Exploring the impact of COVID-19 on the “livelihoods” of Syrian refugees in Jordan
Executive Summary

This brief explores the impact of the economic and social disruptions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic on the living conditions of Syrian refugees residing in the Za’atari Refugee Camp - in Mafraq, northern Jordan - and on refugees residing within the Jordanian host communities - Ramtha, Mafraq and Amman. The purpose of this brief is to highlight the living conditions of these refugees and to raise awareness of the importance of preparedness for future alike scenarios through forward looking policies and actions that ensure better access to basic needs.

Based on structured interviews and desk research, the brief will evaluate these conditions beyond the common indicators of household assets, capabilities and activities and will zoom into how (lack of) access to water resources and educational services can translate into aggravating vulnerabilities during pandemic conditions. The brief tackles three main issues: the institutional progress in the water sector, to understand and answer to national water scarcity conditions; the status of the education sector as a vital tool to ensure the integration of marginalized groups, namely persons with disabilities; and the international aid needed that benefit refugees both in host communities and in formal camp setting.

Through the lens and voices of Syrian refugees, the brief depicts the implications of the lockdown that was enforced in March 2020. Notably, these resulted in an extra layer of visible confinement to refugees’ daily activities and a threat to their current living conditions and future plans. Finally the Brief provides some recommendations that could help alleviate the conditions of the refugees which could serve as a lessons learnt.
1. Introduction

The COVID-19’s toll on the physical and mental well-being of many persons around the world significantly rose. The curfews, lockdowns and limited mobility are just a few of the draconian measures that were taken by countries to limit the spread of the virus and save lives.\(^{(1)}\)(\(^{2}\))

Jordan went into strictly-enforced curfew on 17 March 2020, similar to many countries in the region, and the defence law was activated aiming to curb potential unprecedented consequences due to the COVID-19 spread.\(^{(3)}\)(\(^{4}\)) These measures were challenging for the whole population, but particularly for those who had found refuge in Jordan.

The country hosts around 752,000 refugees registered at UNHCR (7% of the total 10 million population of Jordan) as well as refugees and asylum seekers from Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Sudan, Somalia, Libya, Ethiopia and more than 2 million Palestinian refugees registered with UNRWA.\(^{(5)}\)(\(^{6}\))

About 83% of Syrian refugees in Jordan live in urban settings within host communities, where they live in rented accommodation and / or informal settlements mostly in Amman, Mafraq, Irbid-Ramtha and Zarqa governorates.\(^{7}\) Their basic needs are covered by their own method of income generation with minimal reliance on humanitarian assistance (depending if registered with UNHCR). At the same time, around 16% of the Syrian refugees live in formal refugee camps. Nearly 128 thousand Syrian refugees are in the Za’atari Camp, which is one of the largest Syrian refugee camps in the (West Asia and North Africa) WANA region.\(^{(8)}\)(\(^{9}\)) Camp administration is handled by the UNHCR while other partners and NGOs provide protection and humanitarian services to camp residents such as food assistance, electricity, housing, education, health, and water and sanitation.\(^{(10)}\)(\(^{11}\))
In October 2020, the West Asia-North Africa (WANA) Institute in Amman-Jordan undertook to investigate the impact of COVID-19 on the “livelihoods” of Syrian refugees in Jordan, especially with regards access to water.

A total of 20 Syrian refugees took part in structured interviews, females and males above the age of 18 years old in different host communities around Jordan -Ramtha, Amman, Mafraq and in Za’atari Camp. Primary data that was collected through phone interviews was focused on refugee’s background, perception of water risks (current and future), the COVID-19 effect on welfare and living conditions, safety and mobility, hand hygiene and WASH (Water Sanitation and Hygiene) as well as their coping mechanisms to minimize the effect of COVID.

2. Current conditions in camps and host communities

2.1. War and the Syrian refugees

Nearly 10 years have passed since the start of one of the largest humanitarian exoduses, with over 5 million people with refugee status and nearly 6 million people displaced internally in Syria. The conflict in Syria has evacuated and drained the country economically, socially, environmentally and politically and left many tangible and intangible casualties that forced Syrians to flee internally and externally. Turkey hosts 3.6 million refugees, Lebanon hosts 865,530 Syrian refugees (making up 12.5% of Lebanon’s population), Iraq has 243,120 and Egypt has 130,570. Meanwhile, Germany and Sweden host 70% of the total Syrian refugees in Europe (around 1 million).

