COMPREHENSIVE FOOD SECURITY MONITORING EXERCISE (CFSME)
REGISTERED SYRIAN REFUGEES IN JORDAN

2016
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

WFP and REACH would like to thank everyone involved in this Comprehensive Food Security Monitoring Exercise (CSFME) of the registered Syrian refugees in Jordan for their hard work and commitment, which has made this third study a success.

We particularly wish to thank the Syrians who have sought refuge in Jordan for their responsiveness and cooperation during this exercise.

A special thanks goes to the hard work of the operations team of Hazim Alrawashdeh, Fadi Shinnawi, and Majid Shdaifat and each individual enumerator from the REACH team whose engagement and enthusiasm throughout the mission is highly appreciated.

This CFSME was prepared by Erin Carey and Housam Alhmoud from WFP and Will Woodward and Katie Rickard from REACH. Helpful comments and contributions were also received from colleagues from the WFP and REACH teams, and we would like to thank UNHCR, UNICEF, UN Women, for providing their feedback on preliminary sector findings.
FOREWORD

As the Syrian crisis nears the end of its sixth year, Syrian refugee families are facing another year in exile with little possibility to return their place of origin and resume their usual lives.

The first WFP/REACH CFSME conducted in 2014 served as an initial baseline to assess registered Syrian refugee families’ vulnerability. The following year, particularly in light of reductions in assistance, WFP felt it was crucial to conduct a similar exercise to ensure we understand how food security and vulnerability are changing and to maintain evidence-based programming. Results from the 2015 CFSME clearly demonstrated the deterioration in refugees’ food security in comparison to the previous year, predominately as a result of reduced assistance. This highlighted the vulnerability of the Syrian refugee population; as they lacked the resilience capacity to cope with even small reductions in humanitarian assistance.

The 2016 WFP/REACH CFSME therefore builds on our experience from 2014 and 2015. Importantly, it provides directly comparable data to the previous years, enabling us to identify trends and better inform our interventions. In addition, understanding that many families are not living in isolation, we have worked more on understanding the dynamics and support networks within and between households. The 2016 CFSME report reveals that while the food security for registered Syrian refugees has improved since 2015, food security has not reached 2014 levels. This improvement in food security can be largely attributed to the ability of WFP to provide the planned level of assistance to its Syrian refugee beneficiaries for the greater part of 2016. However, it is critical to note that this improvement in food security has come at a cost. Syrian refugee families remain highly reliant on employing coping mechanisms, often irreversible ones, in order to maintain their food security. This factor underscores the overwhelming vulnerability of refugee households.

The findings contained in this report also shed greater light on the complexities of determining vulnerability to food insecurity; the results may challenge our preconceptions on who is likely to be vulnerable given the diversity of resource levels and inter-dependence within and between families. The report also helps us understand the link between food assistance and family participation in other sectors such as education and healthcare.

Despite the ongoing generous support from their Jordanian hosts, many refugee families are reaching the end of their ability to continue in exile. That said, the provision of food assistance is a critical lifeline for vulnerable refugee families and will remain as such until more durable solutions are cultivated for this population.

We would like to thank all our donors for their continued generous support and hope the findings contained in the report confirm the reasons why it is imperative to continue the delivery of food assistance in 2017.

Finally, I would like to thank all the colleagues from REACH and WFP who have been involved in this assessment for their hard work on collecting and analysing the data and writing the report, particularly REACH’s Will Woodward and Katie Rickard and WFP’s Erin Carey who have led the initiative. I am certain that this information laid out in the report will prove extremely useful for our work with the refugees in the near future.

Mageed Yahia,

Representative, WFP Jordan.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

SCOPE AND METHODS

Of the nearly five million Syrians who have fled their homeland in the past five years, more than 655,000 are now registered with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) as refugees in Jordan, the vast majority of whom (nearly 80 percent) live in host communities. The 2015 United Nations World Food Programme (WFP)/REACH Comprehensive Food Security Monitoring Exercise (CFSME) found that there had been a drastic decrease in food security of Syrian refugees living in host communities in Jordan since 2014, possibly due to widespread constraints on humanitarian funding and restrictions in the regulatory environment. The context has shifted once again in 2016, with a stabilisation in humanitarian funding and a concerted effort to enhance livelihood opportunities and develop the economic resilience of Syrian refugees living in Jordan. For example, nearly 35,000 work permits have been issued to Syrian refugees following the announcement of the Jordan Compact in February 2016. In order to understand the impact of these changes on the food security and broader welfare of refugees, WFP has partnered with REACH to conduct a third CFSME, covering all 12 governorates in Jordan as well as Azraq and Za’atari refugee camps. A methodology consistent with previous years has been applied to ensure comparability.

The overall objectives of CFSME 2016 are to assess current levels of refugee food security, identify trends in needs and vulnerabilities, and recognise the most vulnerable refugees. In turn, this informs WFP targeting and supports the prioritisation of families and households requiring urgent assistance. The trend analysis assesses the impact of specific contextual factors on food security, which can then be used to inform future humanitarian and government initiatives aimed at improving refugee welfare, as well as refining targeting and modalities of transfer. Furthermore, the CFSME 2016 data is comparable with the UNHCR-led interagency Vulnerability Assessment Framework (VAF), contributing to a wider information repository on refugee vulnerability for more effective humanitarian targeting. The findings in this report focus on food insecurity and how this interconnects and reinforces cross-sector vulnerability of refugees living within host communities, with comparisons to findings from the refugee camps where relevant. In total, 5,252 cases, representing 3,253 households and comprising 20,067 individuals, were surveyed between April and May 2016 for this monitoring exercise. In addition, sixteen focus group discussions amongst male and females were conducted to further explain trends in quantitative data.

1 UNHCR, exact figure as of 19 December 2016: 4,810,981
2 UNHCR, exact figures as of 19 December 2016: 655,675 registered Syrian refugees in Jordan, 514,642 in host communities
3 International Labour Organization, exact figure as of 7 December 2016: 34,467 work permits issued to Syrian refugees in Jordan
4 "Case" is the UNHCR unit of registration for families. It should be noted that Syrian refugee families do not always arrive in Jordan at the same time and so a single family may consist of multiple cases. A "household", according to WFP definition, is a group of people living together who share food. To this end, households can be comprised of multiple cases.
OVERVIEW OF FOOD SECURITY

CFSME 2016 results found that food security levels of Syrian refugees living in the host communities have increased since last year, with 28 percent of households now food secure compared with 15 percent in 2015. This improvement is mainly due to a stabilisation in food assistance, indicating that refugees are still largely in need of aid. Humanitarian funding remains below 2014 levels though, reflected in the fact that food security has not returned to the 2014 level, when 50 percent of households were food secure. Further, economic vulnerability persists; five percent of households have savings, while 87 percent are in debt.

Food security in the camps has also improved since last year. In the more recently opened Azraq camp, refugees are consuming a more diverse diet and using fewer coping strategies to ensure access to food than in 2015. In Za’atari refugee camp, 30 percent of households are now food secure, compared to 20 percent in 2015. Against a backdrop of stable assistance from humanitarian actors in the health, shelter, education, and WASH sectors, a substantial informal market has been evolving in the camp since 2013, granting refugees access to a more diverse range of food as well as offering a number of avenues for income generation, reducing the need to resort to coping mechanisms.

Access to food

In host communities, increases in food security have in part been driven by improvements in food consumption. Although the quantity of meals eaten has actually remained relatively constant since 2015, there has been an improvement in the quality of food eaten, likely due to the stabilisation in WFP food assistance. Households are more regularly consuming foods of higher nutritional value such as eggs, dairy products, and nuts and pulses. Nonetheless, some food types are difficult to access regardless of overall consumption levels—for example, even households with acceptable food consumption scores can only afford to eat meat once per week.

Further indicative of improved access to food, there has been a reduction since 2015 in the number of households resorting to coping strategies that actively reduce the volume of food consumed, such as limiting portion sizes at meal times or reducing the number of meals eaten per day. This also follows a broader trend that, as the crisis continues, refugees are shifting from using coping strategies that reduce intake of food to strategies that maintain access to food, such as borrowing food from friends and relatives or relying on less preferred and less expensive food, as well as livelihood-based coping strategies.

Consumption of higher nutritional quality food in Za’atari and Azraq camps has increased in 2016. In Za’atari refugee camp, households have increased their consumption of all food groups other than fish, and fewer households are relying on less preferred or less expensive food. In Azraq refugee camp, 89 percent of households have acceptable food consumption scores, compared with 77 percent in 2015, while dietary diversity scores have also improved. To some extent, this is due to recurring in-kind food distributions throughout 2016, as well as the opening of an informal market, although focus group discussions (FGDs) found that limited availability of cash hinders refugees’ ability to access cheaper and higher quality food in these markets.

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5 In Azraq camp, refugees were only interviewed in Village 3 and Village 6.
6 Livelihood-based coping strategies are the longer-term household measures deployed by households to cope with a lack of food or lack of money to buy food, such as borrowing money, reducing essential non-food expenditure, and begging.
Livelihood coping strategies
Fewer households are adopting the most severe livelihood coping strategies in order to meet their basic food needs. In particular, fewer households are sending members to work in socially degrading, exploitative, high risk, or illegal temporary jobs than in 2015 (37 percent in 2015, 26 percent in 2016). Nonetheless, more than 60 percent of households are resorting to crisis or emergency coping strategies. Indicative that refugee households in host communities continue to face difficulties accessing resources, 49 percent are reducing essential non-food expenditure in areas such as health and education in order to meet their food needs. Furthermore, the same proportion of households (67 percent) are purchasing food on credit as in 2015, contributing to growing debt levels and impeding refugees’ ability to develop economic resilience.

Access to resources
Skilled and unskilled labour represents the primary source of income for 40 percent of refugee households in host communities, slightly higher than the proportion of households reporting WFP food assistance and cash from aid organisations (36 percent) as their main source of income. This is a significant change since 2014, when humanitarian assistance was the main source of income for 80 percent of households, and is reflective of a diversification of income sources as the crisis continues. This is not to say that WFP food assistance does not still represent a crucial source of income for a large number of households. Regression analysis found that households receiving higher levels of WFP assistance per household member are more likely to be food secure, and FGDs indicate that it is a major factor in ensuring sustained access to food.

Livelihood coping strategies are categorized according to their severity. “Stress” coping strategies are those which indicates a reduced ability to deal with future shocks due to a current reduction in resources or increase in debts and include spending savings, buying food on credit, and selling household goods. “Crisis” coping strategies are those that directly reduce future productivity, including human capital formation, and include reducing essential non-food expenditure and selling productive assets. “Emergency” coping strategies are those that affect future productivity, but are more difficult to reverse or more dramatic in nature, and include sending adult household members to beg, sending child household members to beg, and sending household members to work in high-risk, socially degrading, exploitative or illegal temporary jobs.

Food consumption score multiple regression (Adjusted \( R^2 = 0.331 \)) and livelihood coping strategy index multiple regression (Adjusted \( R^2 = 0.397 \)).
For those refugees who are able to find work opportunities, the vast majority (82 percent) are engaged in temporary work. Furthermore, given approximately 34,000 work permits had been issued as of December 2016, this work is also largely informal. This kind of work is inherently inconsistent and unstable, and its informal nature offers little in the way of job security. In the short term, this inhibits refugees’ ability to sustain a consistent level of access to food and other goods and services, as well as reducing their capacity to deal with sudden economic shocks. In the longer term, fluctuating income streams make it difficult to plan for the future, and households could struggle to repay debts and build savings.

Shelter
In 2016, average household size (6.4 members per household) is well above the 2014 level (4.5 refugees per household), suggesting that families continue to pool resources by sharing between more people and strive to keep expenditure on shelter to a minimum. Rent represents one of the largest financial outgoings for households in host communities, accounting for 30 percent of households’ total expenditure. Moreover, of the 33 percent of households that have been forced to move prior to their current location, more than half (52 percent) did so because they were faced with no choice but to reduce rental expenditure.

Healthcare
In total, households in host communities are allocating 11 percent of expenditure to healthcare, more than two times higher than in 2014. This is largely due to the cessation of government provided medical services for Syrian refugees in November 2014; FGDs found that health issues requiring urgent and expensive treatment, such as appendicitis or heart surgery, can lead to a substantial increase in debt and can be a key driver of vulnerability. As such, households with members who have serious medical conditions, physical impairments, or have been seriously injured have an average of JOD 779 in debt, compared with JOD 562 for households that do not. In turn, fewer resources are available to meet other needs, such as food consumption—84 percent of households with the above medical issues have acceptable food consumption scores, compared with 88 percent of households who do not.

Education
More school-aged children are accessing education in 2016 than in 2015, with over two thirds of 5 to 12 year olds now attending school compared with around 60 percent last year. Potentially due to stabilised assistance levels and access to other income sources, households face less pressure to take children out of school and send them to work to support household incomes—the percentage of households sending children under 18 to work as a coping strategy has fallen slightly from 8 percent in 2015 to 6 percent in 2016.
WHO ARE THE MOST VULNERABLE?

Despite overall increases in the food security of Syrian refugees living in Jordan, a high level of vulnerability remains. Households are still largely in need of humanitarian assistance and the majority continue to resort to coping strategies in order to maintain access to food. According to the results of this year’s CFSME, the primary factors impacting on food security are as follows:

- **Food assistance:** Households that receive less WFP food assistance per household member are more likely to be food insecure, suggesting that stabilised WFP food assistance has been a key factor in the food security improvements since 2015. Food assistance serves as a stable, reliable income stream, reducing the need to adopt livelihood coping strategies in order to meet basic food needs.

- **Livelihoods:** While work offers an alternative income stream for refugee households, economic pressures have forced many to accept work in exploitative, socially degrading, or high-risk conditions. This indicates that, in the current context, access to employment does not necessarily translate into reduced vulnerability. This will be explored in more detail below.

- **Healthcare:** Households with members who have serious medical conditions, physical impairments, mental impairments, or have been seriously injured are more likely to be food insecure. Households that access public hospitals and public clinics for medical treatment are more likely to adopt livelihood coping strategies due to the high costs of medical fees, whereas households that access pharmacies are less likely to adopt coping strategies.

- **Debt:** Households that take on credit or borrow money as the main source of income are more likely to adopt livelihood coping strategies. This is not a sustainable source of income, particularly if households are met with economic shocks, and in the longer term will likely result in households adopting more severe coping strategies in order to meet their needs and pay off their debts simultaneously.
• **Demographics:** Households where the head has completed further education (university degree, diploma, or postgraduate degree) are more likely to have higher food consumption scores and less likely to use livelihood coping strategies. This is potentially because these households have significantly higher levels of savings on average. Beyond this, regression analysis suggests that there are few demographic factors that can serve as solid predictors of overall food security. For example, households with more children under the age of 18 are more likely to have better food consumption scores, although they are also more prone to adopt livelihood coping strategies in order to maintain access to food.

• **Informal tented settlements (ITS):** Despite improvements since 2015, food security levels of refugees living in ITS remain well below those of refugees living in other types of accommodation. Overall, 11 percent of ITS households’ food consumption scores fall into the “poor” category, compared with 2 percent of non-ITS households. Furthermore, ITS households are using more severe coping strategies in order to access food; 38 percent of ITS households are using emergency livelihood coping strategies, such as sending household members to work in high-risk, socially degrading, exploitative or illegal temporary jobs, whereas 26 percent of non-ITS households are using these strategies.

**RECOMMENDED INTERVENTIONS**

Humanitarian assistance has been a key driver of food security improvements for refugees in Jordan over the past year. For many households, this represents a stable foundation upon which other income sources can be sought to supplement welfare improvements. In essence, assistance remains vital—as was found in CFSME 2015, reductions of assistance can have adverse effects on refugees’ food security—but livelihoods-based solutions for securing refugee welfare need to be developed and implemented in parallel. Accordingly, and based on the findings of CFSME 2016, WFP/REACH make the following short, medium, and long-term recommendations.
In the short term (within the next 12 months):

- Methods should be found to mitigate the negative impacts of health costs for households requiring emergency treatments or with chronically ill members, such as emergency medical voucher transfers, insurance plans, or longer-term payment schemes. The high costs associated with medical treatment means health issues represent an ever-present, unpredictable threat to refugee welfare. Households must often take on substantial levels of debt to cover medical fees or risk not receiving treatment. Support for medical fees would grant more refugees access to basic medical attention, which would help mitigate the adverse effects of health issues and alleviate the subsequent strains on household resources.

- Solutions for more affordable shelter and housing options should be considered. Rent is one of the largest financial outgoings for households living in host communities and is an expenditure that households often fail to cover. When possible, households borrow money to keep up with rental payments, but when this is not possible, they face eviction and relocate to likely worse quality accommodation. Access to more affordable shelter would reduce this financial burden and allow for the reallocation of resources to other household needs.

- Increased livelihoods support for refugees living in ITS communities. The proportion of ITS households resorting to extreme livelihood coping strategies remains high (38 percent) indicating that these households are struggling to access resources. Without additional support, these households will likely resort to more and more extreme measures in order to maintain access to food. Livelihoods support, in the form of Cash for Work and additional voucher transfers would support these households in improving access to food, while also supporting other costs such as transport to basic amenities.

In the medium term (within one to the three years):

- WFP food assistance should continue for Syrian refugees in both camps and host communities with continuous reviews of targeting criteria and implementation approach. Syrian refugees receiving a higher level of WFP assistance are less likely to be food insecure, therefore coverage should be expanded and assistance increased to refugee households unable to meet their basic food needs. Given how quickly changes in context can impact vulnerability levels, targeting criteria should be regularly evaluated and a more established referral system should be developed to ensure cases are carefully reviewed and included for assistance where necessary.

- Support for formal and decent economic opportunities should be prioritised. Improved access to livelihoods should enable refugee households to start the transition towards independent, resilient, and sustainable income generation. However, current work opportunities are mostly informal and for some refugees, the work is exploitative, high-risk, or socially degrading, which can lead to higher levels of vulnerability and increased food insecurity. Refugees need to gain access to decent and fair work that reduces their need for humanitarian assistance and enhances self-reliance.

