

Gender Assessment Country Report
Child labour in Jordan

Save the Children/UNICEF-Amman
WNCB project

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Executive summary

In contribution to achieving the Sustainable Development Goal #8.7 "To end all forms of child labour by 2025", UNICEF and Save the Children are jointly implementing the 'Work: No Child's Business' programme as part of the Government of the Netherlands' commitment to invest in combating child labour. In Jordan, the programme aims at ensuring that children and youth are free from child labour and enjoy their rights to quality education and (future) decent work in a country with a high prevalence of child labour. It also seeks to address the root causes of child labour and its pervasive impact on children, youth, their families, and communities, as well as create a protective environment for children, with increased access to social services.¹

The main goal of this analysis under the "Work: No Child Business" WNCB programme is to provide answers to two main research questions:

1- What causes/drives child labour for boys and girls within the WNCB programme target groups (migrants, street children, and refugee children)? And what is the relationship with the informal sector under the two components (education and employment) in Jordan?

2- What can the WNCB programme improve to address the risk factors of child labour and promote protective factors for boys and girls within the WNCB programme target groups and sectors (education and employment) in Jordan?

The study examined the conditions of children working in informal sectors - such as agriculture and domestic work - in the Jordanian context, targeting East Amman (Russaifeh, Sahab and Marka) and Mafraq (Al-Zaatari refugee camp).

Guided by the above two questions, the study used an evidence-based approach to uncover strong findings which shed light on the main risk factors driving child labour in Jordan, as well as protective factors that would reduce the rate of child labour. Gender gaps were identified related to the division of gender roles, and the consequences and challenges associated with these, which result in social injustice for both sexes. The study reveals the different forms these take as a result of social norms and traditional practices. Male children undertake child labour to support the family financially while female children do domestic work within the household. Both these forms of labour lead many children to drop out of school or be at risk of dropout. Conditions are different, and often worse, for Syrian refugee children, many of whom work in the agricultural sector.

The analysis concludes with a list of recommendations built on the findings and split under the main programme outcomes:

Outcome 1: Children are empowered and have improved access to (quality) education and youth employment within a supportive family and community environment.

Outcome 2: Governments have enforced relevant child rights-based laws and have implemented policies on child labour, education, youth economic empowerment, and social security.

Outcome 3: The private sector takes full responsibility for preventing and addressing child labour.

Outcome 4: The EU, Dutch government and international organisations act in support of the elimination of child labour and fulfil their obligation by setting and reinforcing due diligence policies and laws.

Methodology

¹ <https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/-->

The consultant worked on this analysis from a gender lens perspective by applying a holistic intervention approach and methodology to identify key issues contributing to gender inequalities and their linkage to child labour and overall wellbeing of children. The consultant also addressed the experiences of children and youth (7-17 years old) working in informal sectors and still accessing education and those who have dropped out of school or are at risk of dropping out, using various tools. The analysis is based on the use of the Gender and Power (GAP) analysis method and a global framework consisting of 6 main domains:

- Patterns on decision making
- Social norms, beliefs and practices.
- Access to & control over resources.
- Laws, policies, regulations & institutional practices.
- Roles, responsibilities & time use.
- Dignity, Safety & well-being

The analysis made use of data collected through a literature review, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews with key stakeholders and employers. Figure 1 presents an overview of the methodology.

Inception phase	Data collection	Analysis
Methodology development	Literature review	Qualitative and quantitative data analysis
Questionnaire and data collection tools review	Questionnaire distributed to children aged 7-17	Validation of findings
	Key informant interviews	Drafting recommendations
	Additional document review, related to national and international policies and regulations	
	Focus group discussions	

Figure 1: Overview of methodology

Challenges and limitations

Some of the limitations of this analysis are those common to gathering information on socially sensitive topics, for example topics related to household dynamics, distribution of household chores, sexual harassment and GBV within households. At the same time, some limitations are specific to this analysis, and it is important to present a comprehensive picture of the challenges faced in particular by Jordanian and Syrian female children and their mothers in the agriculture sector. While the limitations listed are extensive, this should not diminish the significance of the findings and the use of this document to support improved WNCB programme development and implementation.

Challenges included the following:

- FGDs with fathers required considerable effort to get the fathers to attend, despite trying our best to find suitable dates and times for them due to their different working hours.
- Time constraints and the lack of cooperation by some governmental and non-governmental organisations in granting us an appointment or a suitable time for holding the interview. This prompted us look for other key persons within the same organisations to meet with or to look for other strong institutions working on child labour component.
- There is a noticeable gap between the number of boys and number of girls interviewed in all targeted areas, especially in East Amman. On asking about the reason, we discovered that the children and parents targeted for UNICEF programmes in Rusifah and Sahab since

2021 are mostly males. In Marka and Zaatari, many of the girls' families did not allow them to come and many of those who work in the agriculture sector with their families could not attend because of the long working hours.

- There were not enough spaces in the CBOs for the data collectors to sit with each child alone, which meant it took more time and effort to organise suitable times and dates in the targeted areas to interview the children.

Summary of findings

The findings from the data collection and literature review revealed the cultural acceptance, gender norms, policies and regulations related to child labour at micro, macro and meso levels. The ensuing gender analysis provided informed, evidence-based recommendations to support programming aimed at removing gendered barriers which lead to child labour and deprive children from access to education. Recommendations (separated into risk and protective factors) are divided under the 4 outcomes, aiming to address the greatest challenges and provide gender-responsive activities. The table below lists some of the recommendations outlined in the final part of the analysis. These recommendations can support the work of **the EU, Dutch government and international organisations act in support of the elimination of child labour and fulfil their obligation by setting and reinforcing due diligence policies and laws** and encompass possible measures that can be taken at the micro, meso and macro levels to implement practices that correspond to the values of gender equality in the attempt to combat the phenomenon of child labour and begging among Jordanian and Syrian children.