The situation in Syria during the war was devastating and was described by a Syrian male interviewee, currently living in Amman as follows “I had to take my family out of Syria -wife and children because of the intensity of killing and terror. My two brothers, neighbour and fifty of my relatives were killed”. Another refugee, who also found refuge in Amman explains the devastating conditions in Syria that left them with no other choice but to leave Dara’a-Syria in 2013, where they were carried to Jordan as wounded civilians “our house was bombed by an air strike and nothing was left, my son got badly injured from shrapnel which caused leg paralysis and I got shrapnel in my head”. Many Syrians continue to face lingering health problems that require constant care due to the war injuries.

2.2. Living and Working Conditions of Syrian Refugees in Jordan

Syrian displaced persons who have sought refuge in Jordan live either in formal camps or within host communities around Jordan. The Za’atari Camp is one of the three formal camps in Jordan including Azraq and the Emirati Jordan Camps which are all targeted by humanitarian assistance agencies. In the Za’atrai Camp, there are over 26,000 mobile caravans, and each includes a latrine and a kitchen. Refugees’ food assistance is covered through a blockchain system that provides each refugee with JOD 23 per month that can be used at the camp’s groceries. Water and sanitation services are covered by a newly installed

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pipeline which secures about 2.5-4.2 million litters of water per day. In host communities, refugees rely on the capabilities / income of the breadwinner in the family which is usually generated through informal / seasonal jobs in agriculture, construction, services and in the industrial sector (includes manufacturing). These jobs are characterised by low wages, long working hours, and poor working conditions. Access to food, water, sanitation and other basic needs is dependent on the situation within the host community; water shortage and inefficient sanitation services are some of the pre-existing issues that Jordanians faced prior to the Syrian crisis but were exacerbated later.

In Jordan, around 99% of all Syrians employed are found in the informal economy (temporary and seasonal). These jobs already entail an unsustainability factor that includes limited worker rights and they cannot be maintained remotely, thus they were significantly affected by mobility restrictions. Syrian refugees’ breadwinners in Jordan are divided into two categories, those with work permits which represent only 10 % (2017) of the total employed Syrians and those that are in the informal economy outside the bounds of Jordanian labour law. It is important to note that in Jordan, Syrian refugees can obtain work permits either if they reside in host communities or if they live in a camp under specific guidelines placed by the UNHCR. The low number of permits is due to constraints on fees and other permit requirements. In 2017, the Ministry of Labour introduced a new package that supports Syrian refugees, which included flexible work permits for some sectors such as agriculture and construction, the ability to move from one sector to another without the need for clearance forms (in cases of expired permit) and from one employer to another without a release form. Over the years, new updates were also added on packages, as such exempting Syrian refugees from work permit fees by extending several grace periods, allowing cooperatives to apply on behalf of Syrian refugees for work permits in the agricultural sector, allowing for more mobility for workers due to the seasonal nature of the sector, waiving the social security registration condition in the submission stage and waiving condition on medical examination requirement and replacing it with the medical examination result when the Ministry of interior residence card was obtained.

Syrians in host communities mainly get temporary and irregular jobs as seasonal labourers in the agriculture, forestry and fishing sectors, followed by construction and manufacturing. These vulnerable working and living conditions have been exacerbated by the pandemic that started in March 2020.

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2.3. Impact of COVID-19 on the livelihoods and welfare of Syrian refugees in Jordan

The pandemic has severely hit our societies and will continue to have a long-term impact, due to the economic, social and mental consequences that may linger for years.

Economically, the pandemic’s economic disruptions have stretched many enterprises to a breaking point, leaving the workforce under risks of losing their livelihood.

Mentally, COVID-19 left a huge gap of hopes for future plans and aspirations. It has particularly severely hit the vulnerable informal economy workforce, where the majority lack social and health protection assets. This was particularly highlighted by refugee interviewees as the pandemic has constrained their day-to-day activities and hence their income. In addition, it raised concerns associated with their well-being, notably how safe they are from contracting the novel virus due to their poor living conditions, as well as extra financial costs they had to bear due to constant sanitization.