- Tailored livelihoods opportunities should be provided for refugees who are less able to work. Current work opportunities are largely in sectors that require manual labour, such as construction and agriculture. Some refugee households, for example those with members with disabilities or headed by single or widowed females, may be less able to engage in this type of work. Tailored livelihoods programmes, such as work in the home or even a social safety net, should be considered to ensure vulnerable population groups are not left behind.
In the long term (within three to five years):

- **Programming decisions should be made to gradually reduce refugee reliance on assistance, with an emphasis on longer-term sustainability.** To improve refugees’ resilience, the need for humanitarian assistance should be reduced in the long term. For this to occur in a sustainable manner, it will need to be a gradual, transitional process whereby all relevant actors make programming decisions with potentially disruptive scenarios in mind. Fluctuations in assistance and changes in context impair refugees’ ability to meet their needs; results from 2015 show that refugees are extremely vulnerable to rapid deteriorations in welfare, and several years of improvement can very quickly come undone. Thus an underlying level of assistance is necessary for some time to come to ensure a humane transition to self-reliance.
OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

INTRODUCTION

Since the onset of the Syrian conflict in early 2011, nearly five million Syrians have been forced to seek refuge in the neighbouring countries of Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey, Iraq and Egypt. Of those refugees, 655,000 are registered with UNHCR in Jordan, almost 80 percent of whom live in host communities while the remainder live in official refugee camps. In 2014, in order to assess the vulnerability of Syrian refugees, WFP and REACH partnered to conduct a nation-wide Comprehensive Food Security Monitoring Exercise (CFSME). CFSME 2014 highlighted the importance of WFP food vouchers for Syrian refugees; WFP assistance was the primary source of income for three quarters of households, playing a key role in ensuring that 50 percent of households were food secure. By identifying the characteristics of the most vulnerable households, CFSME 2014 also enabled WFP, working in partnership with the UNHCR-led interagency Vulnerability Assessment Framework (VAF), to implement a targeting strategy for the provision of assistance to the most food insecure households in late 2014.

As a result of refugees’ need for WFP food vouchers to maintain access to food, CFSME 2014 estimated that the removal of WFP assistance would leave 85 percent of households with insufficient resources to meet their basic food needs. Over the following year, widespread gaps in humanitarian funding meant that although food assistance was not removed entirely, it was reduced significantly. In October 2014, WFP implemented targeting in host communities, removing assistance for refugees considered to be the least vulnerable. In January 2015, assistance for eligible refugees was lowered from JOD 24 per person per month to JOD 20, in line with WFP’s food basket revaluation. However, due to funding shortfalls, beneficiaries residing in host communities received only JOD 13 for the first three months of the year. In April 2015, WFP implemented a tiered strategy in host communities, providing JOD 10 per month to vulnerable refugees and JOD 20 per month to extremely vulnerable refugees.

10 UNHCR, exact figure as of 19 December 2016: 4,810,981
11 Host communities refers to refugees living in urban, peri-urban and rural areas, outside of camps.
12 UNHCR, exact figure as of 19 December: 655,675 registered Syrian refugees in Jordan, 514,642 in host communities
13 VAF is a UNHCR-led interagency initiative to provide comprehensive and comparable information on the vulnerability of Syrian refugees.
WFP beneficiary classification

In April 2015, WFP introduced a tiered targeting approach for food assistance, to ensure the delivery of aid to those most in need. Since then, assistance is determined according to expenditure levels and specific vulnerability characteristics, as follows:

- **Non-beneficiaries:** Refugee cases with monthly per capita expenditure above JOD 68, the national poverty line, do not receive assistance. There are some exceptions to this rule based on demographic criteria, such as if the principal applicant is a widow or the case is already receiving UNHCR cash assistance.

- **Vulnerable:** Refugee cases with monthly per capita expenditure between JOD 30 and JOD 68 receive JOD 10 per person per month.

- **Extremely vulnerable:** Refugee cases with monthly per capita expenditure below JOD 30 receive JOD 20 per person per month. It should be noted that cases categorised as extremely vulnerable received JOD 15 per person in January and February 2016.

- **Camps:** All Syrian refugees living in camps receive JOD 20 per month plus JOD 4 of bread.

Figure 1: Monthly WFP assistance levels for Syrian refugees in Jordan, January 2014 to June 2016

Beyond reductions in humanitarian assistance, there were several other key contextual changes in the year that followed CFSME 2014. The authorities were more active in preventing refugees from working without permits, while the provision of free healthcare for registered refugees ceased. The cumulative effect of these changes increased the challenges for refugees in accessing food, resources, and basic goods and services.

For refugees living in camps, the contextual shifts were not so severe. Despite the drops in humanitarian assistance, refugees continued to receive full WFP assistance at JOD 20 per month plus JOD 4 worth of bread. Service provision for education, healthcare, shelter, and WASH also remained stable.

14 “Case” is the UNHCR unit of registration for families. It should be noted that Syrian refugee families do not always arrive in Jordan at the same time and so a single family may consist of multiple cases. A “household”, according to WFP definition, is a group of people living together who share food. To this end, households can be comprised of multiple cases.
WFP partnered with REACH again in 2015 to conduct a second CFSME. The exercise found that there had been a drastic decrease in food security; 85 percent of households in host communities were food insecure or vulnerable to food insecurity, compared with 50 percent in the previous year.\textsuperscript{15} This was largely driven by a depletion of resources and reinforced the CFSME 2014 finding that refugees were largely in need of WFP assistance for maintaining access to food. There have been multiple studies that support these findings; in a 2015 study by CARE International, food needs were identified as a primary concern by 57 percent of respondents,\textsuperscript{16} while the VAF Baseline Survey (2015) found that around 79 percent of households were highly or severely vulnerable to food insecurity.\textsuperscript{17}

In Za’atari refugee camp, the proportion of households with acceptable food consumption scores remained high at 92 percent (95 percent in 2014) illustrating the benefits of protecting the delivery of assistance in the camp. Refugees living in the more recently opened Azraq refugee camp were found to have food access similar to those living in host communities; 78 percent had acceptable food consumption scores, compared with 76 percent in host communities. This indicated that greater access to alternative livelihood opportunities and informal markets was key to the food consumption levels of refugees living in Za’atari.

By the end of 2015, humanitarian funding had stabilised and eligible refugees were receiving the intended amount of monthly WFP assistance. It had also become clear that refugees needed access to secure, longer-term incomes for vulnerability to be reduced and economic resilience to be improved. In early 2016, the Jordanian government eased Syrians’ access to work permits by adapting documentation requirements and introducing a grace period during which fees for work permit applications were waived. At the same time, strict regulations on illegal employment made it difficult for refugees to access livelihood opportunities without work permits. By December 2016, 34,467 work permits had been issued to Syrian refugees in Jordan.\textsuperscript{18}

The objective of this year’s CFSME is to understand how these developments in context have impacted refugee welfare. It seeks to identify which specific factors are driving increases or decreases in vulnerability and, by comparing results with CFSME 2014 and CFSME 2015, it aims to explore how this has changed over time. Analysis of refugee households in host communities and camps are presented separately due to contextual differences, although comparisons are made where appropriate. Moreover, given the exercise was conducted around the same time as the launch of various schemes to improve access to livelihood opportunities, CFSME 2016 serves as a baseline for future livelihoods assessments.

Ultimately, the findings of the study will be used to support and advance WFP targeting criteria, by identifying the characteristics of those most in need of assistance. Further, it will contribute to a growing pool of information on Syrian refugees living in Jordan, to facilitate the use of evidence-based programming by humanitarian actors going forward.

\textsuperscript{15} Results of the Consolidated Approach for Reporting Indicators of Food Security (CARI) can be found in Annex II: CARI Food Security Index
\textsuperscript{16} CARE International, "Five Years into Exile" (2015)
\textsuperscript{17} UNHCR, "Vulnerability Assessment Framework Baseline Survey" (2015)
\textsuperscript{18} International Labour Organization, "Support to the Ministry of Labour in regulating of Syrian workers in Jordan" (2016)
OBJECTIVES

The objectives of CFSME 2016 are:

1. Recognise current needs and vulnerabilities of Syrian refugee households across Jordan in camp and non-camp settings;
2. Identify trends in needs and vulnerabilities by triangulating findings with CFSME 2014 and CFSME 2015;
3. Assess the impact of WFP’s targeting approach and fluctuating levels of assistance on the food security of Syrian refugees;
4. Provide programmatic recommendations for the short, medium and long term.

METHODOLOGY

In order to meet these objectives, CFSME 2016 used a methodology consistent with CFSME 2014 and CFSME 2015 with updates to key elements in order to capture the current context of Syrian refugees living in Jordan.

Sampling

CFSME 2016 used a stratified sampling method focusing on the registered refugee population per district in order to ensure representative findings with a 90 percent confidence level and 10 percent margin of error for all districts of Jordan. For each district, a random sample of refugee cases were drawn from the UNHCR database. Between 6 April and 14 April 2016, REACH conducted a call centre, where the refugee cases drawn in the sample were contacted by phone. To account for movement patterns, each family was asked where they are currently living. With this information, a database was created to identify where refugees have registered previously with UNHCR and where they are living now. From this database, accounting for the proportions of refugees moving in and out of each district, a final random sample was drawn in each district. The final sample used for data collection included Syrian refugees who had moved recently, as well as those households who have remained stationary.

19 “Case” is the UNHCR unit of registration for families. It should be noted that Syrian refugee families do not always arrive in Jordan at the same time and so a single family may consist of multiple cases. A “household”, according to WFP definition, is a group of people living together who share food. To this end, households can be comprised of multiple cases.


21 It was found that 29 percent of households had moved from where they were last registered with UNHCR.
Between 21 April and 30 May, enumerators conducted in-person interviews with all cases listed in the final sample. Interviews were also conducted with all additional cases found to be sharing the same household as the cases in the final sample, allowing indicators to be aggregated to the household level for findings comparable with 2014 and 2015. In total, 5,252 cases, representing 3,253 households and 20,067 individuals, were interviewed for this exercise. As a result, findings are generalizable according to administrative boundary (district/governorate/national level), context (camp/non-camp), and targeting status (included/excluded) levels. It should be noted that while the random sample for Za’atari was drawn from refugees living in all districts, refugees were only interviewed in Village 3 and Village 6 in Azraq and not the newly established villages for refugees who have recently arrived from the north eastern border.

**Table 1: Statistical significance, Syrian refugee cases**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographic level</th>
<th>Confidence level</th>
<th>Margin of error</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National level</td>
<td>99 percent</td>
<td>2 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governorate level</td>
<td>95 percent</td>
<td>5 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District level</td>
<td>90 percent</td>
<td>10 percent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Questionnaire**

The questionnaire was designed in collaboration with technical experts from WFP and REACH to provide findings comparable to CFSME 2014 and CFSME 2015, as well as to contribute to inter-agency targeting models. As was the case in CFSME 2015, the CFSME 2016 questionnaire contained the following features:

- The questionnaire was designed to capture information at both the case level and the household level. In Jordan, many agencies use data from the UNHCR Refugee Assistance Information System (RAIS) database, which provides information on refugee families, to design targeting models and prioritise refugees for assistance. By capturing both household and case level information, the report can speak to both units of analysis.
- The questionnaire incorporated indicators from the interagency VAF initiative. Findings within this report aim to contribute to this framework so as to provide more effective and evidence based targeting.

Furthermore, the questionnaire contained the following additional components:

- For household members who had worked in the month prior to being interviewed, additional questions were asked about the sector (construction, manufacturing, etc.), the location of this work (at home, formal office, factory, etc.), and the income generated by this work.
- Households were asked about type of occupancy (i.e. owned or rented). For those renting, questions were added on the duration of the rental contract, the individuals responsible for paying rent, and the rent payment amounts. Households were also asked how many times they were forced to change accommodation prior to their current location, and why they were forced to do so. A number of additional questions were added to contribute to the VAF, including asking households which strategies they had used to cope with poverty in the last six months.

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22 The full questionnaire can be found in the annex of the report.
Focus group discussions
In order to identify trends in the quantitative data, 16 focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted across Jordan. The FGDs were designed to expand on and explain trends in the quantitative data collected in the household survey. FGD locations were chosen to capture a range of geographic locations (Northern, Central, and Southern governorates) as well as different settlement types (urban, rural, public land ITS, private land ITS, and camps). For each location, male and female refugees aged 18 and over were randomly sampled to find participants willing to host the FGDs. Once this had been determined, a random sample was drawn from a list of refugees living in the local area. Where necessary, a snowball approach was incorporated, whereby the host of the FGD invited neighbours and friends to also participate. Between 6 and 11 participants took place in each FGD, enough to allow for a range of responses to be captured on each topic while also ensuring there were not too many participants to prevent individuals from engaging in the discussion. Participants were asked to discuss their level of food security since their arrival in Jordan, identify the factors that have contributed to changes in food security over time, and explain the magnitude of each factor’s impact on food security.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Private land ITS</th>
<th>Public land ITS</th>
<th>Refugees</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ANALYSIS
The following section outlines the methods used in the analysis to convert the survey data into the findings that are presented in this report.

Aggregation from case level to household level
To ensure compatibility with VAF, quantitative survey data was primarily collected at the case level. To produce findings comparable with previous CFSMEs, case level data was aggregated to the household level (CFSME 2014 was only conducted at the household level). Additionally, household level information offers a more holistic view of refugees’ food security, given the tendency of cases to share resources within households.

In order to aggregate the variables from the case level to the household level, different functions were required, based on the nature of the variable. For some variables such as expenditure, income, and household members, a sum of all cases in the household was taken to generate the total household figure (for example, the incomes of all cases in the household were summed to determine total household income level). For other variables, such as the usage of livelihood coping strategies, frequency of consumption of food items, or ownership of household assets, the maximum value of all the cases in the household was taken. For example, if one case in the household was using a particular coping strategy then the household as a whole was determined to be using that coping strategy. In terms of food consumption, if one case in a household consumed meat three times per week while another case in the household consumed meat once per week, then the maximum value (three times per week) was determine as the overall household meat consumption frequency.
WFP beneficiary classification

The value of WFP assistance received by households is an example of data that was aggregated from the case level to the household level. In host communities, WFP assistance is determined at the case level, according to the vulnerability of the case—cases that are determined to be “extremely vulnerable” receive JOD 20 per case member per month; cases that are “vulnerable” receive JOD 10 per case member per month; and cases perceived to be the least vulnerable do not receive assistance (non-beneficiaries). Several households consist of multiple cases receiving different levels of assistance. For example, one household may contain one case of five members receiving JOD 10 per month and another case with three members receiving JOD 20 per month. In order to make comparisons between the WFP beneficiary strata at the household level, the value of WFP assistance per household member was calculated. Households were then categorised as follows:

- Extremely vulnerable: households receiving JOD 15 or more per household member.
- Vulnerable: households receiving JOD 5 or more per household member but less than JOD 15 per household member.
- Non-beneficiary: households receiving less than JOD 5 per household member.

This gives an indication of the average assistance level received by the household. For example, if a household consists of three non-beneficiary members (receiving no assistance) and one vulnerable member (receiving JOD 10 per month), then the average assistance per HH member is JOD 2.5 per month. This household is therefore classified as non-beneficiary, as the majority of household members are not receiving assistance.

It should be noted that the CFSME 2016 data feeds directly into WFP’s Food Security Outcome Monitoring (FSOM). FSOM is a monitoring exercise conducted quarterly to measure the food security outcomes of WFP beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, comparing how these change over time and how they are affected by fluctuations in WFP food assistance. To this end, the CFSME 2016 data represents the second FSOM round (Q2 2016). Where relevant, findings from the initial FSOM (Q1 2016) have also been referenced in this report.


A key objective of CFSME 2016 is to triangulate findings with CFSME 2014 and CFSME 2015 in order to provide trend analysis over multiple years. This allows for an understanding of the impact of specific contextual changes on refugee welfare over time. In order to meet this objective and to ensure comparisons between the three years are statistically robust, comparisons between 2014, 2015, and 2016 only include households in which all Syrians are registered refugees.

The food security index

The food security index is a global measure of food consumption and economic vulnerability, calculated using three indicators covering the short and longer term:

1. The food consumption score (FCS) giving a snapshot of food consumption.
2. Livelihood coping strategies.
3. Food expenditure share, which indicates the extent to which households have remaining expenditure after spending money on food.
The food security index used in this report is an adaptation of WFP’s Consolidated Approach for Reporting Indicators of Food Security (CARI) food security index, piloted in CFSME (2014) and used again in CFSME (2015). CFSME (2014) utilized a grid system to categorize households according to their food security situation. To establish the overall food security of Syrian refugee households, the three core indicators within the two domains described were first calculated and the grid system below was then used to categorize households.

![CFSME food security index grid](image)

It should be noted that the context of Azraq refugee camp is different than Za’atari refugee camp in that refugees have limited ability to adopt livelihood coping strategies such as engaging in illegal work. Provided the food security index is heavily influenced by livelihood coping strategies, it is not an appropriate metric to measure food security in the context of Azraq. Therefore, food consumption scores will be used as a proxy for food security.

### The food consumption score

The food consumption score, a global WFP indicator, is a key component of the food security index and measures both the quality and frequency of consumption of different food groups. CFSME 2014 updated the food consumption score to reflect the dietary profiles of Syrian refugees living in Jordan, and this updated score has been applied to CFSME 2015 and CFSME 2016 results. The food consumption score calculates the consumption of eight food groups weighted by their dietary value, as defined by WFP, during the seven-day recall period preceding the assessment.

| Table 3: Food groups and weightings for the Food Consumption Score |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| **Food group**  | **Food item**   | **Weight**      |
| Meat            | Beef, chicken, goat, eggs, fish, seafood | 4              |
| Dairy products  | Milk, yoghurt, other dairy products      | 4              |
| Pulses          | Beans, peas, nuts and seeds              | 3              |
| Main staples    | Rice, bread, cereals, tubers             | 2              |
| Vegetables      | Vegetables, leaves                         | 1              |
| Fruit           | Fruits                                      | 1              |
| Sweets          | Sugar, sugar products, sweets, honey       | 0.5            |
| Oil             | Oils, fats and butter                      | 0.5            |
| Condiments      | Spices, tea, coffee and salt               | 0              |
Households are profiled according to their overall food consumption score and are described as having poor, borderline or acceptable food consumption scores based upon the below thresholds.

**Table 4: Food consumption score thresholds**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profile</th>
<th>Score threshold</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>28 or less</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borderline</td>
<td>Between 28.01 and 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acceptable</td>
<td>More than 42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The dietary diversity score**

The dietary diversity score is a global indicator which measures the quality of food consumption and serves as a proxy for the nutritional intake of households. The dietary diversity score is based on the consumption of the seven food groups displayed in Table 5. The score ranges from 0 to 7, where the maximum score is 7, and it is calculated by adding the number of food groups of nutritional relevance that have been consumed in the past week. Households with a lower dietary score have a diet which is less varied and of lower nutritional value.

**Table 5: Dietary diversity food groups**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dietary diversity score food groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dairy products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cereals, roots and tubers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulses and legumes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meats, fish and eggs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oils and fats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The food consumption coping strategy index**

The food consumption coping strategy index (reduced CSI) is a global predictor of the onset of food insecurity and measures households’ short-term behaviour when they do not have sufficient access to food. The reduced CSI assesses how many times during a seven-day period households employed five specific coping strategies in response to a shortage of food. Each coping strategy has a standard weight reflecting the severity of the coping strategy used. By multiplying the frequency of usage by the severity of the coping strategy, and overall index score is generated, ranging from zero to 56.