Outcomes	Findings on Risk Factors and Protective Factors for both sexes	Recommendations
Outcome 1: Children are empowered and have improved access to (quality) education and youth employment within a supportive family and community environment	<p>1-Social norms are one of the main risk factors and they affect both girls and boys in the conservative areas and in the camps. The overriding male dominance in society, which is based on traditional practices and unfair roles for both genders, reinforces negative perceptions girls and women have of themselves as objects of reproduction whose roles revolve around domestic work. The social norms prevent girls and women from making any decisions regarding their personal or professional life. In addition, girls and young women face the fear and threat that males within the household will force them to marry before 18. Girls are limited in being able to attend school due to domestic work and agricultural work. Females who work in agriculture in the Al-Mafraq area are disadvantaged as it is far away from other communities.</p> <p>Traditional practices of access to and control over resources represent a risk factor for boys because they regard themselves as an essential part of the financial support system, and this</p>	<p>1-Develop a gender sensitive communication plan targeting children of both sexes and their parents from the targeted areas, especially those working in the agriculture sector in Al Mafraq area. This plan could be built in parallel with Save the Children and UNICEF activities. It will contain mechanisms and tools - online and offline - for the content and messages needed to change the behaviour and attitudes of the community toward child labour, for example its adverse impact on children's academic life, educational attainment, and thus their professional future.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Raise the issue of domestic work, as one form of child labour and deal with it as a participatory task for all family members. -Present a comparison between the life of a working child and the life of an educated child, and between the life of a married girl and the life of an educated and financially independent girl. -Spread online and offline messages to reach the targeted areas and people. Should include some convention statements about child rights to education and to live in integrity. - Target each household by raising inclusive statements that can support women to be more empowered, have access and control over

	<p>impedes their ability to complete their education.</p> <p>2-GBV is considered as a risk factor that has a negative impact because it prevents children from accessing school, increasing the risk of them dropping out of education. For boys, GBV within the school environment includes bullying, different kinds of fighting between male students, and abusive teachers. For girls, GBV is mainly verbal and sexual harassment by male strangers and male students on their way to and from school. Both sexes suffer from the lack of academic back-up support from teachers and parents. Coupled with a weak education system in the targeted areas, it is more likely that children will drop out of school.</p> <p>3-Most fathers do not see education as an advantageous element for their children's future especially in light of the poverty they face, but they do not prevent their children from going to school. Girls face more challenges when it comes to being prevented from going to school or being encouraged to access to education, and these stem from their brothers' beliefs and practices. However, some mothers play a supportive role in protecting their daughters, by convincing the male members to let females complete their schooling as a way to a decent future life. The situation is improving for the target group that is involved in UNICEF programme, due to the intensive awareness raising sessions about the importance of education and children's rights, which had a positive impact on male practices within the family and an impact on supporting girls to complete their education.</p> <p>4-The imbalance in power relations within households gives the male within the household the right to control his sister's professional life, as well as setting specific areas for her to choose from, such as nursing, babysitting, teaching.</p>	<p>resources and increase women's decision-making control. This can be done by suggesting some ideas for income-generating projects, the importance of mothers' role and decision-making power in terms of their children's future.</p> <p>- Present some success stories by both females and males on how education and family support can change children's academic and professional future, as well as the positive changes these can lead to within households in terms of power relations and the division of gender roles.</p> <p>Such campaigns and plans have in-direct impact on people's behaviours and practices. It has a hearing and visual effect</p> <p>2-WNCB in cooperation with MoE to build on "Creating safe environment free from GBV" training manual, by hiring trainers to implement intensive trainings for teachers and counsellors, coaching each trainee, measure trainees' knowledge approach regarding dealing with GBV cases, and drop-out causes and impacts, then using the trainees' feedback and inputs to update the training manual.</p> <p>3- WNCB programme to reach more children and to engage their parents in practical workshops that use a participatory approach to change the perspectives and traditional practices that play a negative role in the lives of both sexes, and to engage more people with success stories who can convince parents to change their attitudes and share their decisions with other family members, especially mothers.</p>
<p>Outcome 2: Governments have enforced relevant child rights based laws and have implemented policies on child labour, education, youth</p>	<p>1-Parents lack of knowledge about International Conventions on child rights and the National Framework to Combat Child Labour, and have a weak understanding of the importance of ensuring their children's basic</p>	<p>1-Share the updated policies with all youth and development centres in the targeted areas. One of the organisations should train the key staff at these CBOs about these policies, with the aim of including this in their annual action plan and start</p>

<p>economic empowerment, and social security AND Outcome 4: The EU, the Dutch government, and international organisations act in support of the elimination of child labour and fulfil their obligation by setting and reinforcing due diligence policies and laws.</p>	<p>rights to Education and Play are fulfilled. The risk factors mentioned are a result of the lack of education, not being engaged in formal-sector labour which might have raised their awareness of legislation on workers' rights and their protection, and not engaging in or refusing to go to awareness-raising programmes that are implemented by different organisations.</p> <p>2-Government sectors and some NGOs such as the National Council for Family Affairs and Noor Al-Hussein Foundation still consider domestic work part of the gender norms and not a fundamental part of child labour. This has a big effect on the educational and professional future of females. They also have little knowledge of how to link domestic work with social justice and gender equality concepts.</p>	<p>conducting awareness sessions for parents and children on each policy. Measure their knowledge through pre-post assessments.</p> <p>2-Domestic work should be identified and defined by the Ministry of Social Development. The Ministry should set standards for domestic work based on a gender lens and non-traditional roles based on the principle of equal rights and social justice. Lobbying should be done for the introduction of legislation that protects female children doing domestic work, focusing on the number of permitted working hours inside the home, and imposing penalties on the family a) where this type of work causes any physical or psychological harm to the girl, and b) where children are prevented from studying because of domestic work. This law can be developed by putting pressure on the government with conclusive evidence and realistic cases presented by The National Council for Family Affairs and the Ministry of Social Development.</p>
<p>Outcome 3: Private sector takes full responsibility for preventing and addressing child labour</p>	<p>Farmers consider children under 16 to be 'children with golden fingers'. They exploit them physically and financially to benefit their own interest without regard for the children's education, making them work for long hours under the sun and the cold of winter, which affects their reproductive and physical health. Females suffer from a double workload because they support their families in agriculture and domestic work. Doing such hard work at a very early age has a very bad impact on their reproductive health and their educational path. Continued subordination to male domination and the lack of decision-making power prevents females from learning the most basic vocational skills that could empower them financially in the future or from communicating with others in other nearby communities.</p>	<p>The Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Labour must impose penalties on farmers who exploit boys and girls in their employment.</p>

Conclusions

Poverty and social norms are the main risk factors which drive child labour, although other risk factors are also mentioned in the analysis.

