work.

Training of both the Syrian refugees and host populations to work in export-oriented labour-intensive activities could be another solution. Training – which could be scaled in accordance with the available funding, both national and international – would need to be organised in close conjunction with prospective employers to ensure that it covers the required skill set and translates into actual employment. Garments production and agri-business are often considered among such sectors. The establishment of development zones and industrial areas – part of the Jordanian economic response to the Syrian refugee crisis – includes the employment and training of Syrian and local workers in the garments industry and other key export sectors.

Cultural & Social

As discussed above, cultural norms limit the options for women to engage in CFW activities. Although attitudes have changed towards more openness over time, cultural and social aspects clearly remain an issue in the wider refugee community and at the individual household level. Oxfam should identify cash-for-work activities that are culturally acceptable and safe for women through community consultations; whilst at the same time working to promote women's rights and opportunities (through communication campaigns & awareness sessions with the community and religious leaders).

What are then the CFW activities where women could participate? In addition to the more obvious and traditional sectors (e.g. preparing meals for workers, home repair like painting walls within a compound, tailoring, beautician, food production¹⁶), the answer to this question relies on several elements:

- Since the establishment of the camp in 2012, multiple studies and research have been conducted by various organizations and at different levels to explore this question. Some argued that women would feel more comfortable working from home, since this provides them with the flexibility required to perform their household duties and offers protection / security by limiting circulation outside their houses. This study (albeit on a smaller level) has showed that this assumption does not necessarily hold true. As all of our interlocutors (both female and male) put it, *"we are desperate for any job that brings us income, whether inside or outside our homes"*.
- The number of CFW opportunities is limited in the camp. With an adult population (18 – 59 years old) of around 30,000 people, the current number of CFW opportunities (6000) represents a maximum 20% employment rate at any given time. The rotation system in place means that the little that is available is spread thin to give a chance to a maximum number of people. Even fewer of those people are women, regardless of the sector.
- Given the legal restrictions imposed in the camp (in particular the fact that refugees cannot exploit the land for agricultural purposes, cannot form any associations, can only engage in a limited number of opportunities outside the camp, see section above) the number of sectors in which women could work will remain limited to services such as beauty salons, sewing, and occasional food cooking. In either scenario, there will never be enough jobs for people in the camp

¹⁶ Food production enterprises / units are not currently available as an activity in the camp. However, the interviewed women kept referring to this option during FDGs as an appeal towards INGOs /SRAD/UNHCR to support creating such opportunities.

and at some point, more integration in the host communities will have to be considered. Another aspect is linked to the level of education and training of both male and female population. Given that the level of schooling is usually limited to primary (less often secondary school), the number of options for both male and female are limited and will mainly include manual labour, some manufacturing or production that do not require technical skills.

Based on these elements, the research team finds that the employment options for both men and women are limited and have already been identified by previous studies and experience in the camp. The solution is to have *more jobs* available rather than *different jobs*. The challenge here is due to the limited funding available to the INGOs operating in the camp.

Child Care & Transportation

Often times CFW activities take place during the hours when women are heavily engaged in domestic and child care work. One solution would be to provide childcare services as CFW opportunity for mothers who are exclusively home-based, freeing up women to participate in other cash-for-work activities and enhancing the value of women's care work. Another option is to co-ordinate and partner up with other INGOs who provide 'professional' child care facilities. Creating flexible schedule for pregnant and lactating women (time but also space wise) should also be considered.

In terms of transportation, there are limited options on the table. It is highly unlikely that women will be allowed / willing to ride the type of bicycles that exist currently in the camp. In order to make this economical means of transportation accessible to women, culturally appropriate bicycles should be purchased (e.g. models with chairs rather than saddles). Additionally, Oxfam could consider supplementing this option by including a budget for an additional mini – bus transporting women involved in CFW to and from their workplace in particular during winter time.

SWM and Recycling

Finally, with regard to Oxfam's SWM and recycling CFW activities, there are several possible scenarios and options that tackle one or several of the obstacles identified above:

- **Option 1.** Employ women whose children are going to school / are older than 5 – 6 years, and do not require constant supervision. This would remove the childcare obstacle, but would prevent younger women from applying.

- **Option 2.** Employ women who live in Districts 8 and 11 where the recycling centres are located. This would 'solve' the transportation issue, as the centre is accessible by foot from any house in the district, but would prevent women from other districts from joining.
- **Option 3.** Train women how to operate the machinery at the centres. For example, during the FGDs women noted that they wouldn't find it too difficult to get involved in sorting the plastic (separating the white from the coloured), loading it into the machine and overseeing the process. "*Plastic is not heavy, we can definitely handle it*", women said. The same option could apply to the paper / cardboard recycling. The opportunity here is that women can be employed in recycling too and not just in litter picking (SWM), which is the case at the moment. In practice, this would mean that the work area would have to be separated, so that women do not mingle with male employees. The limitation here is that machinery requires maintenance and in case of technical problem, a male engineer would have to be called upon and this may pose a problem.
- **Option 4.** Employ women as guards at the recycling centres. During the FGDs, women noted that working as guards during the day shift would be acceptable for them. On the other hand, it remains to be seen whether male employees would find it appropriate to be screened by female guards (and vice versa). Employing female guards would only work if there are two sections with separate exit / entries at the recycling centres. In that case, female guards would only have to interact with female employees.
- **Option 5.** Finally, the option of hiring women as trolley workers was not considered feasible by any of the women interviewed during the FGDs. The reasons for that are two-fold. Firstly, because this is considered to be heavy physical work. Secondly, because it is socially and culturally inappropriate to have unaccompanied women go to various households. It also appears that during the day male trolley workers find it difficult to collect waste at the household level, since women who are at home would not open the door in the absence of their spouses / male members of the family.

The research team finds that employing women at the recycling centres would set an important example especially because this area has long been perceived as mostly 'masculine'. Therefore, the Oxfam team is encouraged to use a combination of the above options to make these CFW opportunities accessible to women. Employing at least 5 or 10 women at both centres would already be an achievement and a big step in attracting more women. The target should therefore be, "one woman is already one woman more

than zero female employees". The percentage of women working at the recycling centres can increase gradually.