Introduction

Over 10,000 Somali, Sudanese and Yemeni refugees and asylum seekers are now registered with UNHCR in Jordan,\(^1\) though many members of these communities live in the country without valid documentation (see Part I). Despite this high number of displaced individuals, insufficient attention has been devoted to understanding their experiences of displacement, humanitarian and protection needs, and access to appropriate solutions. From the few studies that point out gaps and imbalances in the humanitarian response framework, we know that minority groups face unmet protection, healthcare, education, shelter, non-food items (NFIs), food security and livelihoods needs.\(^2\) Despite efforts to develop a more holistic refugee response that bolsters Jordan’s resilience to the protracted Syrian refugee crisis, more work is needed to ensure smaller displaced groups, whose needs are often equally urgent and severe, do not fall through the cracks.\(^3\) Part II of MMP’s feature article on displaced minorities in Jordan compiles the findings of existing literature on the needs and experiences of Somali, Sudanese and Yemeni refugees and other migrants living in Jordan, and is supplemented by insights from aid organisations and personnel working to address the needs of these underserved populations. By first outlining the range of humanitarian needs, then analysing gaps in the response framework that contribute to these unmet needs, the article aims to set out suggestions on the way forward for humanitarian policy and programming. These suggestions have been informed by a roundtable discussion held in April 2017. The project will also contribute to a primary needs assessment, which will be conducted in May 2017.

Methodology

This article presents a review of the available secondary data on Somali, Sudanese and Yemeni refugees and other migrants in Jordan. Collectively, these groups are denoted as “displaced minorities” for the purposes of this report, not to diminish their importance, but to acknowledge their representation of smaller populations whose needs are often overlooked relative to other, larger displaced groups in Jordan. Given the limited nature of reporting on Somali, Sudanese and Yemeni refugees and other migrants in Jordan, the study supplemented desk research with a small series of key informant interviews carried out from February to April 2017. Nine open-ended interviews were conducted in Amman with NGO staff, researchers and members of the focus communities. These interviews were exploratory in nature and conducted in order to triangulate information from secondary data, identify key issues and highlight information gaps. Policy and programme recommendations outlined at the end of this article were discussed at a roundtable held in Amman in April 2017, attended by staff from ten NGOs, research institutions, and UN agencies.

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\(^1\) UNHCR Jordan Fact Sheet, February 2017.
Needs and experiences of displaced minorities in Jordan

Whereas Part I of this article traced the journeys that refugees and other migrants face when travelling to and arriving in Jordan. The following section outlines the experiences and needs Somalis, Sudanese and Yemenis face while living in Jordan. It is important to contextualise these findings in the urban setting of Amman, where most Somali, Sudanese and Yemeni communities live. Although some members of these communities reportedly live in Zarqa, Irbid, Mafraq and other major urban centres — and the spread of wealthier individuals in all three communities may be wider — most of the existing information on vulnerable Somali, Sudanese and Yemenis has been gathered from specific areas of Amman, where these groups tend to congregate to access community and mutual support, and solidarity. Most Yemenis, for example, live around Jubeiha in the north of Amman, as well as in parts of east Amman, while Somalis and Sudanese tend to live in tight-knit, often isolated, communities in Jabal Amman, Jabal Weibdeh, and Wast el-Balad (downtown), as well as parts of east Amman.4

Living conditions, shelter and non-food items

One factor influencing the formation of tight-knit communities in geographically limited areas is the heavy financial pressures vulnerable Somali, Sudanese and Yemeni families face due to high rents in Amman. Multiple local media reports have highlighted shelter challenges presented by the prohibitive cost of rent in Amman. One Yemeni family of Somali background, for example, spent 90 JOD of their 160 JOD (56%) allowance on rent, while another Somali mother of three sons spent 120 JOD of the family’s 195 JOD (62%) monthly UNHCR assistance on renting a two-bedroom apartment.5 Many families and individuals share housing or use communal living arrangements as a strategy to overcome Amman’s expensive rental housing market, although conditions in these settings are often inadequate. Shared houses of up to 16 Sudanese have been reported, although houses of around seven to eight men are more common.6 Communal living is particularly common among Somali and Sudanese communities, but also reported among more vulnerable Yemenis who struggle to afford expensive housing in Amman.7 Young, single men often live communally, sharing costs and food depending on who has managed to secure work at the time, while their wives and children may also share another apartment together.8 One group of seven Sudanese men are reported to have split the 180 JOD rent for their apartment in the city, while another group of ten men shared two rooms, one bathroom and one kitchen for 110 JOD.9