Male children in the targeted areas are considered a breadwinner and one of their fundamental roles is to support their family financially. Female children are engaged more in domestic work, with societal restrictions imposed on them that prevent them from enjoying their basic rights to education and play, and from practising their right to make their own decisions. Children of both sexes who work in agriculture are mostly working to improve the standard of their lives and those of their families. They are generally deprived of education. Girls in East Amman are encouraged to remain in school instead

of working because males believe this is the way to preserve their reputation and honour. They also consider that a working girl will be exposed to strangers, abuse, and harassment, all of which compromise the family's reputation.

From the key informants' interviews, we observed that while legislation exists to control child labour it is not effective as it should be for various reasons including lack of budget, lack of resources and capacities, COVID-19. In addition, legislation does not take into consideration gender gaps and gender-based needs.

Domestic work is still not included within the National Framework to Combat Child Labour or other government policies and is still considered one of the gender norms and a traditional stereotype.

UNICEF and Save the Children are trying as much as possible to reduce child labour by complying with labour protection laws. They strive to ensure that children's rights are respected and that children are not involved in dangerous work. They also cooperated with the NCFA to update the national framework to reduce child labour, which was submitted in 2021, in addition to developing SOPs to identify specific roles for the relevant ministries.

Proposed follow-up steps:

- The WNCB programme should aim with its partners to present the main findings and recommendations of this report. The main realistic and practical recommendations should be selected for implementation during the first year after the submission of this analysis.
- There is a need for both programmatic interventions (such as awareness raising, technical capacity building and provision of material support) and advocacy efforts to reinforce the implementation of existing legislation and introduce/update policy frameworks that incorporate gender-specific issues. These interventions should also consider the variations in findings for different demographic groups, as addressing certain types of challenges might be a greater priority for specific groups of male and female children in the targeted areas.
- A comprehensive and inclusive action plan should be built to study and revise each recommendation in cooperation with related governmental and non-governmental organisations.
- Work should start during the first 6 months after submission of the analysis on updating, revising or changing any necessary conventions or policies. This will facilitate later practical work/implementation.
- The cultural context of each area and group (host communities, camps) should be taken into consideration, and different approaches used, based on the risk factors and protective factors being addressed.
- The socio-ecological model should be applied within the case management approach used within UNICEF and Save the Children programmes. This can be done by analysing children's behaviour and development from the perspective of intersecting and interdependent systems, to identify the reasons underlying child labour, and the needs and the consequences of child labour utilisation as it pertains to education.
- **WNCB programme should start analysing the following:**
- The legislation related to child labour in agriculture, as well as the minimum age for employment.
- The psychological impacts of agricultural child labour from a gender-based aspect (different challenges and needs), of domestic work on female children, and the impacts of the migratory process on Syrian refugee working children and their socio-emotional development.

- Child labour in agriculture as a social phenomenon and domestic work as a hidden form of labour upon which community behaviour is based.
- The learning and cognitive development processes of child labourers engaged in each type of informal sector.

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Abbreviations

CBO	Community-based organisation
CLU	Child Labour Unit
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSO	Civil society organisation
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GAP analysis	Gender and Power analysis
ILO	International Labour Organisation
KAP	Knowledge, Attitudes Practice survey
KIIs	Key Informant Interviews
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoL	Ministry of Labor
MoSD	Ministry of Social Development
NAF	National Aid Fund
NFCCL	National Framework to Combat Child Labour
NCFA	National Council for Family Affairs
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SOP	Standard Operating Procedures
ToC	Theory of Change
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children Emergency Fund
WFCL	Worst Forms of Child Labour

Currency: Jordanian dinar (JOD)
1 JOD = 1.38 EUR/1.41 USD (August 2022)

Introduction

Worldwide, child labour is mostly found in the agricultural sector (71%). Today, 108 million boys and girls are engaged in child labour in crop production, livestock, forestry, fisheries, or aquaculture, often working long hours and facing occupational hazards. This violates the rights of children by endangering their health and education and forms an obstacle to sustainable agricultural development and food security.² This phenomenon is the result of many complex factors, including poverty, social norms and lack of decent work opportunities for children and adolescents, which expose them to numerous violations in their workplace, in terms of their exploitation in the labour market, receiving low salaries, working long hours, and working in jobs that are not commensurate with their physical capabilities.

In Jordan, child labour affects vulnerable children and young people in the 5-17 age group, both Jordanian and Syrian, particularly in rural communities, refugee camps and from less economically secure backgrounds, who have limited access to education and healthcare, experience social stigmatism and discrimination and other issues affecting unaccompanied or stateless children.

Child labour has been a visible and concerning phenomenon in Jordan for many years. This is due to several factors, including regional political instability, poor socioeconomic backgrounds, large numbers of people living just below the poverty line, low parental education and literacy levels, and a general lack of awareness about the dangers of child labour³.

During the period between 2007 and 2016, and despite significant efforts made by the government and the civil society to tackle child labour, the number of children affected by child labour doubled, representing a dramatic rise in the incidence of child labour. This increase can be explained by a variety of elements and trends within the economic, political and socio-cultural context of Jordan.

According to the latest statistics in the 2016 National Child Labour Survey, close to 76,000 children in Jordan are engaged in economic activity, and girls constituted only 9.3% of them. 60 percent are engaged in hazardous work, including working with dangerous machinery, tools or heavy loads, working long hours or during the night, as well as in unhealthy environments such as landfills and recycling plants.