**Table 6: Reduced CSI weighting**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consumption-based coping strategies</th>
<th>Severity weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rely on less preferred and less expensive food</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limit portion size at meal time</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce the number of meals per day</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borrow food or rely on help from relatives or friends</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restrict consumption by adults for small children to eat</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23 Steyn, Nel, Nanetl, Kennedy, Labadarios, "Food variety and dietary diversity scores in children: are they good indicators of dietary adequacy?" Public Health Nutrition (2006)
24 Maxwell, Coates, Vaitla, "How do different indicators of household food security compare?" (2013)
The livelihood coping strategy index
In 2015, to provide a contextualised understanding of the type of coping strategies adopted, WFP/REACH updated the livelihood coping strategy index. The results of the context specific coping strategy index has been integrated throughout the report, however, for the purposes of comparing between 2014, 2015, and 2016 CFSME data, the global livelihood coping strategy index was analysed. This index is a global WFP indicator, comprised of eight coping strategies, which measure longer term household behaviours such as asset depletion, debt and accepting exploitative work households have adopted within a 30 day time period.

Table 7: Livelihood coping strategies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Livelihood-based coping strategy</th>
<th>Severity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spent savings</td>
<td>Stress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bought food on credit</td>
<td>Stress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sold household goods</td>
<td>Stress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduced essential non-food expenditures</td>
<td>Crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sold productive assets</td>
<td>Crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accepted high risk, socially degrading or exploitative temporary jobs</td>
<td>Emergency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sent adult household members to beg</td>
<td>Emergency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sent child household members to beg</td>
<td>Emergency</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Principal component analysis: The wealth index
Household wealth is determined by a number of factors, including savings levels, debt levels, and ownership of assets. In order to understand how wealth varies by household, it is necessary to consider all wealth related indicators collectively and understand which combination of indicators best explain overall household wealth levels. To achieve this, a principal component analysis (PCA) was conducted. The purpose of the PCA is to replace the wealth-related variables, which may be correlated, with a set of uncorrelated principal components (aggregate scores which explain the variance across all wealth-related questions included in the analysis). The first component explains the largest proportion of the total variance in the variables related to wealth, and is used as the wealth index. To this end, the wealth index is a composite index composed of key asset ownership variables, and serves as a proxy indicator for household wealth.

Multiple regression analysis: Who are the food insecure
To determine which factors contributed the most to overall food insecurity, a multiple regression analysis was performed using two of the core indicators which are used to calculate the food security index: food consumption score and livelihood coping strategy index. The regression analysis identified the household characteristics that are most closely associated with increased or decreased food consumption levels and usage of livelihood-based coping strategies. Characteristics that are found to negatively affect food consumption levels and increase the usage of livelihood-based coping strategies have been highlighted as characteristics of households more likely to be food insecure.

Table 7: Livelihood coping strategies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Livelihood-based coping strategy</th>
<th>Severity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spent savings</td>
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<td>Emergency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sent child household members to beg</td>
<td>Emergency</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The CFSME 2016 wealth index is composed of the following assets: beds, winter clothes, refrigerator, kitchen stove, water heater, table, sofa, heating for the house, air conditioning, washing machine, television, improved latrine (cement slab with flush), improved water source (piped from public source).
LIMITATIONS AND CHALLENGES

The following limitations were identified in the methodology:

- To ensure consent and to confirm the location of prospective interviewees, 8,500 refugees were randomly sampled from the UNHCR database and called prior to being interviewed. Overall, 5,082 were willing to be interviewed while 143 declined to participate, which may have created a small exclusion bias. Given the size of the sample (3,253 households), this is unlikely to have affected the results. This may mean that some households who would prefer to not discuss income sources, for example those with members working illegally or those exposed to increased protection risks, may be omitted from the sample.

- CFSME 2016 sampled at the case level, similar to CFSME 2015. On the other hand, CFSME 2014 was sampled at the household level. In order to ensure comparability of findings with CFSME 2014, CFSME 2016 data was aggregated from the case level to the household level during the analysis phase where possible. Further, households containing non-registered refugees in the CFSME 2014 dataset were excluded from trend analysis.

- The manner in which food expenditure data was collected differed slightly between CFSME 2015 and CFSME 2016. In CFSME 2015, refugees were asked their total food expenditure, excluding WFP food vouchers, and the value of WFP food assistance was retrospectively added in. In CFSME 2016, refugees were asked to provide their total food expenditure including WFP food assistance. Due to this discrepancy, food expenditure results from CFSME 2015 have been omitted from this report.

- The context of Azraq refugee camp is different in that refugees have limited ability to adopt livelihood coping strategies such as engaging in illegal work. The food security index is heavily influenced by livelihood coping strategies and as such, it is not an appropriate metric to measure food security in the context of Azraq.

The following challenges were encountered during data collection and analysis:

- Data collection for the household survey was typically conducted during regular daytime working hours. As such, household members who were working were not always available to be interviewed. This occasionally meant head of households were not available to be interviewed. In the event of head of household absence, interviews were only conducted if a household member over the age of 18 was present with a solid understanding of household activities. This may have resulted in intermittent misreporting of information. In order to minimise the impact of this, respondents were encouraged to call heads of households when uncertain of particular questions. Enumerators also followed up with phone calls to heads of households to ensure accuracy of responses.

- A number of refugees were unavailable for interviews during data collection due to the urban verification process, whereby refugees update their Ministry of Interior (MoI) cards and receive back documentation handed over upon arrival in Jordan. This only affected data collection in one governorate (Aqaba governorate) and in order to make the shortfall of respondents another call centre was conducted with the same random methodology applied as in the original call centre.

FOOD SECURITY

The following section assesses changes in the food security of refugees living in host communities and refugee camps over time. Further details on the composition and construction of the food security index can be found in the methodology.

REFUGEES LIVING IN HOST COMMUNITIES

Food security levels of Syrian refugees living in host communities have increased in 2016, with 28 percent of households now food secure compared with 15 percent in 2015. Despite this improvement, the proportion of food secure households remains well below 2014 levels (50 percent), and the majority (72 percent) of households—replicating approximately 370,000 refugees—28—are vulnerable to food insecurity or are food insecure.

Figure 3: Food security index, Syrian refugees living in host communities

28 UNCHR, Statistical Report on UNHCR Registered Syrians (15 December 2016)
Figure 4: Food insecurity by governorate, refugees in host communities
Compared with 2015, there is a lower percentage of food insecure households in all governorates except for Irbid, where the percentage of food insecure households remained approximately the same. However, more than 60 percent of households are food insecure or vulnerable to food insecurity in all governorates, whereas this was the case in only two governorates in 2014. The largest increases in food security levels since 2015 have been in Amman, Al Balqa and Jerash governorates, while Al Tafilah and Al Zarqa are the only governorates where more than 80 percent of refugee households (representing approximately 1,200 and 39,000 refugees respectively) are either vulnerable to food insecurity or are food insecure. This difference is largely driven by usage of livelihood coping strategies—in Al Tafilah, 48 percent of households are sending household members to work in exploitative, socially degrading, high-risk, or illegal temporary work, while 42 percent of households in Al Zarqa are using this strategy.

**REFUGEES LIVING IN CAMPS**

For Syrians living in Azraq and Za’atari refugee camps, food security levels are higher than for Syrians living in host communities. This is likely due to the relative stability of the context in the camps, particularly in Za’atari. For example, WFP food assistance for all refugees in the camps has remained at JOD 20 per month plus JOD 4 of fresh bread since the start of 2015, while the provision of services for shelter, healthcare, education and WASH have also been fairly constant. On the other hand, Syrians living in host communities have had higher exposure to external shocks such as changes in rent levels or healthcare issues, and face additional expenditures in areas such as transport.

Food security in Za’atari refugee camp has continued to improve over time; 30 percent of households are now food secure, compared with 20 percent in 2015. Za’atari has been subject to ongoing infrastructure developments and humanitarian programming based on more consistent and comprehensive assessments. Furthermore, against this backdrop of stable assistance from humanitarian actors, a substantial informal market has been evolving in the camp since 2013, granting refugees access to a broad range of goods and services as well as a number of avenues for income generation. During FGDs, a number of female refugees stated that they believed 2016 was the best year with regards to service delivery and stability of assistance. This food security improvement is likely reflective of these developments.

Across both camps, food security appears to be improving, with Azraq camp witnessing an increase in food consumption scores; in 2016, 89 percent of households have acceptable food consumption scores as compared to 77 percent in 2015. The context of Azraq refugee camp is different in that refugees have limited ability to adopt livelihood coping strategies such as engaging in illegal work. The food security index is heavily influenced by livelihood coping strategies and as such, it is not an appropriate metric to measure food security in the context of Azraq. Therefore, food consumption scores will be used as a proxy for food security.

![Figure 5: Food security index, Syrian refugees living in Za’atari refugee camp](image)

2014 2015 2016

- **Food secure**
  - 12%
  - 20%
  - 30%

- **Vulnerable to food insecurity**
  - 83%
  - 72%
  - 65%

- **Food insecure**
  - 4%
  - 8%
  - 5%

2014 2015 2016

**UNCHCR, Statistical Report on UNHCR Registered Syrians (15 December 2016)**
ACCESS TO FOOD

The following section focuses on the quantity and quality of food consumed by refugees. It also explores the consumption-based coping strategies used by refugees in order to maintain food consumption levels. Further details on the composition and construction of the food consumption score, dietary diversity score, consumption-based coping strategy index, and livelihood coping strategy index can be found in the methodology.

REFUGEES LIVING IN HOST COMMUNITIES

In 2016, food consumption levels of Syrian refugees living in host communities have improved, with a higher percentage (85 percent) of households with an acceptable food consumption score than in 2015 (76 percent). Food consumption scores have either remained at approximately the same level or improved in all governorates. Madaba is the only governorate where fewer than 80 percent of households have an acceptable food consumption score—this was the case in eight out of the twelve governorates in 2015. The governorates that experienced the greatest improvements in food consumption levels between 2015 and 2016 were Amman and Mafraq governorates, where the percentage of households with acceptable food consumption scores increased by 18 percent and 19 percent respectively.

Figure 6: Food consumption score, refugees in host communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Acceptable FCS</th>
<th>Borderline FCS</th>
<th>Poor FCS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 7: Food consumption scores by governorate, refugees in host communities

Households with borderline or poor food consumption scores

- 0 - 8%
- 9 - 16%
- 17 - 24%
- 25 - 32%

2014

2015

2016

AJ Ajloun
AM Amman
AQ Al Aqaba
BA Al Balqa
IR Irbid
JR Jarash
KA Al Karak
MD Madaba
MF Al Mafraq
MN Maan
TF Al Tafilah
ZR Al Zarqa
Despite the increase in food consumption scores, the average number of meals eaten per day has remained relatively constant since 2014, at approximately 2.3 meals\textsuperscript{30} per day. This suggests that while refugees are not eating more often, they are eating better quality food. Moreover, there is little difference in the number of meals eaten per day when comparing households with different food consumption scores. As was the case in 2014 and 2015, the largest difference in consumption between households with poor food consumption scores and households with acceptable food consumption scores is that the latter more regularly consume foods with a higher nutritional value, such as eggs, dairy products, and nuts and pulses. Some food types are difficult to access regardless of overall consumption levels—for example, even households with acceptable food consumption scores can only afford to eat meat once per week.

Table 8: Household consumption of food groups, refugees in host communities\textsuperscript{31}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Food group</th>
<th>Percentage of households consuming</th>
<th>Average number of times consumed per week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meat, eggs, or fish</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meat</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eggs</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dairy products</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulses</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main staples</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cereals</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tubers</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruit</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweets</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oils</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condiments</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{30} Meals were defined as food consumed at home or in public kitchens but not food consumed in private restaurants or street food. Food consumed in small amounts was also not counted (i.e. less than a teaspoon per person or consumed by only one member per case).

\textsuperscript{31} More information on the food items in each food group can be found in the methodology.
WFP beneficiaries

In host communities, WFP beneficiary households have higher food consumption levels than non-beneficiaries. Non-beneficiary households are less frequently consuming eggs and dairy products than beneficiary households. On average, non-beneficiary households consume eggs twice per week and dairy products 2.8 times per week. In comparison, vulnerable beneficiary households consume eggs 3.1 times per week and dairy products 4 times per week, while extremely vulnerable beneficiary households consume eggs 3.4 times per week and dairy products 4.5 times per week.

For beneficiary households in host communities, there has been a substantial increase in food consumption levels since the start of the year, when the first round of WFP’s Food Security Outcome Monitoring (FSOM) was conducted. For households categorised as vulnerable and extremely vulnerable, there was more than a 20 percentage point increase in the percentage of households with an acceptable FCS. For extremely vulnerable households, this could be due to receiving a higher voucher value in the second quarter of 2016 (JOD 20) than in the first two months of 2016 (JOD 15). However, the improvement experienced by vulnerable beneficiary households, who have consistently received JOD 10 since October 2015, suggests that this could also be due to the cumulative effect of a sustained level of WFP assistance over multiple months.

Figure 8: Food consumption score by WFP beneficiary classification, refugees in host communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>Borderline</th>
<th>Acceptable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extremely vulnerable</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vulnerable</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-beneficiary</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See WFP beneficiary classification in the methodology section for further details about FSOM.
**Dietary diversity**

The percentage of refugee households in host communities with optimal dietary diversity scores has risen from 63 percent in 2015 to 71 percent in 2016, although this is still below the 2014 level of 77 percent. In particular, the percentage of households consuming meats, dairy products, and nuts and pulses has increased since 2015 (Table 8), the same food groups that saw the biggest decrease in consumption between 2014 and 2015.

*Figure 9: Dietary diversity score, refugees in host communities*
Infant feeding

Despite increased access to food in host communities, the percentage of infants receiving breast milk remains relatively unchanged since 2015. In times of reduced food consumption, mothers are unable to breastfeed children as a result of their own nutritional health. It is somewhat surprising then to see that there has not been an increase in the percentage of infants receiving breast milk in 2016. This is potentially due to cultural preferences; in 2014, an Interagency Nutrition Survey on Syrian refugees in Jordan found that while breastfeeding rates are low (40 percent of infants in host communities were still breastfeeding after 12 months), they are comparable to infant feeding in pre-conflict Syria.\(^{33}\) Furthermore, multiple female respondents in FGDs noted that although infant formula was expensive, particularly because it is not covered by WFP food vouchers, feeding children remained a priority. This has wider implications for household economics and child health.

As was also the case in 2015, a higher percentage of male infants receive breast milk than female infants. For example, 70 percent of male infants aged between 6 and 11 months old received breast milk, compared with 64 percent of females. The difference between genders is closing though—in 2015, 77 percent of males aged between 6 and 11 months were receiving breast milk, compared with 61 percent of females.

In camps, breastfeeding levels are higher than in host communities. In Azraq refugee camp, 68 percent of infants aged between 6 and 23 months old are receiving breast milk, compared with 64 percent in Za'atari and 42 percent in host communities. This is potentially due to household budget constraints, rather than preferences; female FGD respondents in Azraq noted that the price of infant formula in the supermarket is too high to purchase.

Consumption-based coping strategies

On average, household usage of consumption-based coping strategies in both host communities and the camps has fallen since 2015. This is particularly the case for households in Azraq refugee camp, as is evidenced by the consumption based coping strategy index (Figure 11).\(^{34}\) While this index suggests that households are less frequently resorting to short-term coping mechanisms to deal with a lack of food, the following sections will explore the prevalence and frequency of individual consumption-based coping strategies.

---

\(^{33}\) “Interagency Nutrition Survey on Syrian Refugees in Jordan” (2014)

\(^{34}\) See Table 6 for details on the calculation of the reduced coping strategy index.
Compared with 2015, fewer refugee households in host communities are using consumption-based coping strategies that actively lower the volume of food consumed—reducing the number of meals per day, limiting portion sizes at meal times, and restricting consumption by adults in order for small children to eat. These strategies are unsustainable in the long run and continued deployment could have severe implications for the nutritional health of households. As the crisis continues, families are more likely to adapt to the change in circumstances and find ways to maintain their access to food without reducing the quantity of food consumed. To this end, three times as many households are borrowing food or relying on help from friends or relatives in 2016 (48 percent) than were in 2014 (16 percent). Furthermore, 84 percent of households are relying on less preferred and less expensive food, compared with 75 percent of households in 2015.

Although more households are relying on less expensive and less preferred food than in 2015, households are still using this coping strategy the same number of times per week (once) on average. In fact, this is the only consumption-based coping strategy for which there has not been a decrease in households’ average weekly usage. For example, households borrowed food or relied on help from friends and relatives approximately five times per week on average in 2014, whereas in 2016 this strategy is used around three times per week. While there has generally been a reduction in the number of times consumption-based coping strategies are used, refugees are still reliant on coping strategies to ensure access to food; all strategies are being used at least once per week on average.
Refugee households in Za’atari and Azraq camps have increased their consumption of high quality food in 2016. In Za’atari refugee camp, 94% of households have acceptable food consumption scores, with no refugee households found to have poor food consumption scores. Refugee households have increased their consumption of all food groups, excluding fish, suggesting they are eating more food of higher nutritional quality. In focus group discussions, female refugees explained that improved food security in 2016 was as a result of a reduction in the prices of food in shops, they reported that Tazweed and Safeway have reduced prices to equivalent to that of non-WFP contracted shops. This follows WFP’s efforts to promote greater competition between stores by implementing an open book agreement and regularly reviewing stores’ operations, which has led to a 10 percent reduction in the costs of core items. Furthermore, in late 2015 and early 2016, WFP opened up over 100 more shops in Jordan, accounting for a total of 209 contracted shops nation-wide, which aimed to reduce the costs for refugees when shopping in WFP contracted shops.
In Za’atari camp, the increase in food consumption scores correlates with a reduction in the average number of times a week refugee households are adopting food consumption coping strategies. Although borrowing food and limiting portion sizes at meal times has remained constant, refugee households are less frequently reducing the number of meals eaten per day or restricting adults’ consumption in order for small children to eat. In addition, reflective of an increase in the quality of food consumed, refugees are less frequently relying on less preferred or less expensive food. Refugees in female FGDs perceived that prices in shops have been reduced, therefore it is likely that reduced shop prices have enabled refugees to afford a richer and more diverse diet.