While shared living arrangements provide much-needed cost savings, security of tenure is low and the risk of eviction is high. NGOs report cases of landlords threatening to evict Somali and Sudanese tenants, demanding undue extras beyond rent, or raising rents in response to the inflow of Syrian refugees, who are often able to pay more.10 One media story highlighted the situation of a Sudanese man whose five housemates were deported in 2015, leaving only two of the seven flatmates left to pay the bill and thereby heightening their risk of eviction.11 Other NGOs have confirmed the challenges caused by the deportation, particularly due to the forced separation of families and support networks.

Shelter challenges are compounded by a reported lack of access to NFIs. According to two NGOs, who organised a winterisation NFI distribution in December 2015, there was a strong need for good quality NFIs among the Sudanese community, including blankets, heaters and fuel. Whereas NFI distributions and shelter upgrades have often targeted Syrians and host communities, few such programmes have reached Somalis, Sudanese and Yemenis.12 For some, this is a source of growing frustration. For example, although one Sudanese man reported receiving a winterisation stipend of 75 JOD from UNHCR in winter 2015, he had received no other support since 2013. Some Somalis have echoed these frustrations, noting a deterioration in the assistance they have received from NGOs and UNHCR since 2013, when the number of Syrian refugees in Jordan spiked.13

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5 Tiber (2016) Seeking Asylum, Again; Tiber (2016) What are the options of a Somali refugee with an autistic son?
7 Personal communication (7), Yemeni NGO worker, Amman, 23 March 2017.
8 Personal communication (8), ARDD-Legal Aid, Amman, 7 March 2017.
9 ARDD-Legal Aid (2015) Putting Needs over Nationalities; Tiber (2016) How does a refugee barred from working survive with no assistance?
11 Tiber (2016) How does a refugee barred from working survive with no assistance?
12 Personal communication (9), ARDD-Legal Aid, Amman, 7 March 2017.
Racism, discrimination and protection risks

Racism and discrimination are commonly experienced by Somalis and Sudanese in public spaces, with physical and verbal attacks regularly reported. While it is important to note that some positive cases of host communities actively welcoming displaced minorities are also reported, these positive accounts tend to be overshadowed by the negative accounts portrayed in media and anecdotal reports. Multiple NGOs have confirmed that Somalis and Sudanese are often stigmatised and discriminated against. Their risk of harassment is understood to be worse in certain areas, such as Jabal Amman, where bullying in the neighbourhood and in local public schools have been reported on multiple occasions. While most reports of discrimination come from Somalis and Sudanese, some Yemenis indicate feeling a growing sense of insecurity and hostility, which, according to them, may stem from fears among some Jordanians that Yemeni displacement could grow into another large-scale crisis similar to the Syrian and Iraqi influxes. Tensions around access to assistance between refugee groups have also been reported, for example between Sudanese and Syrians.

In addition to discrimination from members of the public, Somalis, Sudanese and Yemenis face protection concerns at the hands of the authorities. Detention is commonplace, particularly for Somalis and Sudanese with irregular status and those who are caught working informally. While in most cases their detention experiences are understood to be relatively rapid, perfunctory processes, this is not always the case, and any form of arbitrary detention raises risks of abuse and extortion. For example, one Somali man who protested in front of UNHCR was reportedly made to sign an agreement at the local police station to never protest again, or face a 10,000 JOD fine. Reports that some 145 of the 800 Sudanese deported to Khartoum in 2015 have since had to flee persecution again, this time to Cairo, reiterate the dangers of short-term detentions escalating to extremely serious protection risks, not only in Jordan but also in the country of origin.