Enrolment rates in pre-primary and basic education are similar for boys and girls, but at secondary level, males fall behind, with only 68 percent enrolled compared to 82 percent of girls. The National Child Labour Survey showed that there were 75,982 children aged between 5–17 engaged in economic activities (out of a total number of just over 4 million), 88 percent of whom are male.⁴

Children in Jordan have specific rights under the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), to which Jordan is a signatory, and the country's 2016 Constitution. These include the rights to survival, education and development, protection and participation. A Childhood Law is currently being developed to ensure that these rights are upheld comprehensively¹⁰

Concerning the gender dynamics of child labour in Jordan, it is important to note that there are differences in how girls and boys are involved in child labour and girls may face specific risks. Girls in child labour are much more likely to be in services, including domestic work, family enterprises and agricultural activities all of which are generally under-reported. Domestic work, including in third-party

² <https://www.fao.org/in-action/agronoticias/detail/zh/c/1072591/>

³ UNICEF, 2018, p.1

⁴ (UNICEF, 2019:18) (UNICEF, 2019:18)

households, is a form of child labour that is usually hidden from public view and beyond the scope of labour inspectorates, leaving girls especially vulnerable to abuse.²

The specific objectives of the study were to:

1. Assess how WNCB interventions have contributed to change across men, women, boys and girls, including expected and unexpected results towards a transition to decent work.
2. Build evidence-based content that facilitates documentation and contributes to broader advocacy and social movements favouring equal human rights for men, women, boys and girls in mitigating child labour.
3. Provide gender-responsive operational recommendations for strengthening the project strategy for the project's new phase.

From these, the following research questions were formulated:

1. What causes/drives child labour for boys and girls within the WNCB programme target groups and sectors?
2. What can the WNCB programme do better to address the risk factors of child labour and promote protective factors for boys and girls within the WNCB programme target groups and sectors?

The gender analysis performed uses on the rights-based approach through which the WNCB programme aims to guarantee respect for the implementation of the rights of children and youth to bring about positive and sustainable change, both at institutional and community level.

The gender analysis (GA) focused on child labour done by Jordanian and Syrian children including migrants and street children who work in informal sectors, focusing on the agriculture sector and domestic work, targeting 193 female and male children (7-17) years old, their parents, key informants and employers in East Amman (Russaifeh, Marka and Sahab) and Mafraq governorate (Zaatari camp).

The GA set out to determine the gender dynamics and causes of child labour in the mentioned sectors for Jordanians and Syrian refugees, in addition to learning more about the socio-economic characteristics of the working children and their families; and identifying risk factors that drive child labour and the protective factors that reduce the impact of the risk factors.

The aim of the study is to support the WNCB programme in its goal of eliminating child labour, and improving safety mechanisms, education and the rights of the working children, as well as suggesting possible policy options, legislation and other protective measures to address the issue of child labour in Jordan's informal sector. This analysis is based upon data that was collected through literature review and which has been integrated in the data analysis section, and data collected by means of a survey that was distributed to the targeted children of both sexes, as well as qualitative data collected from structured and semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, and key informants.

This analysis applies a gender lens to child labour using the Gender and Power (GAP) analysis method and the global framework proposed with its 6 main domains:

- Patterns of decision making
- Social norms, beliefs and practices
- Access to and control over resources
- Laws, policies, regulations & institutional practices.
- Roles, responsibilities & time use
- Dignity, safety & well-being

The above domains are structured under the 4 outcomes to analyse each from a gender lens perspective in order to answer the two main research questions. The main findings are described by presenting the main risk factors and protective factors under each outcome, from which a set of recommendations has been compiled to support the WNCB programme to do better and find reasonable solutions to eliminate the risk factors that drive to child labour.

Research methodology

Introduction

The analysis provides an overview of the current situation in Jordan regarding child labour from the grassroots perspective as well as an institutional overview.

For data collection the GAP analysis method was used, employing the framework based on the six domains of assessment. This method of analysis combines a literature review of secondary data with the collection of primary data from the field. Such a qualitative approach allows us to look at hidden dynamics and power imbalances at the family and community levels and link them with what we know about strategic and policy levels.

The literature review was undertaken to gain maximum insight and value from most existing sources of knowledge and information. The primary data was divided into qualitative and quantitative data. The qualitative data, which is the main part, was collected from multiple stakeholders through several in-person interviews. Quantitative data was collected through a survey.

This qualitative approach encourages a deeper understanding of the social complexities and power dynamics and the way these intersect with national and international laws, and thus a deeper understanding of the different contexts in Jordanian society and power relations at different socio-ecological levels. Developing contextualised tools allows direct interactive discussion to obtain information on practices, attitudes and values, to understand the root causes of child labour and then derive risk and protective factors. The survey provided significant quantitative data on gender bias and discrimination in many domains of social life.

In addition, a comparative assessment was conducted between targeted children and parents who had been engaged in awareness sessions and activities over the period of one year and others who had not yet been offered such activities. Both groups were assessed on the extent of their awareness of children's rights principles and gender equality and the change this awareness causes in practices and behaviours within the home and the local community. In addition to demonstrating the differences and improvement in knowledge, the assessment revealed understanding of, and behaviour related to gender equality, breaking gender stereotypes and encouraging access to education.

Main research questions

1- What causes/drives child labour for boys and girls within the WNCB programme target groups (Migrants, street children, and refugee children)? And what is it the relationship with the informal sector under the two components (education and employment) in Jordan?

2- What can the WNCB programme improve to address the risk factors of child labour and promote protective factors for boys and girls within the WNCB programme target groups and sectors (education and employment) in Jordan?

The questions were analysed from the perspective of the 4 outcome areas of the project:

Outcome 1: Children are empowered and have improved access to (quality) education and youth employment within a supportive family and community environment.

Outcome 2: Governments have enforced relevant child rights-based laws and have implemented policies on child labour, education, youth economic empowerment, and social security.

Outcome 3: The private sector takes full responsibility for preventing and addressing child labour.

Outcome 4: The EU, Dutch government and international organisations act in support of the elimination of child labour and fulfil their obligation by setting and reinforcing due diligence policies and laws.

Research process

The research followed the steps listed below:

Inception phase
<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Literature review○ Methodology development○ Development of FGD guide questions○ Development of guide questions for key informant interviews○ Development of private sector questions○ Development of Imams questions○ Development of survey for children and youth (7-17)○ The surveys/questionnaires were created based on the 6 gender domains
Data collection/field work
<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Distribute the developed survey on the targeted children to CBOs in the targeted areas○ Organise FGDs○ Conduct FGDs and key informant interviews○ Conduct employer and Imam interviews○ Additional review of documents
Data entry/Analysis
<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Data analysis (qualitative & quantitative)○ Data analysis for report writing○ Validation of findings

Qualitative Research

A comprehensive literature review was conducted, focusing on child labour in the Jordan context; this included articles, grey literature and academic articles. The literature review focused mainly on Jordanian children, Syrian refugees' children and street children (7-17) and aimed to determine the main gender aspects, gender gaps, gender inequality, key factors and challenges concerning children of both sexes' access to and retention in education and employment, and the factors that subject them to abuse or discrimination.