Socially, their freedom of movement, financial returns, working hours and daily wages were halted or sometimes stopped completely due to a job loss leaving them to bear additional burdens. All interviewed Syrians either in host communities or the Za’atari Camp were impacted one way or another by the restrictions imposed due to COVID-19.

As a coping mechanism, refugees in Za’atari Camp had to rely on aid from international NGOs, but due to mobility restrictions, aid in some cases was not sufficient. They did not have any outlet for additional revenues, as their work stopped and work permits to find job opportunities outside the camp were inactive due to the mobility restrictions. A refugee currently living in the Za’atari Camp said “I used to work as a fitness trainer at a gym in the camp, however, my employment contract ended at the end of 2019, and I remained unemployed throughout the COVID-19 pandemic period, which negatively affected me financially”. She mentioned, that her family does not have any income except for what they receive from an organisation working inside the camp. Income is sufficient to cover basic needs, such as food, but the cost of rice and of other basic things is expensive”. Another Syrian who worked at a restaurant in Mafraq prior to the outbreak had been made redundant during 2020 “I was dismissed during the pandemic, and until today I am jobless”. Around one-third of Syrian workers had lost their jobs due to the pandemic in 2020, where in most cases they lacked formal written contracts but rather verbal ones or no contract especially for irregular (no stability) employment types (informal jobs).

2.4. Impact of the pandemic on access to education for children in refugees’ camps

It has been highlighted by interviewees that disruptions caused by COVID-19 have caused families to worry about their children’s education due to restrictions and that primary, secondary, higher and vocational education should be shifted to distance learning. In an attempt to minimise the impact of education loss to students, the Jordanian Ministry of education launched Darsak, which is a televised platform that has pre-recorded learning

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material for students to follow up with their studying. This, of course, required access to televisions or devices with WIFI connection.

Distance learning affected many students (nationals and non-nationals) in Jordan during lockdown, which required them to adopt and adapt to virtual lessons. A consensus was reached among the refugees’ interviewees that students’ education was weak as a result of distance learning and represented a real struggle. According to recent data, only 2% of refugee communities own computers.30 In addition, schoolchildren in Za’atari camp had to match their study hours with the camp’s electricity schedule to finish their study assignments. Remote education lacked sensitivity towards persons with disabilities as described by one refugee “….my children’s education was greatly affected. Also, I have a child with special needs and his education requires special physical attention. But, due to online schooling, he has not been able to keep up”.31

3. Access to water in the face of COVID-19

Scarcity of water resources in Jordan has been a prominent historic struggle. It is the second poorest country in the world in terms of water, where the available annual per capita water resources is less than 100 m³ which is far below the international threshold of recognised water scarcity level of 500 m³.32 The proportion of Jordanian population with access to improved water access is 94%, and around 93% have access to safe sanitation services.33 The influx of Syrian refugees placed an additional strain on the national water sector’s demand. Intermittent supply has been noticeable, especially in the Northern governorates of Irbid and Mafraq, where the majority of Syrians reside.

The pandemic added additional pressure on the scarcity of water in Jordan with the need to ensure that people have access to basic handwashing and clean water and appropriate Water and Sanitation Service and Hygiene (WASH) services becoming an essential survival element at the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic. To that effect, hand hygienic kits have become a compulsory item in each house to slow down the spread of COVID-19, therefore additional expenditure has been noted by families.

Refugees within host communities in Amman, Mafraq and Ramtha around Jordan faced collateral damage due to COVID-19 measures (mobility restrictions, limited access to income and education loss), where access to water resources during the pandemic was an additional limitation. They expressed concerns about continuous access to water, particularly during the pandemic. Water supply experienced regular water cuts, which was compensated by additional water sources. These residents are either connected to the national water grid (municipal water) or they are dependent on water from tankers. Their demand increased, due to the need to constantly hand wash. In a similar manner, extra burden to have available hand hygienic kits at all times, have increased the monthly expenditure by around 20-25 JOD/per household (around 30 US dollars).34 Additionally, it was indicated by several refugees living in Mafraq that water risks are of a concern to them.35 In incidents of water shortage, refugees have an extra financial cost to cover the

34 Syrian refugee interviewed all mentioned the increased expenditure on hygienic kits given their limited wages and income. This has been viewed as a burden for a lot of them.
deficit through buying bottled water or from private water tankers where the cost of filling an extra 2 m3 tank is 10 JOD (around 14 US Dollars).36