A lack of documentation also presents a barrier to assistance, particularly for those not registered as asylum seekers with UNHCR, as access to many services is contingent on possessing a valid asylum seeker certificate. Somalis and Sudanese have reported problems registering marriages and births, and concerns about the expensive fines that result from failing to register. For Yemenis, although births can be registered at the embassy (or at the Department of Civil Status and Passports with proof of marriage, the parents’ passports and a document from an authorised hospital/health provider that supervised the birth), NGOs have raised concerns that Yemeni children could become stateless due to a lack of documentation, coupled with a lack of awareness about the need to register births in Jordan. The likelihood of similar risks among Somalis and Sudanese raise further concerns.

Employment and livelihoods

Limited access to formal livelihood opportunities for Somali, Sudanese and Yemeni refugees and other migrants in Jordan not only impedes their ability to meet basic needs, but also enhances protection risks. Recent laws following the Jordan Compact – which aims to turn the Syrian refugee crisis into a development opportunity by giving more refugees access to jobs in certain industries – are welcome, but at present, these do not apply to refugees of other nationalities. According to the Ministry of Labour, no law bans refugees from working, but occupations open to non-Jordanians require work permits, which can cost between 180 JOD and 700 JOD depending on the occupation. One option is to work under the kafala system, but this is rare among Somalis, Sudanese and Yemenis, as it requires a Jordanian sponsor as well as the employee to give up their passport, leaving them vulnerable to exploitation.

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16 Personal communication (7), Yemeni NGO worker, Amman, 23 March 2017.
18 Personal communication (5), ARDD-Legal Aid, Amman, 7 March 2017.
19 Tiber (2016) What are the options of a Somali refugee with an autistic son?
20 Al Monitor (2016) Deported from Jordan to Egypt: Sudanese refugees are fleeing again, 8 March 2016.
25 Tiber (2016) How does a refugee barred from working survive with no assistance?
More commonly, Somalis, Sudanese and Yemenis find ad hoc, informal work. Manual labour is a commonly reported source of employment among Somalis and Sudanese, as are cleaning jobs. Yemenis are also reported to be working in informal jobs in cleaning services and in restaurants, for little pay and under poor conditions. While some Sudanese reportedly travel south in the winter to seek agricultural work, most reside in Amman working informally as and where they can. Skill mismatching at best, and exploitation at worst, are common in the informal sector. Educated Sudanese refugees, for example, typically perform menial tasks and low-skilled work. In addition, employers often exploit refugees and other migrants, who are prepared to work long hours for little money, due to a lack of alternatives and pressure to support their families and communities. Few employees are aware of their rights and access to legal remedies to counter exploitation. Lastly, working in the informal sector heightens the vulnerability and exposure of refugees and other migrants to protection risks, with spot checks and crackdowns by Ministry of Labour authorities at times resulting in Somalis and Sudanese being detained.

**Healthcare**

Problems accessing adequate healthcare have also been reported by Somali, Sudanese and Yemeni refugees and other migrants, including cases of exclusion and discrimination, being taken advantage of, and paying unfair prices. High costs, in particular, are a major barrier to healthcare, which can become increasingly difficult to surmount over time. For example, the combination of expensive treatments and longer-than-planned stays in Jordan has strained some Yemeni families' abilities to afford the necessary treatments for which they travelled to Jordan. Foreigners have to pay elevated rates for all health services, whether primary, secondary or tertiary. Although UNHCR and its health partners offer some health services to registered asylum seekers and refugees of all nationalities, only Syrians and Iraqis benefit from subsidies at government facilities. All others, including Somalis, Sudanese and Yemenis, are required to pay foreigner rates at Ministry of Health facilities, which prevents many from accessing essential and life-saving services. With few affordable referral options available in Jordan, some NGOs working with Somali and Sudanese groups indicate that patients with chronic conditions may be left with few options but to seek expedited resettlement on medical grounds.