The literature review examined various studies, analyses and reports from the past decade related to child labour from a gender lens, women's empowerment and its impact on child education and the family financial situation, development projects, improvements and gaps within policies, conventions, laws and regulations, Syrian refugees, and socioeconomic data. The reviews present findings associated with global, regional and national indicators, results and challenges, and provide a comprehensive overview of the risk factors and protective factors that drive both male and female children to child labour particularly to domestic work and agriculture, and the interlinkages with education.

A mix of data collection methods was used to obtain information from the target group. These included qualitative, semi-structured individual interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs), as well as a KAP survey/Q&A. The qualitative data was distilled from the interviews, and initial findings, feedback and challenges were discussed with WNCB before finalising this report.

The consultant mapped the main stakeholders and key players at each level of the socio-ecological model related to child labour issues in Jordan, by making a comprehensive resource analysis and with an eye to conducting inclusive research.

Primary qualitative data collection included gathering data about children who are engaged in formal education, or at risk from drop out or have dropped out from schools. The targeted children were selected from 2 areas (East Amman: Sahab, Marka and Russaifeh) and Mafraq (Zaatari camp). These areas were selected because they are part of the WNCB programme, where all activities and awareness sessions related to case management, child protection and gender equality are implemented and led by UNICEF and Save the Children. Note that Save the Children currently focuses on a case management approach.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with adults. The duration of each interview was between 30-45 minutes. Interviews with 8 governmental and non-governmental organisations were conducted through Zoom, with the exception of the interview with MoSD, which was requested to be in-person. In addition 5 focus group discussions (3 with parents of girls and 2 with parents of boys) were conducted in both target areas.

Understanding parents' perspectives and attitudes toward child labour are an important element to uncover the extent of the impact of traditional practices in terms of power relations, control over resources, and male dominance within the family. These constitute one of the main risk factors in depriving children of education and directing them to work outside and inside the home. Are there any repercussions that would turn the risk factor into a protective factor?!

Finally, 2 in-person interviews were held with Imams from both targeted areas (Russaifeh and Mafraq) and 5 in-person and phone interviews were done with employers in the informal sectors.

It was deemed important to conduct interviews with the Imams to understand the extent to which religious aspects colour the issue of child labour, and whether there are any differences concerning girls and boys in this regard. These interviews also revealed the extent to which the Islamic religion approves of or rejects traditional practices, and its impact on education, in addition to enabling a comparison between what the religion says and observance of international and national conventions to protect the rights of working and non-working children.

The focus of the interviews with employers was to clarify the extent to which they exploit both sexes in terms of working hours, type of work, wage differences, and the impact of child labour on the mental health of children and the extent of physical harm that they may be exposed to on a daily basis according to the type of work they do.

Quantitative Research

Data was collected by creating 5 different questionnaires: 1 survey for children and youth, 1 for their families, 1 for Imams, 1 for employers and 1 for organisations. SPSS was used to analyse the quantitative data.

The consultant built the questionnaires required and then, in cooperation with the WNCB team, we reviewed, modified and finalised the design of the interview questions under the gender domains for

education, employment, power dynamics within households, family support, community environment and social norms. Interviews were conducted in person, online (using Zoom) or by phone. The interview questions focused on the following targeted categories:

- *Children who dropped out of school*
- *Children at risk of dropping out of school*
- *Children engaged in child labour*

The consultant conducted a one-day training to ensure that the data collectors would be able to support the children when filling in questionnaires and collecting information from their parents during the FGDs. This training included reviewing the survey questions, clarifying each question and the appropriate way to ask questions, taking into consideration a human rights-based approach and ethics standards.

Sample description

Data collection methods used for this assessment were trialled in a pilot of school-aged participants of boys and girls (7-17) in two areas (East Amman and Mafrq/Zaatari camp) where the WNCB programme is implemented in Jordan. In addition to a sample of families of those students, governmental institutions and INGOs, informal sector employers and imams were also interviewed. The four tables below show who was interviewed.

Interviews

Table 1: interview data for children and their parents in both targeted areas

Location	Type of interviews	Number of parents- Mothers	Number of parents- Fathers	The method of interviews - for mothers	The method of interviews -for fathers	Where did the interviews take place?	CBOs in partnership with:
East Amman							
Sahab	1 FGD	-	8	-	1-In person	Pioneers Khair Association for Community Development	UNICEF
Rusaifeh-Zarqa governorate	1 FGDs	8	-	1-In person	-	Pioneers Khair Association for Community Development	UNICEF
Marka	2 FGDs	8	8	1-In person	1-On line	Nawares al Rahman Association	Save the Children
Mafrq							
Zaatari camps	1 FGDs	8	-	1-In person		A safe space within the camp/Caravan	Save the Children

Location	Type of interviews	Number of children and youth- Females	Number of children and youth- Males	The method of interviews - for mothers		Where did the interviews take place?	CBOs in partnership with:
East Amman							
Sahab	One to one	6	34	In-person		Pioneers Khair Association for Community Development	UNICEF
Rusaifeh-Zarqa governorate	One to one	13	39	In-person		Pioneers Khair Association for Community Development	UNICEF
Marka	One to one	8	51	In-person		Nawares al Rahman Association	Save the Children
Mafrq							
Zaatari camps	One to one	13	29	In-person		A safe space within the camp/Caravan	Save the Children

Table 2: 5 in-person interviews with employers from 4 sectors:

1.