Similarly in Azraq camp, food consumption scores have improved since 2015. In 2016, 89 percent of refugees have acceptable food consumption scores, compared to 77 percent in 2015. Refugees have increased the average number of meals eaten per day, from 2.4 meals in 2015 to 2.6 meals in 2016. Further, reflective of the fact that refugees are eating a healthier and more diverse diet, households report eating more vegetables, fruit, meat, pulses, and milk and dairy in 2016 as compared to 2015.
Figure 15: Food consumption score, Azraq refugee camp

Table 11: Household consumption of food groups, Azraq refugee camp

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Food group</th>
<th>Percentage of households consuming</th>
<th>Average number of times consumed per week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meat, eggs, or fish</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meat</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eggs</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dairy products</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulses</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main staples</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cereals</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tubers</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruit</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweets</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oils</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condiments</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reflective of an increase in food security since 2015, refugee households living in Azraq refugee camp adopted food consumption coping strategies less frequently. In 2016, refugees are less likely to borrow food and rely on less preferred and less expensive food, suggesting increased resources to buy food. Demonstrative of the fact that refugees are eating more food, households less frequently resort to reducing food consumption either through eating fewer meals, restricting portion size or reducing adults’ food consumption. This improvement could be explained by the opening of an informal market, a development female FGD participants reported as having a positive impact on their food security. However a lack of work opportunities and therefore limited availability of cash led some male refugees in focus groups to complain that they did not have the means to buy the cheaper and higher quality food available in the newly opened markets. As mentioned in the limitations section above, the range of coping strategies available to those living in Azraq refugee camp is narrower than in other places. Despite reported challenges in accessing cash, dietary diversity has improved in Azraq, with the average dietary diversity score increasing from 6 in 2015 to 7 in 2016.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Food consumption coping strategies</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2016</th>
<th>Trend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Borrow food or rely on help from relatives or friends</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce the number of meals per day</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restrict consumption by adults for small children to eat</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rely on less preferred and less expensive food</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limit portion size at meal time</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Perhaps as a result of the presence of an informal market in both camps, a new development in Azraq, and a growing emphasis on incentive-based volunteering and cash for work, refugees are more frequently accessing a higher quality of food. However, disparities remain between the contexts of the two camps and host communities, with refugees in Za’atari having access to a wider range of services and access to work opportunities in nearby Mafraq town. In the following section these factors will be explored and compared with the circumstances of refugees living in host communities.

**SOURCES OF FOOD**

Overall, refugees living in Azraq and Za’atari refugee camp enjoy better access to food than refugees living in host communities. Different resource usage, which could explain the higher food consumption scores of refugees living in the camp, is evidenced by the primary sources of food. In both camps, where all refugees receive JOD 20 of WFP assistance per family member plus JOD 4 of bread, refugee families are prone to use WFP assistance to buy basic staples such as cereals, tubers, pulses, milk and dairy and eggs. In host communities, where refugees receive either JOD 20, JOD 10, or no WFP assistance per family member depending on the vulnerability classification of the case, staple goods such as cereals, vegetables and tubers are predominantly bought with cash. This suggests that in the absence of WFP assistance, or when there is less WFP assistance, refugees are forced to adopt alternative coping strategies to access sufficient resources to meet their basic food needs. The following section will examine how households in the host communities adopt coping strategies to cope with a lack of food or resources to buy food.
LIVELIHOOD COPING STRATEGIES

In 2016, 87 percent of refugee households in host communities (approximately 70,000 households in total) are resorting to livelihood coping strategies in order to maintain their access to food and other basic goods and services. Although this is around the same proportion as in 2014, the severity of coping strategies used is much higher, as was the case in 2015. For 36 percent of households (around 29,000 households in total), crisis coping strategies are the most extreme strategies used, with nearly half of households (49 percent) reducing essential non-food expenditure to cope with a lack of food. More than a quarter of households (27 percent or approximately 22,000 households) are resorting to emergency coping strategies, particularly sending household members to work in high risk, socially degrading or exploitative conditions. The fact that more than 60 percent of households are still resorting to crisis or emergency livelihood coping strategies suggests that despite the improvements seen in food consumption, households are poorly equipped to deal with a reduction in access to resources; thus a high level of vulnerability remains.

Figure 16: Livelihood coping strategies, refugees in host communities

The percentage of households using crisis or emergency coping strategies has generally decreased in the central and northern governorates, particularly Amman, Jarash, and Al Balqa, potentially due to an increase in work opportunities. There has been an increase in usage of livelihood coping strategies in the southern governorates, as well as Al Zarqa governorate (Figure 18). In particular, a higher percentage of households in these governorates are sending members to work in exploitative, socially degrading, or high-risk work, suggesting that, while there are not necessarily difficulties in accessing work, this work is often undertaken in poor conditions.
Figure 17: Livelihood coping strategies by governorate, refugees in host communities
WFP beneficiaries

In 2016, the percentage of households using livelihood coping strategies is approximately the same regardless of the level of WFP assistance received. However, a higher percentage of non-beneficiary households are resorting to emergency coping strategies (38 percent) than households categorized as vulnerable (27 percent) or extremely vulnerable (24 percent). In particular, more non-beneficiary households are sending household members to work in exploitative, socially degrading, or high-risk work (38 percent) than vulnerable households (26 percent) and extremely vulnerable households (23 percent). This suggests that without WFP assistance, non-beneficiary households struggle to accumulate sufficient resources to meet their basic food needs.

Figure 18: Livelihood coping strategies by WFP beneficiary classification, refugees in host communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Emergency coping strategies</th>
<th>Crisis coping strategies</th>
<th>Stress coping strategies</th>
<th>No coping strategies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extremely vulnerable</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vulnerable</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-beneficiary</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACCESS TO RESOURCES

This section of the report analyses Syrian refugee households’ sources of income and considers how this relates to asset levels and debt, as well as access to food and other basic goods and services.

SOURCES OF INCOME

Since 2014, there has been a diversification of income sources for refugee households in host communities. In 2014, when all registered refugees received WFP food assistance, three quarters of households reported WFP food vouchers as the main income source. In 2015, the introduction of targeting coupled with reductions in WFP assistance in host communities, meant this fell to 22 percent. In order to cope with the reduced assistance levels, many households were forced to find alternative income sources, notably unskilled labour (23 percent) and borrowing money (20 percent).

Suggestive of households continuing to adopt strategies to diversify their income, the most frequently reported main source of income in 2016 is either skilled or unskilled labour, which represents the main source of income for 40 percent of households, up from 7 percent in 2014. CARE’s 2016 study presents similar findings—work was the primary source of income reported by 40 percent of respondents, while assistance from local or international organisations was the primary source for 33 percent.\(^{35}\)

Table 13: Main sources of income, refugees in host communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main source of income</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2016</th>
<th>Trend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WFP food voucher</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled labour</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>↑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash from aid organisations</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>↑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borrowing money</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled labour</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>↑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gifts from relatives</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>↑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remittances</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>↑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savings</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>↑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of assets</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>↑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of food aid</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal/small commerce</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No source of money</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{35}\) CARE International, “Six Years into Exile” (2016)
These findings are also reflective of the targeting approach used by WFP, whereby the level of assistance received by households is determined by how vulnerable they are perceived to be. It is worth noting that the CFSME 2016 sample contained a higher percentage of households not receiving WFP assistance (non-beneficiaries) than the CFSME 2015 sample. This is explored further in the following sections.

**HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE**

In 2016, WFP assistance represents the main source of income for 29 percent of the households classed as extremely vulnerable, while a further 27 percent report cash from other aid organisations as the main source of household income. This means that more than half of extremely vulnerable beneficiary households (56 percent) rely on humanitarian assistance as the main source of income, compared with 27 percent of vulnerable beneficiary households and 4 percent of non-beneficiary households.

WFP assistance is, in part, determined by perceptions of how easily refugee cases can generate incomes from other sources. Single male cases for example, may be more able to find work than a case headed by a widowed female, hence widowed females are prioritised for assistance. To this end, a higher percentage of vulnerable and non-beneficiary households report skilled or unskilled labour as the main source of income (46 percent and 44 percent respectively) than extremely vulnerable households (31 percent). Furthermore, 29 percent of non-beneficiary households borrow money as the main source of income, while a further 18 percent rely on gifts from relatives.

**Table 14: Main sources of income by WFP beneficiary classification, refugees in host communities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main source of income</th>
<th>Extremely vulnerable</th>
<th>Vulnerable</th>
<th>Non-beneficiary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WFP food voucher</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled labour</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash from aid organisations</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borrowing money</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled labour</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gifts from relatives</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remittances</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savings</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of assets</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of food aid</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal/small commerce</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For households in host communities overall, WFP food assistance represents the primary source of income for 15 percent of these households, 7 percentage points lower than in 2015. In Azraq and Za’atari refugee camps, WFP food vouchers are still the main source of income for the majority of households (70 percent and 69 percent respectively). Although this is lower than the 2015 levels, it reflects the stability of assistance in the camps over time relative to host communities and thus there is less of a need to find additional income sources.
The decrease in the percentage of households in host communities reporting WFP food assistance as the main source of income could also potentially be due to increases in income from other sources. For example, due to similarities in vulnerability targeting approaches, nearly all households that receive UNCHR cash assistance are also recipients of WFP food assistance (99 percent). Of those households receiving both types of assistance (44 percent of total households), the average level of UNHCR cash assistance per household member is JOD 24, while average WFP assistance per household member is JOD 14.

Even though WFP is the main source of income for a lower percentage of households, it still represents a crucial source of income for a large number of households in host communities, particularly those classed as extremely vulnerable. Regression analysis found that households receiving higher levels of WFP assistance per household member are more likely to be food secure, and focus group discussions indicate that it is a major factor in ensuring sustained access to food. WFP assistance represents a core source of income that households can rely on every month, to some extent allowing them to plan ahead and make expenditure allocation decisions. Additional income sources can serve to supplement WFP assistance, rather than act as a substitute for it, as was the case in 2015. This enables households to reduce their usage of livelihood coping strategies and start to pay off debts while maintaining sufficient access to food.

ACCESS TO WORK

In early 2016, the Jordanian government relaxed restrictions on access to legal work permits for Syrian refugees. Previously, work permits were only accessible if applicants had passports and proof of legal entry into the country—this proved to be a problem for refugees given they typically do not have these documents. Since March 2016, Syrians have been able to use UNHCR issued asylum seeker certificate and Ministry of Interior cards instead. Additionally, work permit fees were waived in April 2016, initially for a three month period which has since been extended to the end of the year. By December, 34,467 Syrians held work permits, representing 10 percent of all legally registered foreign workers in Jordan, up from 2 percent in February. A further barrier faced by refugees was that work permits were tied to employers, rather than the employee, making it particularly difficult for those who worked in seasonal employment such as agriculture. This restraint was removed, and by October over 8,700 permits had been issued to agriculture workers, the most of all sectors.

36 Food consumption score multiple regression (Adjusted R²=0.331) and livelihood coping strategy index multiple regression (Adjusted R²=0.397)
As a further indicator of increased access to work, skilled or unskilled labour represents in CFSME 2016 the primary source of income for 40 percent of refugee households in host communities. This is an increase since 2015 (33 percent) and significantly higher than in 2014 (7 percent). While this finding alone does not suggest that more Syrians are getting access to livelihoods opportunities, there has been an increase in the percentage of working age adults in employment. Nearly two thirds (63 percent) of males aged 19 to 24 and more than half (53 percent) of males aged 25 to 60 are in some form of work.

Figure 20: Work by gender and age, refugees in host communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age 19 - 24</th>
<th>Age 25 - 60</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In host communities, 4 percent of females aged 19 to 64 are in some form of employment, approximately one third (33 percent) of whom work in accommodation and food services, and around one quarter work in (26 percent) work in agriculture, forestry, or fishing. The most common sector worked in by males aged 19 to 60 is construction (41 percent), while 14 percent work in wholesale and retail, trade, and repair. Manually intensive labour such as construction and agriculture is often the most accessible for Syrians given the ease with which employers can provide work opportunities on a day-to-day basis. Despite increased access to work permits, the majority of this employment remains informal, resulting in low pay and a lack of job security. This offers refugees limited certainty around future income streams. FGD findings suggest that in several cases, employers failed to pay refugee workers in full, but little could be done to remediate this problem due to the informal characteristics of the employment agreement. In the absence of formal employment contracts, this will likely continue to be the case.

Figure 21: Employment by sector, refugees in host communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation and food service</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, forestry, fishing</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale and retail trade, repair</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning services</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative and support service</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation and storage</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human health and social work</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
At first, it is encouraging to see that more Syrians are finding work opportunities, particularly given the current drive to enhance livelihood opportunities for refugees in Jordan. However, the type of work and the work conditions are also important to consider in order to establish whether Syrians are working out of choice to further improve their welfare, if they are working purely as a coping strategy to meet their minimum needs, or for a combination of these reasons.

Of the 19 to 60 year olds who worked in the 30 days prior to being interviewed, 82 percent were in temporary jobs, 12 percent were in regular work, and 5 percent were in seasonal employment. This is relatively similar to 2015 numbers (78 percent in temporary work, 13 percent in regular work, 10 percent in seasonal work), when the vast majority of working Syrians were in temporary roles. The inherently irregular nature of temporary work means fluctuations in income streams, limiting refugees’ ability to look beyond current basic needs and plan for the future. In turn, this inhibits their capacity to sustain a consistent level of access to food and other goods and services, and keeps them in an ongoing state of precariousness and vulnerability.

Suggestive that many refugees are forced into employment as a response to hardship, sending household members to work in socially degrading, exploitative, high risk or illegal temporary jobs is the most commonly used emergency livelihood coping strategy of households living in host communities. In 2016, 26 percent of households use this strategy, a decrease from 37 percent in 2015. In 2014, before humanitarian assistance was reduced and households had to find alternative sources of income, it was only used by 8 percent of households.

A higher percentage of households where skilled or unskilled labour is the main income source send household members to work in high risk, exploitative, socially degrading or illegal temporary (37 percent) than households with other main sources of income (19 percent). While this correlation between income from labour and use of this particular coping strategy is to some extent expected, it shows that for many households, work remains a livelihood coping strategy. Also, it shows that resorting to certain coping strategies—such as members having to seek illegal work—has a disparate impact on households depending on their underlying characteristics (such as qualifications of members), because some households are more able to adopt specific coping strategies than others. On the other hand, more than half of households reporting skilled labour (59 percent) and nearly two thirds of households reporting unskilled labour (65 percent) as the main source of income are not using this coping strategy. This suggests that these are potentially legitimate livelihood opportunities rather than strategies used because there are no other ways to maintain access to food or money to buy it.

Figure 22: Percentage of refugee households in host communities sending members to work in high risk, exploitative, socially degrading or illegal temporary jobs by main source of income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WFP food voucher</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Credits/borrowing money</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash from aid organisations</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled labour</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled labour</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Females in work
In total, 4 percent of females aged 19 to 64 are in some form of employment, the same level as in 2015. Further, more female headed households have females in employment (11 percent) than households headed by males (5 percent). CFSME 2015 found that for some Syrian refugees, sending female household members to work was seen as a severe coping strategy due to cultural attitudes towards female employment. Additionally, undertaking illegal work is especially dangerous for women due to protection issues. In 2016, 3 percent of households sent female household members to work in exploitative or socially degrading conditions, slightly lower than in 2015 (5 percent). In terms of legal work, just 2 percent of work permit holders in December 2016 were female—a total of 558 women, compared with 33,909 men.38

FGD findings suggest that in 2015, females went to find work because they are less likely to be caught working illegally than their husbands, which can result in being sent to Azraq refugee camp or back to Syria. In 2016, they note that it is easier for men to find work, but it is still difficult and expensive to access work permits so this anxiety remains. In one FGD, a female participant noted that a humanitarian organisation had provided her with a sewing machine so that she could work from home. This prompted the rest of the group to explain that if they were able to obtain the equipment, they would all do the same.

Camps
In both Azraq and Za’atari refugee camps, more households are sending members to work outside the home. This trend is most pronounced in Za’atari refugee camp; 48 percent of households reported a male member had worked in a temporary job, compared to 28 percent in 2015. In Azraq, males engage in temporary employment in 27 percent of households. These figures include Cash for Work programmes in Za’atari, or incentive-based volunteering as it is referred to in Azraq. There are only a limited number of opportunities available and weekly or fortnightly jobs are provided on a rotational basis. In Za’atari, there has been an evaluation of the rotation policy, with more frequent rotations giving more refugees the opportunity to work. This potentially explains some of the increase over the past year in the number of households with males working, but is unlikely to account for the entire difference. FGDs in both camps find that refugees apply for leave permits to work outside the camp where possible. Increased access to employment outside the camps could therefore also be contributing to this increase.

Youth labour

The percentage of households sending children under the age of 18 to work as a coping strategy has fallen slightly from 8 percent in 2015 to 6 percent in 2016. Furthermore, the percentage of school-aged children who are working remains low (4 percent in 2016, 5 percent in 2015) while more are attending school (Figure 31). More than a quarter of males aged 16 to 18 (27 percent) are working, although this is slightly lower than in 2015 (33 percent). If economic vulnerability persists or worsens, it is unlikely that this will improve further.

ASSET DEPLETION

Savings

The protracted nature of the Syrian crisis has left many refugees with little or no savings. In 2016, only 5 percent of households in host communities have savings, at an average of JOD 178. Only 9 percent of households in host communities have been able to spend their savings as a coping strategy, compared with 37 percent in 2014.

Despite increases in humanitarian assistance in 2016, households have barely been able to replenish their savings at all. Low savings levels severely impairs a household’s ability to mitigate the impact of external shocks. If a family member falls ill, for example, the only option available to the vast majority of refugees is to borrow money or risk not seeking medical attention. This vulnerability is unlikely to diminish without the establishment of stable income streams that are sufficient enough to extend beyond meeting refugees’ immediate needs.
Household assets

With extremely low savings levels and limited capacity to generate incomes, households may have to resort to selling household goods in order to maintain access to food. The use of this coping strategy is dependent on a number of factors, including access to credit and availability of assets, and to some extent, seasonal requirements also play a role. Households are more likely to require blankets and cold weather clothing or incur costs for household heating in winter months, for example. Although the percentage of refugee households in host communities selling household goods to meet their basic food needs has fallen from 44 percent in 2014 to 32 percent in 2016, it is a strategy that has increasingly been used by the most vulnerable. In 2016, 45 percent of food insecure households used this strategy, 10 percentage higher than in 2014.

Figure 25: Sold households goods as a coping strategy, refugees in host communities

Although humanitarian agencies support refugee households by providing particular household items when they are most necessary, selling household goods is not a sustainable means of income generation in the long term. As is the case with savings, once assets have been depleted, households are faced with taking on debt or adopting even more extreme coping strategies such as begging or working in exploitative conditions. In host communities, 18 percent of the poorest quartile of households (according to asset ownership as calculated by the wealth index) are food insecure, compared with 8 percent of the wealthiest quartile of households. This indicates that households who have sold their assets, or have not been able to purchase assets in the first place, are the most vulnerable to food insecurity.

Figure 26: Food security by wealth index, refugees in host communities

28 “Household goods” refers to items used within the household, including personal items. It does not include productive assets.
Household debt

After savings have been depleted and assets have been sold, households are faced with few options other than to borrow money. Debt levels rose sharply in 2015 as households borrowed to deal with the fluctuating levels in assistance, and despite the return of increased assistance in 2016, high debt levels persist. In host communities, 87 percent of households are in debt, at an average of JOD 823, while the percentage of households with more than JOD 500 worth of debt has increased from 25 percent in 2014 to 42 percent in 2016. Furthermore, the percentage of households with no debts (13 percent) has remained approximately level with 2015 (14 percent). Focus group findings indicate that debt levels rise substantially in the event of a household member requiring medical treatment.