Even when affordable and accessible, the *quality* of healthcare is seen as another problem. The subsidised healthcare provided in Jordan is reported to be basic and at times limited to the mere provision of painkillers. Providers change regularly, complicating attendance and limiting continuity of care. Although isolation, loneliness and depression are commonly reported among Somali and Sudanese communities, health partners and NGOs often lack awareness of the extent of psychosocial needs among these communities. The uncertainty and indecision that refugees and other migrants face about whether to stay, return, move elsewhere or seek resettlement may add to mental health and psychosocial burdens, exacerbating needs for those facing protracted displacement.

**Education**

With schools already operating double shifts to cope with the Syrian refugee influx, there are clear pressures on the school system in Jordan that affect all students. To date, problems accessing education appear to be less regularly reported among Yemenis, although isolated reports suggest that for some of the most vulnerable it may too expensive, and for others, it may be deemed unnecessary or too complicated, given their hope of returning home soon. Lack of access to
education for Somali and Sudanese groups, however, has been raised as a major concern by NGOs - and the communities themselves-with cost, bullying and institutional discrimination posing major barriers.\textsuperscript{45}

With the exception of Syrians, all non-Jordanians must pay a 40 JOD annual fee to enrol in public schools. Coupled with the cost of books, materials and transportation, schooling can be prohibitively expensive for families with little income.\textsuperscript{46} While Sudanese have recently been granted extra cash assistance for schooling costs, and despite the fact that UNHCR and certain NGOs cover school fees for some Somalis and Sudanese, costs remain a barrier.\textsuperscript{47}

Even when education is affordable, discrimination and prejudice in the classroom can also deter students from attending school. As explained by one NGO representative, “when a refugee arrives in a classroom without pens, papers, and books, it only reinforces the stereotype of poor helpless refugees.”\textsuperscript{48} When Somali and Sudanese students perform well, they are often criticised rather than encouraged. When they perform poorly, for example with Arabic (which for some students may be a second language or different dialect), they are at times harassed and teased.\textsuperscript{49} In the worst cases, Somali students report leaving or staying out of school, even for multiple years, due to bullying.\textsuperscript{50} After two years out of school, remedial classes are required to re-enter the school system, adding barriers to re-entry.\textsuperscript{51}

Examples of schools barring entry to Somalis and Sudanese are also concerning. Although presentation of an asylum seeker certificate is technically sufficient to enrol a student in public schools, some schools have reportedly required students to provide evidence of residency status to enrol, which prevents, or at best delays, entry to school. Although the government announced regulations to open schools for all refugees and asylum seekers in 2017, problems with implementation were reported, with delays leaving some students excluded when registration closed on 15 March.\textsuperscript{52}

**Response framework**

The prevalence of unmet needs among displaced minorities in Jordan has been attributed to laws that set out different rights and obligations for different groups of refugees and other migrants, as well as corresponding gaps in the humanitarian response framework, which have a tendency towards hierarchical aid distribution favouring some nationalities over others.\textsuperscript{53} Some consequences of this differentiated approach are clear: UNHCR runs separate response operations for Syrian and non-Syrian refugees and many donors only fund projects targeting Syrians.\textsuperscript{54} Coordination structures, such as cluster working groups, tend to focus exclusively on Syrians, with the needs of other nationalities rarely featuring.\textsuperscript{55} In order to operate within these structures, NGOs and implementing partners tend to target Syrian beneficiaries ahead of others, and struggle to develop good practices and sound proposals focusing on other nationalities.\textsuperscript{56}

Although this differentiated approach to Syrian and non-Syrian refugees does not altogether deny Somali, Sudanese and Yemeni refugees and asylum seekers protection and assistance, it often leaves them with inadequate support. As of 2016, around 160 Somali and 176 Sudanese households received monthly cash assistance, significantly fewer than the total number registered.\textsuperscript{57} Additionally, asylum seekers are not officially eligible for cash assistance, which represents a major gap for most Yemenis and around one third of Sudanese who have not been granted refugee status.\textsuperscript{58} According to UNHCR, provision of material assistance is based on a case-by-case vulnerability assessment and intended to meet the needs of the most vulnerable.\textsuperscript{59} In fact, non-Syrians receive more cash per person than Syrians, who are supported by WFP or the Jordanian government. However, despite higher cash assistance thresholds, levels of assistance are

\textsuperscript{45} Personal communication (1), Amman, 14 February 2017.