Informal sector	Type of work	Workers (females/males)	Age group
Agriculture	Farming, poultry farm	Both sexes	12-16
Industrial	Plastic, detergent	Males	14-17
Trading	Clothing	Both sexes	17
Income generating projects	Cooking and treats, babysitting	Females	10-16

2. Table 3: Online and in-person interviews were conducted with key informants from 9 organisations and government bodies_

Name of organisation	Governmental organisation	UN agency	INGO	NGO
ILO		*		
The National Council of Family Affairs	(Semi-governmental)			
The Ministry of Labour	*			
The Ministry of Education	*			
The Ministry of Social Development	*			

King Hussein Foundation				*
UN Women		*	*	
Save the Children				
UNICEF		*	*	

3. Table 4: In-person interviews with 2 Imams

Governorate	Type of work	Gender
Russaifah- Zarqa governorate	Imam of a mosque	Male
Mafrag-Northeast of Amman	Imam of a mosque	Male

Ethical Considerations

All participants were asked for their consent to participate in the assessment, and all of them were fully assured of their anonymity and the confidentiality of responses. All were informed of their right to withdraw from participation in this project at any point in time, without risk of repercussion or negative impact upon themselves, their households or their families.

Consent forms were prepared by Save the children and UNICEF and distributed to children's parents before they took part in the survey. CBOs invited children and their parents for the interviews and supported data collectors in getting consent to the visits and the timeframe.

Before starting the interview with each child, the data collector explained the goal of this assessment and made sure that each child felt comfortable about completing the questionnaire. The data collectors tried their best to be flexible with children's reactions to each question. They made an effort to clarify, explain and simplify each question, especially the sensitive questions under the "social norms and GBV domain". The data collectors tried to help the children to complete the questionnaire in less than 25 minutes and took into account the children's feelings and fears, in order to avoid any tension or anxiety that they might have based on the questions concerning sensitive issues.

Parents signed a consent form before starting the FGDs in the targeted areas. The facilitators started with an introductory discussion about the WNCB programme in general and about this assessment and its purpose. In addition to emphasising the importance of the information that the participants would be contributing, the facilitators also mentioned that they were interested in what they called "hidden work", such as domestic work, as this would enrich their research and help them to document the full extent of the phenomenon of child labour and come up with recommendations that will enhance the protective factors for males and females and reduce the number of both Jordanian children and Syrian refugee children involved in child labour.

Most of the Interviews with key informants were recorded with their consent and other ones were obtained through WhatsApp, thus providing a record.

Limitations of the data collection

FGDs with mothers were more successful than the ones with fathers. In cooperation with the CBOs the consultant did their best to reach out to children's fathers, but couldn't reach them in Al-Zaatari camp, as some of them refused to come and talk and others had work outside the camp for long hours. In addition, the consultant tried her best to find suitable dates and times to encourage fathers to attend the FGDs in East Amman.

The consultant tried to reach more females to obtain more data from their own perspectives, especially from females still in education but at risk of dropout and those who had already dropped out because of early marriage or domestic work or agriculture work.

Many more males were interviewed than females, due to the following factors:

- The children and parents targeted for UNICEF programmes in Rusifah and Sahab since 2021 are mostly males.
- For Marka and Zaatari, many of the girls' families did not allow them to come, fearing what they would say about private matters related to family issues or that they might report any abuse they are exposed to at home. (Mothers mentioned this during FGDs.)
- Some females in East Amman couldn't come because of their school and domestic work after school. But in Zaatari camp, some females couldn't come due to their long working hours in farms outside the camp.
- Many of those who work in the agriculture sector with their families could not attend because of the long working hours.
-

Time constraints and the lack of cooperation by some governmental and non-governmental organisations in giving us an appointment or a suitable time for conducting the interview, prompted us to look for other key persons within the same organisations to meet with, or to look for alternatives from other strong institutions working on child labour.

There were not enough separate spaces for the data collectors to sit with each child alone within the CBOs, which meant it took more time and effort to organise suitable dates and times in the targeted areas to interview the children.

A. Data Analysis

This section relies on the evidence gathered during data collection to highlight the risk and protective factors underlying child labour from a gender lens perspective (at the micro, meso and macro socio-ecological levels), in order to answer the two main research questions and support the WNCB programme to eliminate child labour in Jordan.

The data is presented under the four outcomes, focusing on **the intersection between child labour and gender under the education and employment components**. The analysis attempts to provide some answers to the first research question: What causes/drives child labour for boys and girls within the WNCB programme target groups (Migrants, street children, and refugee children)? And what is its relationship with the informal sector under the two components (education and employment) in Jordan?

The major findings form the basis for the conclusions and recommendations (see page XX) that respond to the second main question: **What can the WNCB Programme improve to address the risk factors of child labour and promote protective factors for boys and girls within the WNCB Programme target groups and sectors (education and employment) in Jordan?**

Assessment Outcomes - Analysis

Outcome 1: Children are empowered and have improved access to (quality) education and youth employment within a supportive family and community environment.

The analysis gives an overview that takes into account the 6 gender domains to specify and describe the following:

<i>In/Out of school for boys and girls</i>
<i>Risk of school drop out for boys and girls in the targeted areas</i>
<i>Main responsibilities of boys and girls in each of the targeted areas</i>
<i>Overview of time spent on work-related activities</i>

Roles, responsibilities, and time use

According to the US Department of Labor’s 2019 report “Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor in Jordan”, although child labour and particularly the worst forms of child labour seem to be mainly affecting boys, this is not the case for domestic work, a sector predominantly made up of girls. Most household chores are considered to be female responsibilities although they may be inappropriate to a child’s age or strength. These chores engage female children in many hours of household labour, leading to fatigue. For example, caring for younger children often requires lifting and carrying them, which can injure even the older child caregiver and put the younger child at risk. Similarly, female caregivers may lack the necessary judgment to adequately protect themselves and their younger siblings from harm.

According to the 2016 Jordanian National Child Labour Survey, of all children engaged in economic activities, 88.3% (67,114) were boys and only 11.7% (8,868) were girls. As far as child labour is concerned, nearly 10% of the total population is made up of girls, while 90% are boys. For the worst forms of child labour, 5% is done by girls, and 95% by boys. The Ministry of Social Development (MoSD) mentioned that within the category of begging children and of children working in enterprises, boys also represent a higher percentage of the total, compared to girls. Girls are found more in agriculture or domestic work¹⁴.