Figure 27: Household debt levels, refugees in host communities

Persistently high debt levels could in part be due to households’ inability to generate sufficient incomes to repay debts accrued in 2015. Moreover, households continue to borrow; borrowing money is the fourth highest ranked primary income source, representing the main income source for 14 percent of households in host communities. In addition, approximately two thirds of households (67 percent) buy food on credit or borrow money as a coping strategy, the same number as in 2015. In the absence of stable, secure livelihoods opportunities, refugee households are unlikely to be able to pay off debts. High debt levels and continued borrowing indicate that a high level of economic vulnerability remains and until this is reduced, refugees will continue to be dependent on humanitarian assistance to meet their basic needs.
The following section focuses on household expenditure and how this is allocated to basic goods and services, while also considering households’ access to shelter and WASH, education, and healthcare.

EXPENDITURE

Expenditure allocation can be used as an indicator of household priorities as well as vulnerabilities. Households that are allocating a high percentage of expenditure to food tend to have limited means to reduce expenditure on non-food items in the event of a reduction in access to incomes and resources. To this end, food expenditure as a share of total expenditure is one of the components of the food security index, although it bears less weight than the food consumption score and livelihood coping strategy index.

The manner in which data was collected on food expenditure was altered slightly in 2015, and has therefore been excluded from Table 15. In the CFSME 2016 questionnaire, collection of food expenditure returned to the CFSME 2014 method, hence data from these two years is comparable.

In 2016, average monthly expenditure per capita is JOD 58, compared with JOD 101 in 2014, well below the Jordanian absolute poverty line of JOD 68 per capita per month.40 In total, 75 percent of Syrian refugee households in host communities live below the absolute poverty line, while 19 percent live below the abject poverty line of JOD 28 per capita per month, compared with 44 percent and 4 percent respectively in 2014. The increase in poverty can likely be attributed to the protracted nature of the crisis. Difficulties in accessing resources and depletion of assets have placed a significant strain on household budgets, giving refugees little option but to seek ways to reduce expenditure to the maximum possible extent.

The proportion of household expenditure allocated to food has increased slightly from 27 percent in 2014 to 30 percent in 2016, while the share of expenditure allocated to rent has fallen as families have moved to cheaper accommodation and average household size has increased. On the other hand, the proportion of expenditure allocated to healthcare has increased from 5 percent in 2014 to 11 percent in 2016, following the cessation of free government provided healthcare for refugees in November 2014. The fact that debt repayment accounts for just 2 percent of expenditure despite significantly higher debt levels in the refugee population than in 2014 suggests that refugees are meeting their immediate needs but are unable to currently look beyond this. Again, this suggests a high level of economic vulnerability. Debts eventually need to be repaid and until this happens, refugees will struggle to build economic resilience.

40 UNDP “Jordan Poverty Reduction Strategy” (2013)
EXPENDITURE ON FOOD

While refugees are allocating a similar proportion of household budget to food in 2016 as in 2014, the actual value of this expenditure has fallen from JOD 27 per person per month in 2014 to JOD 16 per person per month in 2016. This is likely due to the introduction of targeting; in 2014, all refugees received JOD 24 of WFP food assistance per month, whereas in 2016, refugees receive either zero, JOD 10, or JOD 20 per month depending on the vulnerability classification of the case.

In 2014, 91 percent of households were relying on less preferred and less expensive food as a consumption-based coping strategy. Although this is used by fewer households in 2016 (84 percent), these households could be relying on even less preferred, even less expensive food. The fact that households are spending less on food is further reflected in food consumption trends—in 2016, both food consumption scores and dietary diversity scores are below 2014 levels. It should also be noted that food prices have fallen slightly since 2014 too. According to the Jordan Department of Statistics, the price of food and non-alcoholic beverage items was approximately 3 percentage points lower in April 2016 than in April 2014.\(^4\) Furthermore, WFP’s efforts to increase beneficiaries’ purchasing power has led to a 3 percent decrease in prices at WFP contracted stores.

The share of expenditure households allocate to food is higher in the camps than in host communities. In Azraq camp, households are spending 61 percent of all expenditure on food, while refugees in Za’atari camp are allocating approximately half of their expenditure to food (53 percent), down from 71 percent in 2014.\(^5\) This decrease is likely due to a reduction in prices following the development the informal market in Za’atari. Furthermore, refugees in FGDs explained that prices have been reduced in the supermarkets in Za’atari, which may also contribute to the reduced proportion of expenditure allocated to food. In Azraq, on the other hand, one of the core food security issues highlighted in FGDs was that the food prices at the official mall were significantly inflated above prices outside of the camp. This has a major impact on refugees’ ability to meet their food and non-food needs, particularly because the informal market is very nascent in Azraq. The opening of an additional market in Azraq is expected to assist with ensuring prices in the camp are at market value.

Reducing essential non-food expenditure

When faced with a lack of resources to meet basic food needs, refugee households may be forced to reduce essential non-food expenditure. Overall, the percentage of households using this coping strategy has remained at approximately the same level (49 percent) as in 2015 (51 percent). However, the proportion of households using this strategy who are vulnerable to food insecurity or food insecure has increased; 67

\(^4\) Jordan Department of Statistics, Monthly Consumer Price Index (April 2014 and April 2016)

\(^5\) No data available for Azraq refugee camp in 2014

### Table 15: Household expenditure allocation, refugees in host communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Share of total expenditure</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2016</th>
<th>Trend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>↑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>↑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utilities</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>↑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debt repayment</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>↑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
percent of households vulnerable to food insecurity are using the strategy, compared with 58 percent in 2015, and 74 percent of food insecure households compared with 64 percent in 2015. It seems that in 2016, although fewer households are food insecure or vulnerable to food insecurity, more households that do fall into these categories are having to reduce expenditure in non-food areas to maintain access to food. Food insecure households in particular are increasingly having to find ways to reduce budgets elsewhere in order to meet their basic food needs.

**Figure 28:** Households reducing essential non-food expenditure, refugees in host communities

SHELTER AND WATER, SANITATION AND HYGIENE (WASH)

In addition to food, shelter represents one of the largest expenses for families living in host communities. In 2016, average household expenditure on rent in host communities is JOD 99, approximately the same as in 2015 (JOD 102) but significantly lower than in 2014 (JOD 144). This is likely because in 2014, not only did families have savings to spend, but also they may not have expected the crisis to endure for as long as it has and thus spent beyond their means. In 2015, as assistance levels were reduced and savings levels were depleted, families were forced to move to lower cost accommodation. In 2016, despite humanitarian assistance levels picking up again, households may not have sufficient resources to move to more desirable accommodation. For example, a 2016 study by CARE found that 80 percent of Syrian refugee households identified cash for rent as a primary need. Even so, the vast majority of households are living in apartments, villas, or independent houses (93 percent) rather than tented settlements (4 percent), unfinished shelters (2 percent) or separate rooms (1 percent).

Average household size increased between 2014 and 2015, from 4.5 members per household to 6.7 members per household, as many Syrians sought to pool resources and reduce expenditures in light of the reductions in assistance. In 2016, the average household size remains well above the 2014 level at 6.4 refugees per household, suggesting that the situation has not improved sufficiently to warrant moving back to smaller households. Moreover, this means that average expenditure on rent per household member has fallen by 58 percent since 2014, with each individual now paying an average of JOD 18 compared with JOD 44 two years ago.

**Table 16:** Average household size and rent expenditure, refugees in host communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2016</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average household size (number of household members)</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average household expenditure on rent (JOD)</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average rent expenditure per household member (JOD)</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

43 CARE International, "Six Years into Exile" (2016)
Changing accommodation can be a disruptive process and can have both positive and negative implications for education and employment opportunities, as well as access to goods and services. Moreover, there are costs associated with the move itself, particularly in terms of transport and the process of searching for a new place to live. Although many refugees move voluntarily in an attempt to improve their circumstances, it is often the case that they have no choice. In 2016, 33 percent of households report that prior to their current location, they have been forced to move. The primary reason for moving was having to reduce rent (52 percent), while 36 percent have been evicted by landlords.

Figure 29: Reasons for moving, refugees in host communities

- Having to reduce rent: 52%
- Eviction by landlord: 36%
- Unsafe house environment: 8%
- Other: 5%
- Improve access to services: 5%
- Searching for work: 4%
- Insufficient living space: 3%
- Arguments with neighbours: 2%
- Eviction by authorities: 1%

With average household rent payments relatively low in comparison with 2014, one might expect the quality of accommodation to also decline. In 2016, approximately the same percentage of Syrian refugee households have damp walls (69 percent) as in 2015 (68 percent), although there has been a reduction in households with leaking roofs (26 percent) compared to 2015 (34 percent). Moreover, 8 percent of households report that they have had to move prior to their current location due to concerns of the safety of the house.

Figure 30: Accommodation conditions, refugees in host communities
In 2016, more than twice as many households in host communities have pests (58 percent) than in 2015 (28 percent). Increases in the number of pests are often associated with a deterioration of WASH conditions, particularly related to sewage and wastewater. There are, however, no clear indicators that this has been the case for refugees living in host communities. Although more than one quarter of households (26 percent) report that there has been more than one wastewater overflow in the past year, 61 percent of households report that there have been no such occurrences. Furthermore, the average number of refugees sharing toilets or latrines has fallen from 7 in 2015 to 6 in 2016. This is reflective of generally positive WASH sector conditions—87 percent of households in host communities report having sufficient water for drinking, cooking, washing and toilets (at least 35 litres per person per day), up from 81 percent in 2015 and 71 percent in 2014.

**EDUCATION**

Household expenditure on education fell significantly in 2015, from JOD 6.1 per school aged child in 2014 down to JOD 2.5 per school aged child. This was likely due to households needing to reduce expenditures and as such parents were not able to afford to send children to school any more. In addition, with reduced assistance, lower incomes, and depleted savings, children may have been required to work in order to support household earnings. In 2016, although stabilised assistance has to some extent lessened the pressure on household income requirements, education expenditure is JOD 2.9 per school aged child per month, effectively the same level as 2015.

**Table 17:** Average household expenditure on education per school aged child, refugees in host communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Average household expenditure on education per school aged child (JOD)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even though spending on education has not increased since 2015, more school-aged children are attending school in 2016. This may in part be due to the fact that with increased assistance levels, fewer households are forced to send children to work. Over two thirds of females (69 percent) and males (66 percent) aged between 5 and 12 are in education, slightly more than females (61 percent) and males (58 percent) aged 13 to 15. For those aged 16 to 18, a far smaller proportion are in education—25 percent of females, and 21 percent of males.

**Figure 31:** Reported school attendance by gender and age, refugees in host communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 to 12 years old</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 to 15 years old</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 to 18 years old</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Figures for 2016 are compared to 2015.
Financial constraints represent the primary reason for children not attending school for households in host communities. This includes families requiring children to work in order to support household incomes as well as the actual costs of sending children to school. Since schooling is free for the majority of children up to the age of 15, education expenditure for many families refers to spending on equipment, clothing, transport and food. FGDs found that, particularly for families living in isolated areas, transportation costs can be the sole reason for school absence. A study by UNICEF (2016) supports these findings; approximately 10 percent of all school-aged children in host communities (around 15,400 in total) are not enrolled in education due to financial constraints.\footnote{UNICEF, “Running on Empty: The situation of Syrian children in host communities in Jordan” (2016)}

There are various other reasons for school absence beyond financial constraints. For 17 percent of households where children are not accessing formal education services, the absence is because the children are not interested or the learning material is not deemed to be useful. This can often be the case when children have had a lengthy absence from school or are entered at the wrong grade level. One focus group respondent noted that her eleven year-old son was not in school because he had only been offered a place in first grade (typically for six year-olds). For some, school attendance has been halted as a result of marriage and engagement (sixteen percent). This particularly applies for teenage girls, and is sometimes used by families as a last resort to gain resources from dowry payments. The influx of population into Jordan during the crisis has also put a strain on public resources, including schools, and sixteen percent of households reported that children were turned away from schools for reasons including overcrowding.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure32.png}
\caption{Top ten reasons for children not attending school, refugees in host communities}
\end{figure}

**HEALTHCARE**

Expenditure on healthcare has increased in 2016, with households spending an average of JOD 8.6 per household member on healthcare, 54 percent higher than in 2015. Despite this increase in expenditure, FGDs found that health issues remain one of the biggest sources of vulnerability facing refugees in host communities. Since November 2014, when free healthcare was no longer provided for refugees, Syrians registered with UNHCR must pay the same healthcare costs as uninsured Jordanians (unless they can afford insurance). Furthermore, refugees who are not registered with UNHCR or do not have a valid MoI card must pay the same fees charged to foreigners for medical treatment. These costs can be exceptionally high and difficult to plan for financially given the low levels of savings, challenges with generating consistent income sources, and unpredictability of medical issues.
Due to the high costs associated with healthcare, refugees often have to decide whether to spend on medical treatment or save the money to spend on food or other items. It is telling of just how severe the situation was in 2015 that healthcare expenditure did not increase between 2014 and 2015, even after the cessation of free medical treatment. It was suggested in CFSME 2015 that households facing resource shortages are not as likely to access health services for smaller medical complaints in order to prioritise food consumption, and this was echoed in 2016 FGDs. This can be problematic and symptoms of potentially significant health problems can be overlooked and ignored. FGDs also found that families must often borrow money in order pay for medical treatments and this can lead to substantial increases in debt levels.

In host communities, 89 percent of Syrian refugee households required medical attention in the six months prior to being interviewed. Of those who required medical care, 97 percent were able to access medical facilities. Public hospitals and clinics are the most commonly accessed medical facility (66 percent), although the strain on resources means Syrians are often unable to gain treatment immediately. 42 percent of households are accessing private hospitals and clinics, even though these facilities come at a higher cost. Many FGD participants stated that public clinics often have very long waiting times, and that the higher price is preferable to waiting months for important treatment.

![Figure 33: Types of medical facilities accessed, refugees in host communities](image)
WHO ARE THE FOOD INSECURE?

To determine which factors contributed the most to overall food insecurity, a multiple regression and was performed using two of the core indicators which are used in combination to calculate the food security index: food consumption score and livelihood coping strategy index. The characteristics outlined in the next section are not exhaustive of all households facing food insecurity, but instead, represent the most strongly correlated variables. Where relevant, the statistical procedures and results are outlined in the footnotes.

INFORMAL TENTED SETTLEMENTS (ITS)

Access to services, such as education and health are key signs a household is more stable and less vulnerable; obstacles to these services, or, in the case of health, heavy reliance on expensive treatments, requires households to adopt more severe coping strategies to find additional resources in order to afford these critical services.

CFSME 2015 found that households living in ITS were more likely to be food insecure than households living in other accommodation types and this remains to be the case in 2016. The percentage of food insecure households has fallen for both ITS and non-ITS populations since 2015; 19 percent of ITS households are food insecure, down from 33 percent in 2015, while 12 percent of non-ITS households are food insecure, down from 22 percent in 2015. However, while the percentage of food secure non-ITS households has doubled between 2015 and 2016, the proportion of food secure ITS households has not substantially changed. Instead, the proportion of ITS households vulnerable to food insecurity has increased from 52 percent to 64 percent. This suggests that the factors that have driven the improvements in food security have not had the same magnitude of impact for refugees living in ITS when compared with the wider host community population.

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Figure 34: Food security, informal tented settlements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informal tented settlements</th>
<th>Other accommodation types</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2015</strong></td>
<td><strong>2016</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food secure</td>
<td>Food secure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **2015**                   | **2016**                 |
| Vulnerable to food insecurity | Food insecure |
| 22%                        | 12%                      |
In 2016, 11 percent of ITS households have poor food consumption scores, around the same level as in 2015 (10 percent). This remains significantly lower than food consumption scores of households living in other accommodation types, where only 2 percent have poor food consumption scores. In spite of this, fewer ITS households are using consumption-based coping strategies that directly impact the volume of food eaten; a smaller percentage of ITS households are reducing the number of meals eaten per day (42 percent), limiting portion sizes at meal time (38 percent) and restricting consumption by adults in order for children to eat (26 percent) than non-ITS households (49 percent, 41 percent and 33 percent respectively). In terms of coping strategies that relate to maintaining access to food, 84 percent of ITS households are relying on less preferred and less expensive food, the same level as in other accommodation types, while 53 percent of ITS households are borrowing food or relying on help from friends and relatives, compared with 48 percent elsewhere.

As the crisis continues, refugees are more likely to use livelihood based coping strategies rather than strategies that directly limit food intake. The percentage of ITS households resorting to emergency livelihood coping strategies has increased from 32 percent in 2015 to 38 percent in 2016; this contrasts with the trend seen elsewhere in host communities, where 26 percent of households are using emergency livelihood coping strategies, down from 38 percent in 2015. In particular, more ITS households are sending household members to work in exploitative or socially degrading conditions—38 percent are using this strategy in 2016, compared with 32 percent in 2015. While fewer households are sending children under 18 to work (17 percent in 2016 compared with 23 percent in 2015) and the same proportion are sending males to work in exploitative or socially degrading conditions (22 percent), 13 percent are sending female household members, 8 percentage points more than in 2015.

Overall, 22 percent of females and 66 percent of males aged 19 to 60 and living in ITS are involved in some form of work. Of those, the vast majority (all females and 80 percent of males) are working in agriculture, forestry and fishing. Due to its seasonal nature, agricultural work offers ITS households the flexibility to move location throughout the year. There is a downside to this flexibility though; ITS FGDs indicate that work opportunities are not consistently available and that some farm owners have refused to pay Syrians for their work. Despite this, refugees living in ITS households often have no option but to work in order to meet their basic needs. Respondents note that they are unable to generate sufficient levels of income to cover the costs of medicine, while they also struggle to cover the bus fare to send children to school. Moreover, particularly for ITS households living in rural areas, the costs of transportation to amenities adds a further financial constraint on already stretched household budgets.

FGDs were conducted for refugees living in public land ITS and private land ITS, to better understand the differences between groups within the ITS population. One key finding was that in early 2016, authorities required refugees living in public land ITS to build permanent structures and start paying rent for the land. This led to a sharp increase in debt levels and reduced the refugees’ ability to move to different regions to find seasonal work. This was not the case for refugees in private land ITS; while they were still required to pay rent for the land that they occupied, they were more able to move elsewhere to find seasonal work.
LIVELIHOODS AND SOURCES OF INCOME

**Humanitarian assistance**

Households who receive more WFP food assistance per household member are more likely to be food secure than those receiving less.45 This suggests that increased WFP assistance has been a key factor in the food security improvements since 2015, a finding reinforced by the fact that only 6 percent of households categorised as extremely vulnerable (receive JOD 15 or more per household member) are food insecure compared with 30 percent of non-beneficiary households (less than JOD 5 per household member). This provides further evidence of the continued need for food assistance amongst this population. Furthermore, the fact that a high proportion of those not receiving assistance are food insecure implies that current targeting leaves certain gaps.