\textsuperscript{46} Davis, R. et al (2016) Sudanese and Somali Refugees in Jordan; Personal communication (4), Amman, 5 March 2017. Tiber (2016) What are the options of a Somali refugee with an autistic son?


\textsuperscript{48} Personal communication (5), ARDD-Legal Aid, Amman, 7 March 2017.

\textsuperscript{49} Personal communication (5), ARDD-Legal Aid, Amman, 7 March 2017; Personal communication (4), Amman, 5 March 2017.

\textsuperscript{50} Tiber (2016) What are the options of a Somali refugee with an autistic son?

\textsuperscript{51} Personal communication (4), Amman, 5 March 2017.

\textsuperscript{52} Personal communication (4), Amman, 5 March 2017; Personal communication (5), ARDD-Legal Aid, Amman, 7 March 2017.


\textsuperscript{54} Personal communication (5), ARDD-Legal Aid, Amman, 7 March 2017.

\textsuperscript{55} Personal communication (9), MCC Jordan, Amman, 20 March 2017.

\textsuperscript{56} Personal communication (5), ARDD-Legal Aid, Amman, 7 March 2017.


\textsuperscript{58} Personal communication (9), MCC Jordan, Amman, 20 March 2017.

insufficient to cover rent, water and utilities, food and other daily expenses. Moreover, Somalis, Sudanese and Yemenis particularly lack essential NFI s, including blankets, bedding, and cooking equipment needed to achieve basic living standards. While communities support each other, and a small number of local and international NGOs and charities aim to reach the most vulnerable with additional support, gaps remain across all sectors of need.

Despite these structural challenges, there is some scope within the existing framework for aid to be distributed more equitably, including to Somali, Sudanese and Yemeni refugees and asylum seekers. While many donors continue to earmark funding for certain nationalities, ECHO, a major donor, is reported to be open to funding programmes that support “Jordanians and other nationalities,” leaving clear room for more projects targeting Somali, Sudanese and Yemeni groups. Moreover, the Jordan Compact provides a potential model to improve access to labour not just for Syrians, but for all refugees if its ambit were to be expanded. While only a small handful of organisations specifically target Somali, Sudanese and/or Yemeni refugees and other migrants, many international NGOs, local NGOs, and faith-based organisations provide blanket assistance which indirectly benefits minority groups alongside the majority of those in need. Urban community centres are a good example of such assistance. While many community centres have been designed with Syrian and/or host community beneficiaries in mind, they may count small numbers of vulnerable Somalis, Sudanese and Yemenis among their beneficiaries. While the chance for Somalis, Sudanese and Yemenis to access these community services is generally a positive step, tensions between the refugee groups have been reported at community centres on occasion, often over perceptions of unfair treatment. As a result, clear targeting of the unique needs faced by Somalis, Sudanese and Yemenis is needed to ensure a more equitable distribution of aid.

**Ways forward for policy and programming**

Research for this article, and similar initiatives by other NGOs, have revealed a wide range of actors currently concerned with and/or working for improved protection and assistance of minority displaced groups in Jordan. The following general recommendations seek to galvanise these actors, by improving coordination and effectiveness, and establishing a common direction and purpose. Specific recommendations also seek to guide the Government of Jordan, donors, UNHCR and humanitarian organisations towards improved humanitarian outcomes and appropriate solutions for Somali, Sudanese and Yemeni refugees and other migrants in Jordan.

**General**

- Promote humanitarian assistance based on need rather than nationality, and in particular ensure equitable access to aid for the most vulnerable Somali, Sudanese and Yemeni refugees and other migrants, as well as other groups who lack assistance, including by having regard to gender, age, location and other potential vulnerabilities.