On the other hand, Za’atari Camp residents were content with water and WASH services around the camp. It is to note that access to clean water in the camp have evolved throughout the years, from a communal water tank system to an installed water network (pipelines) that delivers water directly to each caravan / house.37 This upgrade from shared communal water tanks to pipeline network had aided in providing sufficient water supply during the COVID-19 outbreak. Specific cases in the camp mentioned that their usual water supply is characterised as intermittent and low pressure but with COVID-19 requirements, the need for constant supply is necessary to ensure cleanliness of hands at all times.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, the already precarious livelihoods of Syrian refugees were further threatened as their access to water, education, income-generating activities, plus financial burdens of staying safe and healthy have increased. Syrians left their homeland escaping armed conflict, now they have to face another life crisis – the pandemic. In Jordan, the COVID-19 pandemic revealed many hardships for vulnerable communities, at a time where having access to water and “washing hands frequently” is more than ever a necessity. It has become a blessing to be living in a place that offers aid, access to improved water supply and WASH services, as well as safety nets such as refugee camps.

School children in host communities and camps were also impacted, as virtual learning was not always an available option for many due to lack of devices with access to WIFI connection. Parents of children with disabilities were left behind, as virtual learning could not address their needs.

Like many people, refugees in camps and host communities have experienced the fear of the unknown due to the COVID-19 pause on their daily lives, but they had to carry additional burdens to pass through these uncertain times.

5. Recommendations

Jordan has provided a good example of learning through the pandemic. Not only did the country host a number of refugees amounting to about 10% of its population and served their basic needs, but it also provided them with tools for survival through the pandemic, in a time when most governments were solely focusing on their own population. In addition, Jordan has become one of the first countries in the world to offer COVID-19 vaccination for refugees.38 Through the efforts of the Jordanian government and national and international NGOs, refugees were provided with a safe haven in the midst of COVID-19 spread. There are more than 100,000 refugees who have renewed their asylum seeker certificates which enables them to access basic needs, education, health services and attain work permits.

The following recommendations aim to benefit Jordan and other countries with host communities through easing their response towards potential global emergencies.

5.1 Water

The water sector in Jordan already suffers from pre-existing challenges in accommodating the needs of the growing population. Progress shall be made on better coordination between actors in situations of spillover of refugee influxes over the years. Hence, water policies shall find a way to incorporate between two essential aspects, long term measures to address structural water sector issues and immediate water needs due to sudden population increase.39

5.2 Education

The Ministry of Education should work alongside other relevant ministries and national and international stakeholders to strengthen the implementation of the existing national education strategy plan which ensures the rights of students with special needs to receive education under all circumstances (“Amend Education Law #20 (2017) to be in line with Jordan’s obligations under the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CPRD)

Other logistical recommendations include supporting distance learning, allowing lessons that need internet connection to be accessed by different groups, providing them with technical assistance (internet bundles, laptops and mobile phones are available) or educational assistance (assignment of one-to-one lessons by teachers to cover students with special needs).

5.3 Work permits

The situation regarding work permits to Syrian refugees has progressed throughout the years, and policies and regulations have considered the complexity of the process before the COVID-19 pandemic. Now, the virus outbreak has caused 41% of Syrian refugees to lose their jobs (most work in the informal job market). Regulating the work permit conditions especially for informal jobs would require structural and legal amendments in the Jordanian labour market. The informal economy requires formalizing mechanisms such as initiation of sector-specific work permit regulations based on the sector’s labour demand.

5.4 National measure to cope with COVID-19 implications

Availability of international assistance is a key factor in supporting Syrian refugees in Jordan especially for those residing in camps, but Syrians in host communities must also be integrated in national measures to cope with COVID-19, such as through the social development COVID-19 response fund, to support them during national lockdowns and

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43 Decrease of Syrian work permits in Jordan in 2020.
emergencies. Therefore, enrolment of refugees in social security, even for those with informal jobs, must be an integral step.

For many countries, the COVID-19 outbreak was a wake-up call on different levels, including on the health, social and economic dimensions. Countries that host vulnerable and marginalised communities have an additional role in providing safety nets during and following pandemic situations. Policies should take into account that there are different levels of impact of COVID-19, and that different groups may be affected in different ways. Hence, the need to have different policies that respond to all levels.

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