Figure 35: Food security index by WFP beneficiary classification, refugees in host communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Food insecure</th>
<th>Vulnerable to food insecurity</th>
<th>Food secure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-beneficiary</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vulnerable</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extremely vulnerable</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Employment**

Additional income beyond humanitarian assistance is often required to ensure access to food as well as to support other non-food requirements, such as medical treatment, education, rent, and transportation. Households tend to seek work to address this shortfall, although the drivers for doing so vary by household. For some refugee households, seeking work is a choice made as a means to provide supplementary income to improve their situation, but it is not an absolute necessity. For other households, finding work is not a choice but rather a response to severe hardships. Given that there are differences in the reasons behind why refugees are working, it is important to understand the nuanced impact that work has on food security before programming decisions are made.

The vast majority of jobs carried out by working age Syrians are temporary by nature (82 percent). This type of work is inherently less stable and secure than regular work opportunities, meaning those partaking in it remain susceptible to economic factors or policy changes. For those households that work but still receive humanitarian assistance, the assistance at least provides a base level of income that enables refugees to meet their absolute minimum needs when work is difficult to find. For households that work but do not receive assistance, the absence of that income base means the inability to consistently secure work could result in the adoption of extreme coping strategies such as begging or returning to Syria in order to meet their food and non-food needs.

45 Food consumption score multiple regression (Adjusted R²=0.331) and livelihood coping strategy index multiple regression (Adjusted R²=0.397)
In 2016, food security levels are lower for households where at least one household member is employed but no WFP food assistance is received—of these households, 28 percent are food insecure. This compares with 10 percent of households that receive food assistance and have at least one household member in employment, and 11 percent of households exclusively receiving WFP assistance. Furthermore, regression analysis shows that households in which males are engaged in temporary work are more likely to adopt coping strategies than households where males are not engaged in temporary work. These findings suggest that, at this stage, employment is more often undertaken out of necessity, rather than out of choice. Although this may change in the future, it needs to be understood that access to livelihoods and employment does not necessarily translate into improved circumstances, but can in fact serve as an indicator of increased vulnerability.

**Other income sources**

Remittances represent the main source of income for just 2 percent of households living in host communities, although regression analysis indicates that these households are more food secure. On the other hand, households for which credit or borrowing money is the main source of income are more vulnerable. Households that take on debt to meet their needs are unlikely to do so unless other options have been exhausted. This is not a sustainable source of income, particularly if households are met with economic shocks, and in the longer term will likely result in households adopting more severe coping strategies in order to meet their needs and pay off their debts simultaneously.

**ACCESS TO SERVICES**

Access to services such as education and healthcare can also be indicative of food security. On the one hand, increased access to services could suggest improved circumstances whereby households have more resources to allocate to non-food expenditure. On the other hand, households may have no option but to divert resources to non-food expenditure—in the case of a severe health issue, for example—the result of which could be increased use of consumption- and livelihood-based coping strategies.

**Healthcare**

Households with members who have serious medical conditions, physical impairments, or have been severely injured are more likely to be food insecure. These households, on average, spend more on healthcare (JOD 56 per month) than households that do not have members with such health issues (JOD 26 per month). In turn, fewer resources are available to meet other needs, such as

46 Livelihood coping strategy index multiple regression (Adjusted $R^2=0.397$)
47 Food consumption score multiple regression (Adjusted $R^2=0.331$) and livelihood coping strategy index multiple regression (Adjusted $R^2=0.397$)
48 Livelihood coping strategy index multiple regression (Adjusted $R^2=0.397$)
49 Food consumption score multiple regression (Adjusted $R^2=0.331$) and livelihood coping strategy index multiple regression (Adjusted $R^2=0.397$)
food consumption—84 percent of households with the above medical issues have acceptable food consumption scores, compared with 88 percent of households who do not. Moreover, these households are more likely to adopt livelihood coping strategies to make up this shortfall, which can in turn lead to other vulnerabilities. For example, households with members who have serious medical conditions, physical impairments, or have been seriously injured have an average of JOD 779 in debt, compared with JOD 562 for households that do not.

The types of medical facility accessed by households is also indicative of vulnerability. Households that access public hospitals and clinics are more likely to adopt livelihood coping strategies. Low levels of savings, combined with few assets and high levels of debt, means that in the onset of a health issue, Syrian refugee households are poorly equipped to obtain the required resources to cover medical fees. Conversely, Syrian refugee households that access pharmacies are less likely to adopt livelihood coping strategies.

Education

Households with children attending formal education services are less likely to have acceptable food consumption scores. This is possibly due to the cost of sending children to school, leaving fewer resources available for food consumption. For those households that have more resources available and can spend more on education, fewer livelihood coping strategies are adopted. On the other hand, households that have had to withdraw children from school due to financial constraints are more likely to have poor food consumption scores. This echoes findings from CFSME 2015, notably that if household budgets are reduced, households prioritise healthcare and food consumption over education. While removing children from school reduces expenditure on education, households may also opt to send children to work to support incomes. Regression analysis shows that it is only the more vulnerable households that use this particular coping mechanism—households that are sending children aged between 5 and 15 to work are more likely to adopt livelihood-based coping strategies.

ASSETS

Households owning specific assets, such as refrigerators or air conditioning units, have higher food consumption scores than those who do not. For example, 30 percent of households that own refrigerators are food secure, compared with 21 percent of households that do not own refrigerators. Intuitively speaking, this makes sense; households that can afford a refrigerator are more likely to have access to sufficient resources to meet their food needs, while refrigerators also enable households to store particular food items for longer.
Access to transport can also be viewed as an asset, given that it enables households to access particular goods and services for consumption. Households that spend more on transport per household member are more likely to be food secure. In many cases, transport is not an essential expenditure, so those households that do spend on transport are likely to do so because it increases their access to resources or avenues of income.

**HOUSEHOLD DEMOGRAPHICS**

The following section presents the findings of a multiple linear regression model which examines the demographic composition of Syrian refugee households living in host communities in Jordan.

**Head of household**

In host communities, 19 percent of households are headed by females. A slightly higher percentage of these households are food secure (32 percent) than households headed by males (28 percent). Debt levels are also higher in male headed households, with an average debt level of JOD 744 compared with JOD 594 in female headed households. On the other hand, 93 percent of female headed households are adopting livelihood coping strategies, compared with 85 percent of male headed households, and regression analysis finds that households headed by females are slightly more likely to have poor food consumption scores. Furthermore, a significantly higher percentage of male headed households have at least one household member in employment (69 percent) than female headed households (37 percent), which could become an important factor going forward given the current drive to increase access to livelihood opportunities and enhance economic resilience.

Although female headed households have a slightly higher level of food security than male headed households, it is clear that the relationship between head of household gender and food security is complex and dynamic. Ongoing monitoring of multiple indicators with regards to head of household gender is necessary to understand how vulnerability shifts in light of future contextual changes.

**Figure 37:** Food security by refrigerator ownership, refugees in host communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refrigerator Ownership</th>
<th>Food Insecure</th>
<th>Vulnerable to Food Insecure</th>
<th>Food Secure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Own refrigerator</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not own refrigerator</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 38:** Food security by head of household gender, refugees in host communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Type</th>
<th>Food Insecure</th>
<th>Vulnerable to Food Insecure</th>
<th>Food Secure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female headed household</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male headed household</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

55 Food consumption score multiple regression (Adjusted R²=0.331) and livelihood coping strategy index multiple regression (Adjusted R²=0.397)

56 “Head of household” refers to the primary decision maker of the household.

57 Food consumption score multiple regression (Adjusted R²=0.201)
In addition to gender, food security status also varies based on the head of household marital status. Overall, all groups have experienced increased levels of food security since 2015. The group that has seen the biggest improvement in food security is households headed by widowed females. In 2015, 25 percent were food insecure and only 11 percent food secure, compared with 10 percent food insecure and 33 percent food secure in 2016. This is again likely due to the fact that these households are often prioritised for humanitarian assistance because they are less able to find alternative income sources.

Households headed by married males and married females are both the most food secure and most food insecure. This is likely due to the fact that they are most able to secure income sources beyond humanitarian assistance, although when they are unable to do this, they may be lacking sufficient resources to maintain high levels of food consumption. On the other hand, households headed by males and females who are not married (whether they be single, engaged, divorced or widowed) are generally less food insecure, but also less food secure (with the exception of widowed females). For example, only 16 percent of households headed females who are single, engaged, or divorced are food secure, but then only 8 percent are food insecure. Similar to households headed by widowed females, these households tend to be prioritised for humanitarian assistance because they are less able to find alternative income sources—37 percent have at least one household member in employment, compared with 85 percent of households headed by single, divorced, or widowed males.

Multiple regression analysis also finds that head of household education is a good predictor for food security. Households where the head has completed further education (university degree, diploma, or postgraduate degree) are more likely to have higher food consumption scores and less likely to use livelihood coping strategies. As such, half of these households are food secure, whereas only 20 percent of households where the head is completely illiterate are food secure.

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58 Food consumption score multiple regression (Adjusted $R^2=0.331$) and livelihood coping strategy index multiple regression (Adjusted $R^2=0.397$)
A key factor contributing to this is asset levels. Households with heads who have completed tertiary education have significantly higher levels of savings—on average, they have JOD 48, whereas all other groups have less than JOD 8. This has allowed these households to use their savings to spend on goods and services rather than resort to livelihood coping strategies. Household heads with higher education are likely to have been in higher paying employment when living in Syria, enabling them to accumulate higher levels of savings which could in turn be brought to Jordan following the onset of the crisis. Additionally, having access to larger pools of savings means these households have accrued lower levels of debt; on average, households with heads who have completed further education have JOD 543 in debt, whereas all other groups have over JOD 650.

**Household composition**

Food insecure households have fewer household members (5) on average than food secure households (6.7). This is possibly because refugees living in larger households are able to pool resources and split costs such as rent and utility bills across a greater number of people. It is also potentially an effect of WFP targeting, which favours larger households. This indicates targeting methods should more closely examine smaller households and further highlights the importance of WFP assistance for refugees’ food security.

Regression analysis indicates that while households with a higher number children aged 18 and under are more likely to have better food consumption scores, they are also more likely to adopt livelihood coping strategies. On average, food secure households have 3.5 children aged 18 and under, while food insecure households have 2.5 children. Households with more children tend to be prioritised for assistance because children are less able to contribute to household income yet still consume household resources. On the other hand, as these households are more likely to have educational expenditure to accommodate for, they may need to adopt livelihood coping strategies in order to maintain access to food.

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59 Food consumption score multiple regression (Adjusted $R^2=0.201$) and livelihood coping strategy index multiple regression (Adjusted $R^2=0.056$)
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CONCLUSION

Through this assessment, WFP has identified the current needs and vulnerabilities of Syrian refugees living in Jordan, as well as the characteristics of households most vulnerable to food insecurity. By triangulating results with previous CFSMЕs, the assessment has identified how needs and vulnerabilities have developed over time, and the contextual factors that have driven these changes. The assessment findings can therefore guide programmatic decisions made by humanitarian actors as they seek to address and alleviate these needs and vulnerabilities going forward.

Food security has improved since 2015 for Syrian refugees living in host communities, although it remains below the 2014 level. The stabilisation in humanitarian assistance has driven an increase in food consumption levels, particularly in terms of the nutritional quality of food consumed. However, a high level of economic vulnerability persists; very few households have savings (5 percent), while the vast majority are in debt (87 percent). Furthermore, despite improvements since 2015, a large proportion (87 percent) of households are using livelihood coping strategies to address a shortage of food or resources to buy food. This affects refugee welfare beyond food security—nearly half of households (49 percent) are reducing essential non-food expenditure to cope with a lack of food—and indicates refugee households are poorly equipped to handle a reduction in access to resources.

The stability of the context for Syrians living in Za’atari camp, with regards to the provision of assistance for food, shelter, education, and other basic needs, has supported a steady improvement in food security since 2014. In particular, the evolution of the informal market has granted refugees access to a greater range of food, often at lower prices, while also facilitating a growth in economic activity in the camp. Ongoing development of the more nascent informal market in Azraq should play a role in ensuring food consumption levels continue to improve in the camp, especially given refugees’ concerns around the prices of products sold in the official supermarket as indicated by the qualitative data.

In host communities, refugees have diversified their income sources, particularly through gaining access to work opportunities. While increased access to work is generally positive, the nature and conditions of this work must also be considered. For the majority of refugees who are working, the work is temporary. Given approximately 34,000 work permits had been issued as of December 2016, the work is also largely informal. Additionally, more than a quarter of households (27 percent) are sending members to work in exploitative, socially degrading, high risk or illegal temporary work as a coping strategy, a percentage which is higher for households where skilled or unskilled labour is the main source of income (37 percent). This clearly indicates that many refugees are accepting work in poor conditions out of necessity, and suggests that in the current context, access to work does not necessarily translate into reduced vulnerability.

Focus group discussions found that rental payments continue to represent a financial pressure point for households in host communities. One third of refugee households (33 percent) have been forced to move prior to their current location, around half of whom (52 percent) had no choice but to reduce rental expenditure. Moreover, average household size (6.4 refugees per household) remains above the 2014 level (4.5 members per household), suggestive that families continue to pool resources and strive to keep expenditure on shelter to a minimum.
As further evidence of the strains on household budgets, expenditure on education (equipment, food, and transport to school) has not increased since 2015. Financial constraints are the primary reason for school absence, reported by approximately one third of households that are not sending children to school. However, there are hints that this pressure is starting to ease; there has been a slight increase in the percentage of children attending school, particularly those at the primary education level (age 5 to 12). This suggests that fewer households are keeping children out of education to reduce expenditure or support household incomes, although this comes at a cost—households with children in formal education are more likely to have lower food consumption levels.

The importance of education extends beyond the younger generation of refugees; multiple regression analysis found that head of household education is linked to food security. Half of households where the head has university education are food secure, compared with 20 percent of households where the head is completely illiterate. This is potentially due to differences in economic vulnerability—households where the head has tertiary education have higher levels of savings, lower levels of debt, and are less likely to adopt livelihood coping strategies. This finding highlights the value of ensuring access to education for young Syrians, particularly for enhancing longer-term economic resilience.

Health issues represent an ever-present source of vulnerability for households in host communities. The sudden onset of illness has the potential to quickly transform a household’s circumstances, and, with current household budgets, health insurance remains out of the question. Furthermore, receiving medical attention can often lead to the accumulation of debt, which hinders refugees’ ability to transition to economic self-reliance. Households with members who have serious medical conditions, physical or mental impairments, or have been seriously injured are more likely to be food insecure. These households have an average of JOD 779 of debt, compared with JOD 562 for households that do not have such medical issues. It seems that in the current context, health problems will remain a threat to refugees’ resilience.

Despite improvements since 2015, food security levels of refugees living in ITS remain well below those of refugees living in other types of accommodation. In terms of food consumption, 11 percent of ITS households have a poor FCS, compared with 2 percent of non-ITS households. Furthermore, 38 percent of ITS households are using emergency livelihood coping strategies, whereas 26 percent of non-ITS households are using these strategies. These findings indicate that ITS households have not experienced the same magnitude of improvement witnessed elsewhere in host communities. If these disparities are not addressed, refugees in ITS could become chronically vulnerable.

After conducting the CFSME in three consecutive years, the relationship between humanitarian assistance and food security is evident. In 2016, regression analysis finds that households receiving more WFP assistance are less likely to be food insecure. The CFSME 2015 showed very clearly that reductions in assistance can have adverse effects on refugees’ food security, and that vulnerability levels can quickly escalate. Further, all three CFSMEs have shown that specific contextual changes can affect certain population groups more than others. While targeted assistance seeks to address these imbalances, vulnerability is dynamic. To this end, there is no on-size-fits-all solution; the context will continue to change, as will the needs and vulnerabilities of Syrian refugees.
Ultimately, as the crisis continues to protract, there must be a reduction in the need for assistance. There has been a concerted effort by the humanitarian community to address this, with a shift in focus towards enhancing resilience and self-reliance. This will not be achieved overnight though, and changes in context, whether that be government policy, humanitarian funding, or otherwise, can swiftly offset any progress. To mitigate the impacts of these events, programmatic actors, policy makers, and donors need to take a long-term view with regards to interventions. Otherwise, it will be difficult to avoid a cycle of assistance and vulnerability.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In the short term, assistance remains vital—as was found in CFSME 2015, reductions of assistance can have adverse effects on refugees’ food security—but in the long term alternative means for securing refugee welfare need to be found. Accordingly, and based on the findings of CFSME 2016, WFP/REACH make the following short, medium, and long-term recommendations, to be conducted in parallel with one another.

In the short-term (within the next 12 months):

- **Methods should be found to mitigate the negative impacts of health costs for households requiring emergency treatments or with chronically ill members**, such as emergency medical voucher transfers, insurance plans, or longer-term payment schemes. The high costs associated with medical treatment means health issues represent an ever-present, unpredictable threat to refugee welfare. Households must often take on substantial levels of debt to cover medical fees or risk not receiving treatment. Support for medical fees would grant more refugees access to basic medical attention, which would help mitigate the adverse effects of health issues and alleviate the subsequent strains on household resources.

- **Solutions for more affordable shelter and housing options should be considered**. Rent is one of the largest financial outgoings for households living in host communities and is an expenditure that households often fail to cover. When possible, households borrow money to keep up with rental payments, but when this is not possible, they face eviction and relocate to likely worse quality accommodation. Access to more affordable shelter would reduce this financial burden and allow for the reallocation of resources to other household needs.

- **Increased livelihoods support for refugees living in ITS communities**. The proportion of ITS households resorting to extreme livelihood coping strategies remains high (38 percent) indicating that these households are struggling to access resources. Without additional support, these households will likely resort to more and more extreme measures in order to maintain access to food. Livelihoods support, in the form of Cash for Work and additional voucher transfers would support these households in improving access to food, while also supporting other costs such as transport to basic amenities.

In the medium-term (within the next one to three years):

- **WFP food assistance should continue for Syrian refugees in camps and host communities with systematic reviews of targeting criteria and implementation approach**. Syrian refugees receiving a higher level of WFP assistance are less likely to be food insecure, therefore coverage should be
expanded and assistance increased to refugee households unable to meet their basic food needs. Given how quickly changes in context can impact vulnerability levels, targeting criteria should be regularly evaluated and a more established referral system should be developed to ensure cases are carefully reviewed and included for assistance where necessary.

- Support for formal and decent economic opportunities should be prioritised. Improved access to livelihoods should enable refugee households to start the transition towards independent, resilient, and sustainable income generation. However, current work opportunities are mostly informal and for some refugees, the work is exploitative, high-risk, or socially degrading, which can lead to higher levels of vulnerability and increased food insecurity. Refugees need to gain access to decent and fair work that reduces their need for humanitarian assistance and enhances self-reliance.