- Raise awareness about the migration and displacement trends of minority groups, including Somali, Sudanese and Yemeni refugees and other migrants, the specific needs these groups face, as well as the positive contributions they make to society.

- Match available solutions for refugees and other migrants to their intentions, for example by planning for durable solutions for refugees and adequate support mechanisms for other migrants. In particular, advocate for more, and more equitably distributed, resettlement places for refugees from Jordan, with an emphasis on the fact that the length of protracted displacement does not mitigate refugees’ needs and rights to access durable solutions.

- Build networks and knowledge of who is doing what and where to assist displaced minorities in Jordan, and where new efforts could be most effective and complementary. Give better information to refugees and other migrants on the support, services and documentation available to them through different actors, including on legal remedies available to counter exploitation and abuse.

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62 Personal communication (5), ARDD-Legal Aid, Amman, 7 March 2017; Personal communication (6), Yemeni social worker, Amman, 13 March 2017.
63 Personal communication (2), Amman, 23 February 2017.
64 Personal communication (9), MCC Jordan, Amman, 20 March 2017.
- Investigate the potential needs of other displaced minority groups in Jordan, such as Ethiopians and Eritreans, to avoid further isolation of other vulnerable groups.

**Government**

- Improve and harmonise the legal framework that at present creates nationality-based differences in rights and obligations of refugees and other migrants in Jordan, thereby underpinning an imbalanced response.
- Combat racism and discrimination in all forms of public life and institutions, including by initiating a targeted campaign in schools in or near areas where Somali, Sudanese, Yemeni and other minority displaced groups are located.
- Expand the access to work permits recently granted to Syrian refugees to refugees of all nationalities.
- Ensure public healthcare services provision is adequate and affordable and that providers do not discriminate against refugees on the basis of race or nationality.
- Continue to promote open access to education for refugees that does not require annual residency, and ensure implementation is carried out across all schools, particularly where cases of discrimination have been reported.

**Donors**

- Reduce earmarked funding and make funding contingent on inclusive distribution of aid to all groups in need, including host communities, refugees and other migrants.
- Work with partners to build awareness and capacity to address the specific needs of Somali, Sudanese and Yemeni groups.
- Engage with development donors with strong relationships to relevant line ministries to promote inclusive public service provision that responds to the needs of all vulnerable groups.

**UNHCR**

- Harmonise coordination structures and response efforts that differentiate between different groups of people in need, including by improving the vulnerability assessment framework currently in place.
- Adapt good practices from the Syrian and Iraqi refugee responses to improve assistance and protection to Somalis, Sudanese and Yemenis.
- Build awareness of UNHCR’s mandate to protect the rights of refugees and asylum seekers, particularly among Yemeni communities, where misconceptions about UNHCR’s role have been reported.
- Evaluate the effectiveness of UNHCR partner-led community centres for Somalis and Sudanese, and consult the Yemeni community to see if and whether similar community centres (or, indeed, alternative interventions) could help serve their needs.

**Humanitarian organisations**

- Formulate clear and persuasive evidence-based proposals for funding projects targeting vulnerable Somalis, Sudanese, Yemenis and other minority displaced groups.
• Monitor and share lessons on programmes that successfully address the needs of displaced minorities, the challenges faced and strategies to overcome them.

• Improve multi-sectoral needs assessments and programming in relation to displaced minorities, ensuring sensitivity to the specific risks faced by women, men, girls and boys in each group. Better data is needed in particular on the situation of Yemenis, as regards food security and vulnerability, as well as psychosocial needs.

• Consider ways to engage in stronger advocacy for the protection of displaced minorities’ rights without jeopardising humanitarian principles, for example by building on the improved awareness and advocacy of needs since the 2015 Sudanese deportation.

• Work closely with displaced minority groups, including Somalis, Sudanese and Yemenis, to build awareness on their rights to protection and assistance, as well as on the services that already exist or are being developed.

• Explore options for engaging local staff from minority displaced groups, without breaching current labour laws.

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