Regarding child labour and education, a report on child labour in Jordan⁵ mentioned that 97.8% of the children who simultaneously worked and studied were male, with a mean age of 13.9 years. These children worked on average 33.9 hours per week, and their mean income was 123 USD per month. They worked in the following fields/occupations: service (40%), street workers (15%), and agriculture (3.8%). They worked to support their family (46.6%) and to learn a trade (27.3%). 88.3 % preferred to continue their education. 54.3% of nonworking school children were male, with a mean age of 12.1 years.

Based on this analysis, we noticed that in East Amman, 30% of boys (31 boys, aged 12-15) are at risk of dropout of school, as they are requested to perform several tasks, both inside and outside their homes, which makes it almost impossible for them to go to school on a regular basis, in addition to their low educational attainment as a result of lack of following up on their school duties and no follow up on their attendance by teachers. They spend most of their time working outside their homes to support their families financially. This includes working with their fathers in the fields of blacksmithing, collecting scrap, and manufacturing plastic, cleaning jobs, bakeries, supermarkets, butcheries, and vegetable stores or finding employment in which they are exploited by working very long hours (more than 7 hours a day) and receiving very low wages (less than 2 JOD per day/2.8 USD), taking into consideration that according to the Jordanian Labour law, the minimum wage for fresh graduates is 220 Jordanian dinars per month, or 7 JOD per day.

⁵⁵ A REPORT ON CHILD LABOR IN JORDAN Prepared for UNICEF, Save the Children, ARISA- “Work: No Child’s Business” WALTER J. BURKARD L.L.M. Advanced International Children’s Rights Leiden Law School Doctor of Law The Cornell Law School

As for household chores, boys' work is limited to grocery shopping and helping in some heavier tasks such as cleaning the windows and carpets.

Regarding income-generating projects at home, most males who do not have sisters or those who only have one sister working with their mother at home support them in these activities as well as in housework, but without any impact on their education. These young men are aware of the importance of their role within their homes.

In other words, supporting their mothers and performing roles traditionally seen as female in a society that believes in the traditional gender division of roles regarding domestic work - whether it is household chores or an income-generating project at home such as a productive kitchen or sewing - does not affect the education of males and is not a reason for their dropping out of school.

In contrast, most children who work outside the home reported being unable to attend school on a regular basis due to physical exhaustion and sleep deprivation. Additionally, they suffer from poor academic performance due to their inability to find enough time to study and follow up on school duties, which discourages them from completing their studies and encourages them to remain in the labour market to support their families financially.

Concerning females, we noticed during interviews that 85% of girls (total interviewed = 15) aged 12-14 who work in agriculture never had access to school. Their parents are illiterate and have been working on farms for many years; thus, they have raised their daughters in the same way. Other females were considered within the category of at risk of school dropout. They stated their defiance of their circumstances, but despite their spatial distance from school, and the household burdens of cleaning and caregiving (which are considered as one of their basic roles) they try as much as possible to find time to do their school homework and go to school three days a week at least.

I feel physical aches and I have lost hope. Picking fruits for long hours and then performing household chores make me feel that I am a tool and not a human being. I want to go back to school and play with my friends.

Female: A.A, 14 years old
Zaatari camp

Girls stated that they carry a heavy burden and feel unbearable physical fatigue, especially because they must perform housework after returning from work, unlike their brothers who play or sleep after returning home. These girls blame their mothers who raised them to perform such tasks and thus deprive them of their rights to education and play like other children.

In Al-Zaatari camp, 42 interviews were conducted, 15 of which were with females aged 12-17. 14 females stated that they work after school, mainly in agriculture and other trading fields such as clothing and make-up shops, and beauty salons. 70% of females who work in agriculture have dropped out of school on account of the long working hours, their financial situation, and their requirement to perform domestic work.

Also, we noticed that 90% of interviewees in Al-Zaatari camp have lost one of their family members during the war in Syria. The loss of a male was a major cause of poverty after asylum, which affected the lives of families who are now headed by females because of their illiteracy and their lack of mastery of any vocational skill that would enable them to find work. This adds to the restrictions imposed by the Jordanian government which do not allow most of them to leave the camp and work in other governorates.

As for males, 90% of boys are at risk of school dropout because of their work after school and the physical and psychological abuse they are exposed to at school on a daily basis, which makes them more prone to drop out of education and look for work instead.

To find out more about protective factors that could reduce the percentage of child labour and to look at the challenges from an institutional perspective, an interview was held with Save the Children, which yielded useful information. Last year, there Save the Children case managers implemented a positive nurturing course in the camp to enhance the role of females in influencing decisions inside the home and changing practices around stereotypes and traditional gender roles, which in turn would alleviate the domestic burden placed on girls' shoulders. However, unfortunately, girls still carry the greatest burden in terms of household chores in addition to working long hours (more than 6 hours) in agriculture, which negatively impacts their mental health and deprives them of the most basic rights to study and play.

Based on the analysis above, we can see that domestic work in East Amman is shared between males and females; but girls carry the greatest burden because they are required to care for their younger siblings, cook, perform household chores, and support their mothers in their productive projects where these exist. In comparison, families in Al-Zaatari camp suffer from great poverty, lack of skills and illiteracy. These challenges have negatively impacted both sexes and increased the risk of school dropout in the search for work.

In conclusion, risk factors under this outcome are various and drive child labour especially in Al-Zaatari camp. They include poverty, social norms, difficulty in obtaining a work permit from the Jordanian government for Syrian refugees living inside the Zaatari camp, and lack of people with vocational skills qualifications that can help them find specific decent vocational jobs.

Girls working in agriculture in both targeted areas are among the most vulnerable groups, exploited by their parents and employers. Their work in agriculture and their isolation from other communities, in addition to their presence within a male-dominated, patriarchal system, especially in Al-Zaatari camp, stand in the way of girls achieving their right to education.

A Syrian refugee female said: *Working to help my family financially is more important than education at the moment. I can't be selfish, even if education is one of my rights.*

Most of the risk factors intersect each other and thus deprive both males and females of access to education, but females are exposed to additional factors that increase the risk of them being deprived of education in both areas. In the East Amman area, the risk factors include not only patriarchy, but also domestic work and social norms, such as early marriage. However, supportive mothers in East Amman believe that the traditional gender roles, such as domestic work – whether that involves household chores or an income-generating project or care giving – should not affect the education of children and should not be a reason for their dropping out of school.