- Tailored livelihoods opportunities should be provided for refugees who are less able to work. Current work opportunities are largely in sectors that require manual labour, such as construction and agriculture. Some refugee households, for example those with members with disabilities or headed by single or widowed females, may be less able to engage in this type of work. Tailored livelihoods programmes, such as work in the home or even a social safety net, should be considered to ensure vulnerable population groups are not left behind.

In the long-term, (within the next three to five years):

- Programming decisions should be made to gradually reduce refugee reliance on assistance, with an emphasis on longer-term sustainability. To improve refugees’ resilience, the need for humanitarian assistance should be reduced in the long term. For this to occur in a sustainable manner, it will need to be a gradual, transitional process whereby all relevant actors make programming decisions with potentially disruptive scenarios in mind. Fluctuations in assistance and changes in context impair refugees’ ability to meet their needs; results from 2015 show that refugees are extremely vulnerable to rapid deteriorations in welfare, and several years of improvement can very quickly come undone. Thus an underlying level of assistance is necessary for some time to come to ensure a humane transition to resilient, sustainable livelihoods.

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ANNEX I: CARI FOOD SECURITY INDEX

The Consolidated Approach for Reporting Indicators of Food Security (CARI) is WFP's standardized approach for assessing and reporting on household food security. The approach combines food security indicators that represent the current level of food consumption (current status domain) as well as households’ longer term economic vulnerability (coping capacity domain). Using standardized scores from these indicators, the food security index is calculated, distributing the population into four categories: food secure, marginally food secure, moderately food insecure, and severely food insecure. The final results of this approach are reported in the CARI food security console; Figure 41 shows the output of this method when applied to CFSME 2016 data. Figure 42 shows the results of the CARI food security index over time.

During the analysis phase of CFSME 2014, an adapted approach to the food security index was piloted in order to more accurately capture the context of the Syrian refugee crisis in Jordan. This was due to the fact that although food consumption scores are high, the use of livelihood coping strategies is regular and widespread. Further, refugees living in host communities in Jordan have high levels of expenditure on non-food items, such as rent and healthcare. As a result, thresholds for the food consumption score and food expenditure share were slightly adjusted and a separate grid system was used to determine the final food security index.

Instead of using the four CARI categories, the CFSME food security index classifies households as food secure, vulnerable to food insecurity, and food insecure. The high food consumption scores and low food expenditure share mean that very few households are in the CARI “severely food insecure” category, so this group was effectively merged with the “moderately food insecure” category into a single “food insecure” category. In order to more accurately reflect the results, the “marginally

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61 See Figure 38: CFSME food security index grid
food secure” category was renamed to “vulnerable to food insecurity”, representative of the fact that these households use a high level of coping strategies in order to meet food needs. As these households already use the most severe livelihood coping strategies to ensure access to food, a negative change in circumstances (such as a health shock in the family or reduction in humanitarian assistance) would likely render many of these households food insecure because nearly all means of maintaining food consumption are exhausted. In 2016, for example, 88 percent of households vulnerable to food insecurity are using crisis or emergency livelihood coping strategies, compared with 85 percent of food insecure households.
Of the nearly five million Syrians who have fled their homeland in the past five years, more than 655,000 are now registered with UNHCR as refugees in Jordan. In order to understand the impact of contextual changes on the food security and broader welfare of refugees, the World Food Programme (WFP) has partnered with REACH to conduct a third Comprehensive Food Security Monitoring Exercise (CFSME), covering all 12 governorates in Jordan as well as Azraq and Za'atari refugee camps. In total, 3,253 households comprising 20,067 individuals were surveyed between April and May 2016. This factsheet summarizes key findings in Ajloun governorate. Findings are representative of all Syrian refugee cases in the governorate with a 95 percent confidence level and a 5 percent margin of error.

### Key demographics

- **205 households surveyed**
- **27% female headed households**
- **6.2 refugees per household**

### Food security

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household food security levels:</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2016</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food secure</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vulnerable to food insecurity</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food insecure</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Food consumption

- **Acceptable**: 85%
- **Borderline**: 12%
- **Poor**: 3%

### Household resources

- **Average household income**: **JOD 331 (USD 467)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top three sources of income:</th>
<th>26%</th>
<th>24%</th>
<th>23%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Cash from aid organisations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 WFP food vouchers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Unskilled labour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **5% of households have savings**
- **91% of households are in debt**
  - **Average debt**: **JOD 673 (USD 949)**

### Livelihood coping strategies

- **In 2016, 91% of households are using livelihood coping strategies** to cope with a lack of food or lack of resources to buy food.
- **83%** of households are using stress coping strategies, for example:
  - **72%** borrowing money to buy food or purchasing food on credit
- **47%** of households are using crisis coping strategies, for example:
  - **NFI**: 47% reducing essential non-food expenditure
- **21%** of households are using emergency coping strategies, for example:
  - **19%** sending household members to work in exploitive or illegal jobs

---

1. UNHCR, exact figures as of 19 December 2016: 4,810,981 Syrian refugees, 655,675 registered in Jordan
2. 1 JOD is equal to 1.41 USD, as of 19 December 2016
3. Households were able to select multiple livelihood coping strategies. The coping strategies highlighted in this factsheet are examples of each severity category (stress, crisis, and emergency); please see the CFSME report for a full list of coping strategies.
Of the nearly five million Syrians who have fled their homeland in the past five years, more than 655,000 are now registered with UNHCR as refugees in Jordan.1 In order to understand the impact of contextual changes on the food security and broader welfare of refugees, the World Food Programme (WFP) has partnered with REACH to conduct a third Comprehensive Food Security Monitoring Exercise (CFSME), covering all 12 governorates in Jordan as well as Azraq and Za’atari refugee camps. In total, 3,253 households comprising 20,067 individuals were surveyed between April and May 2016. This factsheet summarizes key findings in Al Aqaba governorate. Findings are representative of all Syrian refugee cases in the governorate with a 94 percent confidence level and a 6 percent margin of error.2

**Key demographics**

- 154 households surveyed
- 8% female headed households
- 5.5 refugees per household

**Household food security levels:**

- **2014**: Food secure 65%, Vulnerable to food insecurity 33%, Food insecure 2%
- **2015**: Food secure 25%, Vulnerable to food insecurity 64%, Food insecure 11%
- **2016**: Food secure 23%, Vulnerable to food insecurity 69%, Food insecure 8%

**Household food consumption levels:**

- Acceptable: 89%
- Borderline: 10%
- Poor: 1%

**Household resources**

Average household income: JOD 393 (USD 554)3

- Top three sources of income:
  - 1. Unskilled labour: 35%
  - 2. Skilled labour: 32%
  - 3. Credits or borrowing money: 10%

- 3% of households have savings

- 69% of households are in debt

- Average debt: JOD 976 (USD 1376)

**Livelihood coping strategies**

In 2016, 88% of households are using livelihood coping strategies to cope with a lack of food or lack of resources to buy food.4

- 66% of households are using stress coping strategies, for example:
  - 50% borrowing money to buy food or purchasing food on credit

- 49% of households are using crisis coping strategies, for example:
  - 49% reducing essential non-food expenditure

- 42% of households are using emergency coping strategies, for example:
  - 42% sending household members to work in exploitative or illegal jobs

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1UNHCR, exact figures as of 19 December 2016: 4,810,981 Syrian refugees, 655,675 registered in Jordan
2All available refugee cases in the governorate were interviewed for this assessment.
31 JOD is equal to 1.41 USD, as of 19 December 2016
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### Key demographics
- 205 households surveyed
- 16% female headed households
- 6.3 refugees per household

### Household food security levels:
- **2014**
  - Food secure: 47%
  - Vulnerable to food insecurity: 42%
  - Food insecure: 10%
- **2015**
  - Food secure: 8%
  - Vulnerable to food insecurity: 70%
  - Food insecure: 22%
- **2016**
  - Food secure: 30%
  - Vulnerable to food insecurity: 55%
  - Food insecure: 15%

### Household expenditure
- Average household income: **JOD 358 (USD 505)**
- 1% of households have savings
- 89% of households are in debt
- Average debt: **JOD 958 (USD 1351)**

### Household resources
- Top three sources of income:
  1. Unskilled labour: 37%
  2. WFP food vouchers: 16%
  3. Cash from aid organisations: 13%
- Average household income: **JOD 358 (USD 505)**

### Livelihood coping strategies
- In 2016, 93% of households are using livelihood coping strategies to cope with a lack of food or lack of resources to buy food.
- 83% of households are using stress coping strategies, for example:
  - Borrowing money to buy food or purchasing food on credit: 64%
  - Reduction of essential non-food expenditure: 37%
- 40% of households are using crisis coping strategies, for example:
  - Sending household members to work in exploitative or illegal jobs: 31%
- 32% of households are using emergency coping strategies, for example:

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1. UNHCR, exact figures as of 19 December 2016: 4,810,981 Syrian refugees, 655,675 registered in Jordan
2. 1 JOD is equal to 1.41 USD, as of 19 December 2016
3. Households were able to select multiple livelihood coping strategies. The coping strategies highlighted in this factsheet are examples of each severity category (stress, crisis, and emergency); please see the CFSME report for a full list of coping strategies.
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### Key demographics

- **271** households surveyed
- **18%** female headed households
- **5.6** refugees per household

### Food security

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Food secure</th>
<th>Vulnerable to food insecurity</th>
<th>Food insecure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Food consumption

- **92%** Acceptable
- **7%** Borderline
- **2%** Poor

### Household expenditure

- **30%** of expenditure to food
- **24%** of expenditure to shelter
- **11%** of expenditure to healthcare
- **35%** of expenditure to other goods and services

### Household resources

- **Average household income:** **JOD 373 (USD 526)**
  - **4%** of households have savings
  - **89%** of households are in debt
  - **Average debt JOD 805 (USD 1135)**

### Livelihood coping strategies

- **79%** of households are using stress coping strategies, for example:
  - **73%** borrowing money to buy food or purchasing food on credit

- **55%** of households are using crisis coping strategies, for example:
  - **55%** reducing essential non-food expenditure

- **22%** of households are using emergency coping strategies, for example:
  - **21%** sending household members to work in exploitative or illegal jobs

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1 UNHCR, exact figures as of 19 December 2016: 4,810,981 Syrian refugees, 655,675 registered in Jordan

2 JOD is equal to 1.41 USD, as of 19 December 2016

3 Households were able to select multiple livelihood coping strategies. The coping strategies highlighted in this factsheet are examples of each severity category (stress, crisis, and emergency); please see the CFSME report for a full list of coping strategies.

---

1 CFSME Registered Syrian Refugees in Jordan 76
Of the nearly five million Syrians who have fled their homeland in the past five years, more than 655,000 are now registered with UNHCR as refugees in Jordan. In order to understand the impact of contextual changes on the food security and broader welfare of refugees, the World Food Programme (WFP) has partnered with REACH to conduct a third Comprehensive Food Security Monitoring Exercise (CFSME), covering all 12 governorates in Jordan as well as Azraq and Za’atari refugee camps. In total, 3,253 households comprising 20,067 individuals were surveyed between April and May 2016. This fact sheet summarizes key findings in Al Mafraq governorate. Findings are representative of all Syrian refugee cases in the governorate with a 95 percent confidence level and a 5 percent margin of error.

### Key demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household food security levels:</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2016</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food secure</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vulnerable to food insecurity</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food insecure</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Household food security levels:

- **Food secure**: 55%
- **Vulnerable to food insecurity**: 38%
- **Food insecure**: 8%

### Household food consumption levels:

- **Acceptable**: 85%
- **Borderline**: 11%
- **Poor**: 4%

### Household expenditure

- Average, households allocate:
  - 34% of expenditure to food
  - 25% of expenditure to shelter
  - 9% of expenditure to healthcare
  - 32% of expenditure to other goods and services

### Household resources

- Average household income: **JOD 298 (USD 420)**
- 9% of households have savings
- 89% of households are in debt

### Livelihood coping strategies

- In 2016, **87% of households are using livelihood coping strategies** to cope with a lack of food or lack of resources to buy food.

- **83%** of households are using stress coping strategies, for example:
  - 75% borrowing money to buy food or purchasing food on credit

- **49%** of households are using crisis coping strategies, for example:
  - 41% reducing essential non-food expenditure

- **21%** of households are using emergency coping strategies, for example:
  - 19% sending household members to work in exploitative or illegal jobs
Of the nearly five million Syrians who have fled their homeland in the past five years, more than 655,000 are now registered with UNHCR as refugees in Jordan. In order to understand the impact of contextual changes on the food security and broader welfare of refugees, the World Food Programme (WFP) has partnered with REACH to conduct a third Comprehensive Food Security Monitoring Exercise (CFSME), covering all 12 governorates in Jordan as well as Azraq and Za’atari refugee camps. In total, 3,253 households comprising 20,067 individuals were surveyed between April and May 2016. This factsheet summarizes key findings in Al Tafilah governorate. Findings are representative of all Syrian refugee cases in the governorate with a 92 percent confidence level and a 8 percent margin of error.

### Key demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household food security levels:</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2016</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food secure</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vulnerable to food insecurity</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food insecure</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Food security

Household food security levels:

- **Food secure**: 57%
- **Vulnerable to food insecurity**: 37%
- **Food insecure**: 6%

#### Food consumption

Household food consumption levels:

- **Acceptable**: 88%
- **Borderline**: 12%
- **Poor**: 0%

#### Household resources

Average household income: **JOD 329 (USD 464)**

Top three sources of income:

1. Unskilled labour ................. 50%
2. Cash from aid organisations ....... 20%
3. Credits or borrowing money ....... 9%

0% of households have savings

96% of households are in debt

Average debt: **JOD 1144 (USD 1613)**

#### Livelihood coping strategies

In 2016, **95% of households are using livelihood coping strategies** to cope with a lack of food or lack of resources to buy food.

- **80%** of households are using stress coping strategies, for example:
  - 71% borrowing money to buy food or purchasing food on credit

- **45%** of households are using crisis coping strategies, for example:
  - 43% reducing essential non-food expenditure

- **48%** of households are using emergency coping strategies, for example:
  - 48% sending household members to work in exploitative or illegal jobs

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1. UNHCR, exact figures as of 19 December 2016: 4,810,981 Syrian refugees, 655,675 registered in Jordan
2. All available refugee cases in the governorate were interviewed for this assessment.
3. 1 JOD is equal to 1.41 USD, as of 19 December 2016
4. Households were able to select multiple livelihood coping strategies. The coping strategies highlighted in this factsheet are examples of each severity category (stress, crisis, and emergency); please see the CFSME report for a full list of coping strategies.

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**WFP World Food Programme**

**REACH**
Of the nearly five million Syrians who have fled their homeland in the past five years, more than 655,000 are now registered with UNHCR as refugees in Jordan. In order to understand the impact of contextual changes on the food security and broader welfare of refugees, the World Food Programme (WFP) has partnered with REACH to conduct a third Comprehensive Food Security Monitoring Exercise (CFSME), covering all 12 governorates in Jordan as well as Azraq and Za'atari refugee camps. In total, 3,253 households comprising 20,067 individuals were surveyed between April and May 2016. This factsheet summarizes key findings in Al Zarqa governorate. Findings are representative of all Syrian refugee cases in the governorate with a 95 percent confidence level and a 5 percent margin of error.

### Household food security levels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Food secure</th>
<th>Vulnerable to food insecurity</th>
<th>Food insecure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Household expenditure

On average, households allocate:
- 34% of expenditure to food
- 29% of expenditure to shelter
- 11% of expenditure to healthcare
- 27% of expenditure to other goods and services

### Top three sources of income

1. Unskilled labour........................................................................33%
2. Cash from aid organisations.................................................29%
3. Credits or borrowing money.................................................10%

### Average household income: JOD 372 (USD 524)

2% of households have savings
90% of households are in debt

Average debt
JOD 753 (USD 1062)

### Livelihood coping strategies

In 2016, 93% of households are using livelihood coping strategies to cope with a lack of food or lack of resources to buy food. 81% of households are using stress coping strategies, for example:
- Borrowing money to buy food or purchasing food on credit
- Reducing essential non-food expenditure
- Sending household members to work in exploitative or illegal jobs

44% of households are using crisis coping strategies, for example:

44% of households are using emergency coping strategies, for example:

1UNHCR, exact figures as of 19 December 2016: 4,810,981 Syrian refugees, 655,675 registered in Jordan
21 JOD is equal to 1.41 USD, as of 19 December 2016
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### Key demographics
- **371** households surveyed
- **16%** female headed households
- **6.0** refugees per household

### Food security

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2016</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food secure</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vulnerable to food insecurity</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food insecure</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Food consumption

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Acceptable</th>
<th>Borderline</th>
<th>Poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Household expenditure

On average, households allocate:
- 37% of expenditure to shelter
- 27% of expenditure to food
- 11% of expenditure to healthcare
- 25% of expenditure to other goods and services

### Household resources

Average household income: **JOD 375 (USD 529)**

- 1% of households have savings
- 81% of households are in debt
- Average debt: **JOD 919 (USD 1296)**

Top three sources of income:
1. Unskilled labour: 39%
2. Cash from aid organisations: 19%
3. Skilled labour: 14%

### Livelihood coping strategies

In 2016, **84% of households are using livelihood coping strategies** to cope with a lack of food or lack of resources to buy food.

- **70%** of households are using stress coping strategies, for example:
  - 61% borrowing money to buy food or purchasing food on credit
  - 44% reducing essential non-food expenditure
  - 31% sending household members to work in exploitative or illegal jobs

- **44%** of households are using crisis coping strategies, for example:
  - 31% sending household members to work in exploitative or illegal jobs

- **31%** of households are using emergency coping strategies, for example:
  - 31% sending household members to work in exploitative or illegal jobs

---

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### Key demographics
- **357** households surveyed
- **22%** female headed households
- **6.7** refugees per household

### Food security

#### Household food security levels:

- **Food secure** 2014: 51%
- **Food secure** 2015: 11%
- **Food secure** 2016: 23%
- **Vulnerable to food insecurity** 2014: 47%
- **Vulnerable to food insecurity** 2015: 76%
- **Vulnerable to food insecurity** 2016: 64%
- **Food insecure** 2014: 2%
- **Food insecure** 2015: 13%
- **Food insecure** 2016: 13%

### Household expenditure

- On average, households allocate:
  - 29% of expenditure to food
  - 26% of expenditure to shelter
  - 13% of expenditure to healthcare
  - 32% of expenditure to other goods and services

### Household resources

- Average household income: **JOD 386 (USD 545)**
- **10%** of households have savings
- **92%** of households are in debt
- Average debt: **JOD 854 (USD 1204)**

### Livelihood coping strategies

- In 2016, **88% of households are using livelihood coping strategies** to cope with a lack of food or lack of resources to buy food.
- **81%** of households are using stress coping strategies, for example:
  - 70% borrowing money to buy food or purchasing food on credit
- **69%** of households are using crisis coping strategies, for example:
  - 65% reducing essential non-food expenditure
- **16%** of households are using emergency coping strategies, for example:
  - 15% sending household members to work in exploitative or illegal jobs

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1. UNHCR, exact figures as of 19 December 2016: 4,810,981 Syrian refugees, 655,675 registered in Jordan
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### Key demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household food security levels:</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2016</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food secure</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vulnerable to food insecurity</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food insecure</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Food security

Household food security levels:

- **Food secure**: 66% (2014), 12% (2015), 33% (2016)
- **Vulnerable to food insecurity**: 34% (2014), 81% (2015), 62% (2016)
- **Food insecure**: 0% (2014), 8% (2015), 5% (2016)

### Food consumption

Household food consumption levels:

- **Acceptable**: 93%
- **Borderline**: 7%
- **Poor**: 1%

### Household expenditure

On average, households allocate:

- 32% of expenditure to food
- 29% of expenditure to shelter
- 15% of expenditure to healthcare
- 24% of expenditure to other goods and services

Average debt: JOD 652 (USD 920)

### Average household income: JOD 355 (USD 500)\(^2\)

Top three sources of income:

1. Cash from aid organisations \(\ldots\) 28%
2. Unskilled labour \(\ldots\) 28%
3. WFP food vouchers \(\ldots\) 11%

1% of households have savings

86% of households are in debt

### Household resources

- **Average household income**: JOD 355 (USD 500)
- **Top three sources of income**: 1. Cash from aid organisations \(\ldots\) 28%, 2. Unskilled labour \(\ldots\) 28%, 3. WFP food vouchers \(\ldots\) 11%

### Livelihood coping strategies

In 2016, **83% of households are using livelihood coping strategies** to cope with a lack of food or lack of resources to buy food.\(^3\)

- **72% of households are using stress coping strategies**, for example:
  - 63% borrowing money to buy food or purchasing food on credit
  - 39% reducing essential non-food expenditure
  - 30% sending household members to work in exploitative or illegal jobs

- **40% of households are using crisis coping strategies**, for example:
  - 54% sending household members to work in exploitative or illegal jobs

- **30% of households are using emergency coping strategies**, for example:
  - 54% sending household members to work in exploitative or illegal jobs

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\(^1\) UNHCR, exact figures as of 19 December 2016: 4,810,981 Syrian refugees, 655,675 registered in Jordan

\(^2\) 1 JOD is equal to 1.41 USD, as of 19 December 2016

\(^3\) Households were able to select multiple livelihood coping strategies. The coping strategies highlighted in this factsheet are examples of each severity category (stress, crisis, and emergency); please see the CFSME report for a full list of coping strategies.

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Of the nearly five million Syrians who have fled their homeland in the past five years, more than 655,000 are now registered with UNHCR as refugees in Jordan. In order to understand the impact of contextual changes on the food security and broader welfare of refugees, the World Food Programme (WFP) has partnered with REACH to conduct a third Comprehensive Food Security Monitoring Exercise (CFSME), covering all 12 governorates in Jordan as well as Azraq and Za’atari refugee camps. In total, 3,253 households comprising 20,067 individuals were surveyed between April and May 2016. This factsheet summarizes key findings in Maan governorate. Findings are representative of all Syrian refugee cases in the governorate with a 95 percent confidence level and a 5 percent margin of error.

### Key demographics
- **242 households** surveyed
- **7%** female headed households
- **5.7 refugees per household**

### Food security

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household food security levels:</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2016</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food secure</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vulnerable to food insecurity</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food insecure</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Food consumption

- **Acceptable**: 86%
- **Borderline**: 11%
- **Poor**: 2%

### Household expenditure
On average, households allocate:
- 31% of expenditure to food
- 28% of expenditure to shelter
- 12% of expenditure to healthcare
- 29% of expenditure to other goods and services

### Household resources

**Average household income:** **JOD 406 (USD 572)**

- 1% of households have savings
- 87% of households are in debt

**Average debt:** **JOD 947 (USD 1336)**

### Livelihood coping strategies

In 2016, **86% of households are using livelihood coping strategies** to cope with a lack of food or lack of resources to buy food.

- **74%** of households are using stress coping strategies, for example:
  - 71% borrowing money to buy food or purchasing food on credit

- **52%** of households are using crisis coping strategies, for example:
  - 52% reducing essential non-food expenditure
  - 40% of households are using emergency coping strategies, for example:
  - 40% sending household members to work in exploitative or illegal jobs

---

1. UNHCR, exact figures as of 19 December 2016: 4,810,981 Syrian refugees, 655,675 registered in Jordan
2. 1 JOD is equal to 1.41 USD, as of 19 December 2016
3. Households were able to select multiple livelihood coping strategies. The coping strategies highlighted in this factsheet are examples of each severity category (stress, crisis, and emergency); please see the CFSME report for a full list of coping strategies.
Of the nearly five million Syrians who have fled their homeland in the past five years, more than 655,000 are now registered with UNHCR as refugees in Jordan.¹ In order to understand the impact of contextual changes on the food security and broader welfare of refugees, the World Food Programme (WFP) has partnered with REACH to conduct a third Comprehensive Food Security Monitoring Exercise (CFSME), covering all 12 governorates in Jordan as well as Azraq and Za’atari refugee camps. In total, 3,253 households comprising 20,067 individuals were surveyed between April and May 2016. This factsheet summarizes key findings in Madaba governorate. Findings are representative of all Syrian refugee cases in the governorate with a 95 percent confidence level and a 5 percent margin of error.

### Key demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Households</th>
<th>Female headed</th>
<th>Refugees per household</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Food security

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2016</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food secure</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vulnerable to food insecurity</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food insecure</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Household expenditure

On average, households allocate:

- 33% of expenditure to shelter
- 30% of expenditure to food
- 13% of expenditure to healthcare
- 24% of expenditure to other goods and services

### Household resources

- Average household income: **JOD 364 (USD 513)²**
- Top three sources of income:
  1. Unskilled labour: 36%
  2. Skilled labour: 15%
  3. Cash from aid organisations: 14%
- 2% of households have savings
- 91% of households are in debt
- Average debt: **JOD 972 (USD 1371)**

### Livelihood coping strategies

In 2016, **84% of households are using livelihood coping strategies** to cope with a lack of food or lack of resources to buy food.³

- 74% of households are using stress coping strategies, for example:
  - 57% borrowing money to buy food or purchasing food on credit
- 44% of households are using crisis coping strategies, for example:
  - 42% reducing essential non-food expenditure
- 34% of households are using emergency coping strategies, for example:
  - 33% sending household members to work in exploitative or illegal jobs

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¹ UNHCR, exact figures as of 19 December 2016: 4,810,981 Syrian refugees, 655,675 registered in Jordan

² 1 JOD is equal to 1.41 USD, as of 19 December 2016

³ Households were able to select multiple livelihood coping strategies. The coping strategies highlighted in this factsheet are examples of each severity category (stress, crisis, and emergency); please see the CFSME report for a full list of coping strategies.
ANNEX III: QUESTIONNAIRE

1. GENERAL INFORMATION

| 1.1 | Have you participated in this assessment in the past five weeks? No=0, Yes=1 |
| 1.2 | Interview date |
| 1.3 | Questionnaire code |
| 1.4 | Governorate |
| 1.5 | Interviewer |
| 1.6 | Language |
| 1.7 | Are you living in: Urban = 1, Rural = 2, N.A = 3 |
| 1.8 | Record Location (GPS – with ±50 accuracy or less) |

2. INFORMATION ON THE HOUSEHOLD

2.1. Do you live in a household headed by a non-Syrian or a Syrian refugee? Yes=1, No=0

2.1.1. What is the age of the head of the household? (in years)

2.1.2. What is the gender of the head of household?

2.1.3. What is the marital status of the head of household? 1) Single, 2) Married, 3) Divorced/Separated, 4) Widowed

2.1.4. What is the level of education completed by the head of household? 1) None (illiterate), 2) Literate (reads and writes, but not formal education), 3) Primary (completed grade 6), 4) Secondary (completed grade 9), 5) Completed grade 10, 6) Grade 12 (completed passed Twelfth or baccalaureate), 7) University degree (completed 4 years study at university), 8) Diploma (completed two years college study after Twelfth), 9) Higher education (master, M.S., M.B.A or higher diploma), 10) Prefer not to say

2.2. Does your case share household with other Syrian refugees? Yes=1, No=0

2.3. Number of household members in total (including all non-Syrians)

2.4. Number of rooms excluding the kitchen & sanitary facilities (shared by entire household)

2.5. Living space in square metres (all rooms except kitchen and sanitary facilities. Occupied by the entire household)

2.6. Do you have a latrine/toilet of exclusive use for your household? Yes=1, No=0

2.6.1. Is the latrine/toilet shared between more than one household?

2.6.2. If yes, how many households?

2.7. What is the total number of cases in this household?

2.7.1. How many cases are willing and available to be interviewed?

2.7.2. What is the relationship between the cases in the household? 1) Family, 2) Friends, 3) Employees of the same employer, 4) Friends and family not related

2.8. Why are you living together as more than one case in the household? 1) Reduce rent, 2) Reduce rental costs, 3) Employer provides accommodation, 4) Other

2.8.1. If other, please specify

2.9. If you receive WFP assistance, what is the value in JOD for currently received WFP assistance per person in the case?

2.9.1. For how long has your case been receiving WFP assistance?

2.10. What is the nationality of your legal guardian?

2.10.1. How many of your nuclear family members are not registered with UNHCR?

2.10.2. If not, what is the reason? 1) Approached UNHCR and you did not receive an appointment for renewal 2) Not renewed yet but have an appointment for renewal 3) Not renewed yet and need renewal appointment

2.10.3. What is the marital status of the member of the case? (only adults above 18) ability to work?

2.10.4. Visual/hearing impairment

2.11. What is your work status?

2.12. What is the level of education completed by the head of the case? 1) None (illiterate), 2) Literate (reads and writes, but not formal education), 3) Primary (completed grade 6), 4) Secondary (completed grade 9), 5) Completed grade 10, 6) Grade 12 (completed passed Twelfth or baccalaureate), 7) University degree (completed 4 years study at university), 8) Diploma (completed two years college study after Twelfth), 9) Higher education (master, M.S., M.B.A or higher diploma), 10) Prefer not to say

2.13. Is the registered head of case disabled or visibly impaired?

2.14. Does the head of case have a valid UNHCR asylum seeker certificate?

2.15. How to enter your registration UNHCR asylum seeker certificate? 1) By bar code scanner, 2) manually enter

2.15.1. If 1, Registration sheet number (By using barcode scanner)

2.16. Does the head of case have a valid MO/service card? (look at place of residence) 1=Yes, 0=No

2.17. Total case members

2.18. When did the members of your case arrive from Syria?

2.18.1. First arrival (first case member):

2.18.2. Last arrival (last case member):

2.19. Type of WFP assistance that the case currently benefits from: 1) A-tented food 2) paper voucher 3) electronic food card 4) no assistance received 5) other

2.20. If they receive WFP assistance, what is the value in JOD currently received WFP assistance per person in the case? 1) 20-49, 2) 10-19, 3) 0-9, (only for Syrian refugees in host communities)

2.21. For how long has your case been receiving WFP assistance?

2.22. How long has your case been receiving WFP assistance

2.23. What is the age of the interviewee?

2.24. What is the marital status of the interviewee? 1) Single, 2) Married, 3) Divorced/Separated, 4) Widowed

2.25. What is your education level? 1) None (completely illiterate), 2) Primary (completed grade 6), 3) Secondary (completed grade 9), 4) Completed grade 10, 5) Grade 12 (completed passed Twelfth or baccalaureate), 6) University degree (completed 4 years study at university), 7) Diploma (completed two years college study after Twelfth), 8) Higher education (master, M.S., M.B.A or higher diploma), 9) Prefer not to say

2.26. What is the age of the interviewee?

2.27. If yes (regular, seasonal or temporary) which sector have you worked in? (see codes below)

2.28. If yes (regular, seasonal or temporary) which sector have you worked in? (see codes below)

2.29. If you provide WFP assistance, what is the value in JOD currently received WFP assistance per person in the case? 1) 20-49, 2) 10-19, 3) 0-9, (only for Syrian refugees in host communities)

2.30. If yes (regular, seasonal or temporary) which sector have you worked in? (see codes below)

2.31. If yes (regular, seasonal or temporary) which sector have you worked in? (see codes below)

OOSE QUESTIONS PER CASE MEMBER

The following questions were asked about each member of the case (until Question 3.1)

2.22.1.1. Case member 1

2.22.1.2. Case member 2

2.22.1.3. Case member 3

2.22.1.4. Case member 4

2.22.1.5. Case member 5

2.22.1.6. Case member 6

2.22.1.7. Total

2.22.2. Age (YYYY) (0 under 2 years, 0 under 18, 18 or over)

2.22.3. Gender (1 = Male, 2 = Female)

2.22.4. Valid ID card? (1=Yes, 0=No, 2=expired, 3=lost)

2.22.5. In education, employed or in training? (1=Yes, 2=No)

2.22.6. If you work, have you worked in the last 30 days? (1=Yes, 2=No)

2.22.7. If yes (regular, seasonal or temporary) which sector have you worked in? (see codes below)

2.22.8. If yes (regular, seasonal or temporary) where has most of this work been carried out? (see codes below)

2.22.9. If yes (regular, seasonal or temporary) how much of this work has been carried out? (see codes below)

2.22.10. If you receive WFP assistance, what is the value in JOD currently received WFP assistance per person in the case? 1) 20-49, 2) 10-19, 3) 0-9, (only for Syrian refugees in host communities)

2.22.11. If you provide WFP assistance, what is the value in JOD currently received WFP assistance per person in the case? 1) 20-49, 2) 10-19, 3) 0-9, (only for Syrian refugees in host communities)

2.22.12. If yes (regular, seasonal or temporary) which sector have you worked in? (see codes below)

2.22.13. If yes (regular, seasonal or temporary) where has most of this work been carried out? (see codes below)

2.22.14. If yes (regular, seasonal or temporary) how much of this work has been carried out? (see codes below)

2.22.15. If you receive WFP assistance, what is the value in JOD currently received WFP assistance per person in the case? 1) 20-49, 2) 10-19, 3) 0-9, (only for Syrian refugees in host communities)

2.22.16. If you provide WFP assistance, what is the value in JOD currently received WFP assistance per person in the case? 1) 20-49, 2) 10-19, 3) 0-9, (only for Syrian refugees in host communities)

2.22.17. If yes (regular, seasonal or temporary) which sector have you worked in? (see codes below)

2.22.18. If yes (regular, seasonal or temporary) where has most of this work been carried out? (see codes below)

2.22.19. If yes (regular, seasonal or temporary) how much of this work has been carried out? (see codes below)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2.22.5</th>
<th>If yes (regular, seasonal or temporary): what was your income from this work in the last 30 days? (in JDs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.22.6</td>
<td>Visual/hearing impairment (0=No, 1=Partial, 2=Complete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.6.a</td>
<td>If yes, does this affect the members, daily ability to perform activity for daily living (eating, bathing, toileting, dressing and transferring)? (0=No, 1=Yes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.6.b</td>
<td>If 2.22.6 is yes, does that affect the member’s (only adults above 18) ability to work?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.6.c</td>
<td>If yes, does this affect the members, daily ability to perform activity for daily living (eating, bathing, toileting, dressing and transferring)? (0=No, 1=Yes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.7</td>
<td>Mental impairment (0=No, 1=Yes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.7.a</td>
<td>If yes, does this affect the members, daily ability to perform activity for daily living (eating, bathing, toileting, dressing and transferring)? (0=No, 1=Yes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.7.b</td>
<td>If 2.22.7 is yes, does that affect the member’s (only adults above 18) ability to work?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.8</td>
<td>Other physical impairment (0=No, 1 = Yes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.8.a</td>
<td>If yes, does this affect the members, daily ability to perform activity for daily living (eating, bathing, toileting, dressing and transferring)? (0=No, 1=Yes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.8.b</td>
<td>If 2.22.8 is yes, does that affect the member’s (only adults above 18) ability to work?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.9</td>
<td>Chronically ill or serious medical conditions (0=No, 1=Yes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.9.a</td>
<td>If yes, does this affect the members, daily ability to perform activity for daily living (eating, bathing, toileting, dressing and transferring)? (0=No, 1=Yes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.9.b</td>
<td>If 2.22.9 is yes, does that affect the member’s (only adults above 18) ability to work?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.10</td>
<td>Injured (0=No, 1=Yes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.10.a</td>
<td>If yes, does this affect the members, daily ability to perform activity for daily living (eating, bathing, toileting, dressing and transferring)? (0=No, 1=Yes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.10.b</td>
<td>If 2.22.10 is yes, does that affect the member’s (only adults above 18) ability to work?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.11</td>
<td>Mental impairment (0=Yes, 1=Yes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.11.a</td>
<td>If yes, does this affect the members, daily ability to perform activity for daily living (eating, bathing, toileting, dressing and transferring)? (0=No, 1=Yes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.11.b</td>
<td>If 2.22.11 is yes, does that affect the member’s (only adults above 18) ability to work?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.11.c</td>
<td>If yes, does this affect the members, daily ability to perform activity for daily living (eating, bathing, toileting, dressing and transferring)? (0=No, 1=Yes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.12</td>
<td>Pregnant female with complications (0=No, 1=Yes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.12.a</td>
<td>If yes, does this affect the members, daily ability to perform activity for daily living (eating, bathing, toileting, dressing and transferring)? (0=No, 1=Yes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.12.b</td>
<td>If 2.22.12 is yes, does that affect the member’s (only adults above 18) ability to work?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.12.c</td>
<td>If yes, does this affect the members, daily ability to perform activity for daily living (eating, bathing, toileting, dressing and transferring)? (0=No, 1=Yes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.13</td>
<td>Other impairments (0=No, 1=Yes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.13.a</td>
<td>If yes, does this affect the members, daily ability to perform activity for daily living (eating, bathing, toileting, dressing and transferring)? (0=No, 1=Yes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22.13.b</td>
<td>If 2.22.13 is yes, does that affect the member’s (only adults above 18) ability to work?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Other columns:
- 1: Yes
- 0: No
- Blank: Not applicable
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Needs other people for support</th>
<th>Rent</th>
<th>Begging</th>
<th>Transport</th>
<th>Blankets</th>
<th>Clothes/shoes</th>
<th>Cereals</th>
<th>Vegetables/Leaves</th>
<th>Eggs</th>
<th>Oils and Fats</th>
<th>White tubers and roots</th>
<th>Cereals</th>
<th>Other non-food needs</th>
<th>What amount of money (JDs) were generated by all other sources of income over the past 30 days?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>