Patterns of decision-making and access to and control over resources

My academic and professional future depends on my father's decisions, my mother's pressure on me, and my brother's mood.

When children were asked about who makes the decision whether to attend school or drop out of education, 50% of them answered that their mothers support both male and female attendance at school, while also encouraging boys to find a job after school hours and girls to help with household chores and do their school homework. As a consequence, boys feel jealous of their sisters who have a better academic performance because they find time to study, unlike them.

I want to continue my education and love a better life.

Female: R.A, 12 years old
East Amman

The remaining 50% of children, some of whom were 13 or older, stated that they had decided themselves to drop out of school and help their parents financially. But, on the other hand, they prevented their sisters from working to enable them to get a better future and not be exploited or harassed in the workplace. Those whose fathers own private businesses preferred to leave school from a young age to work with them.

The analysis also showed different opinions between the mothers and fathers who participated in separate FGDs that were held in the targeted areas. This draws our attention to the fact that social norms and stereotypes tend to silence mothers in the field of making or influencing decisions inside their homes, because they live in a patriarchal society. Mothers said that they cannot be open in society about their ability to make decisions about their children's right to education and work, but they have the ability to control men's decisions within the family in different ways, such as negotiation, persuasion, and highlighting the nature of common interests and benefits based on the results of the decisions taken by each of them.

During the sessions with the fathers, about 90% of them denied what the mothers had mentioned about their influence on men's decisions, but the conclusive evidence for the validity of what was said by the mothers was provided by the male and female children when they were interviewed. Most of the boys and girls praised their mothers' role in influencing decisions related to attending or dropping out of school, as well as joining the labour market. This information was confirmed during conversations with mothers about their primary role in supporting their male children to work after school to improve the family's income level on the one hand and cover their personal needs on the other hand.

The fathers stated that they are the ones who make all decisions at home, including those related to the future of their sons and daughters. Only a few praised the role of their wives as a necessary and influential factor in decisions regarding the care and education of children, and their participation in finding solutions related to financial challenges through encouraging their children to work to help them. Many parents, mainly fathers, stated that they consider children as a source of income, which means that they should be able take advantage of them and enable them to support their families.

As a conclusion, we can say that although there is a lack of supportive fathers who push their children to complete their education, most instead encouraging them to work, most mothers on the other hand have a strong role in protecting their children by finding alternative means to improve the level of family income and not letting their children lose their right to education. This is seen in 70% of the mothers taking the decision to encourage their male children to work and complete education together, and to raise their daughters' awareness on the importance of education to avoid poverty and exploitation by employers in the future.

Another risk factor is the social norms which still constitute a psychological and societal burden on the mothers themselves. On the one hand, some of them consider that their early marriage and their lack of adequate education were the main causes of losing their opportunity to be empowered financially and to improve the financial situation of their families. They believe that education is a fundamental element for transforming power relations by raising. Awareness of the need to face up to the male

dominance within the household. Also, they feel guilty towards their daughters who are at risk of dropping out from education or being married off early. This prompts these mothers to seek protective alternatives such as using a negotiation approach to talk with the husband and sons or putting pressure on them to protect the basic right of their daughters to education.

However, as mentioned, while fathers denied the mothers' influential role within households, children gave evidence of their mothers' supportive role in pushing them to complete their education beside their work.

Safety, dignity, and well-being

In the targeted areas, 90% of boys said that they are not exposed to risks or abuse inside their homes; whereas 5 % refused to answer and the remaining 5% mentioned that they are exposed to physical and verbal abuse from their fathers or older brothers. Mothers were mentioned here as providing an element of protection of their children from violence by males inside the house. All the girls stated that they are not exposed to risks or abuse inside their homes, unless they support their mothers in their income-generating projects and are consequently exposed to dangerous tools or hot materials.

When talking to mothers, we found some inconsistencies in the responses compared with their children's responses (from both sexes) regarding the risks they face at home. For instance, most mothers said that their male children are subjected to physical and verbal abuse almost daily at home by their fathers and older brothers, or even by their male peers outside the home. As for girls, a small percentage of them are victims of physical abuse, but they are also exposed to verbal abuse if they do not respond to the orders of their fathers or male brothers. Sometimes, girls are subjected to violence by their brothers because the latter are jealous of their sisters' ability to study and fear that they will become more financially empowered when they grow up and take control of the household's resources. Mothers emphasised the presence of some types of violence in the home; for instance, fathers curse or use physical violence, such as slapping or kicking, for reasons related to money or when children do not respond to their orders. Sometimes the mother is also exposed to violence when defending her children.

In this regard, fathers claimed that beating is a part of their parenting approach, justified by the fact that they live in difficult conditions and in an unsecure environment, which forces them to deal with their children in a tough way so that they become stronger. Consequently, children sometimes get involved in toxic environments and have unhealthy friendships, which is reflected in their behaviours and fathers say forces them to use physical punishment to nurture them well.

80% of boys and girls who work in agriculture in al Al-Zaatari camp and Sahab said that they face risks on a daily basis when going to work and returning home in the evening. They mentioned a fear of being bitten by snakes and scorpions while working on the farms or being attacked by street dogs on their way home at night. In addition, they underlined their physical and mental exploitation, as they are required to work for long hours under the sun, or in the cold during winter without the slightest mercy from the employer. Furthermore, they are exposed every day to verbal or physical abuse – such as kicking, slapping, and pinching. 60% of the girls – most of whom work in agriculture – confirmed that they are often subjected to sexual abuse or harassment by their employers or male workers, in addition to being harassed by male students or random young men on the street when returning from school.

The problems they have as girls, is the fear of reporting the incidents they have faced and informing their parents and brothers of what they are sometimes exposed to, as most of the time they are considered to be to blame and are accused of exhibiting behaviour that would attract males and employers to assault or harass them, such as wearing an attractive outfit, their appearance, or the way they walk.

I study and work with my father and brother in the plastic industry, but forbid my sisters from working for fear of harassment.

Male: J.D. 12 years old
East Amman

These accusations can subject them to beatings by their relatives or prevent them from leaving the house and thus from accessing school.

In that regard, many mothers mentioned that their girls are exposed to verbal harassment on their way to school and back home, which causes them psychological harm and triggers a fear of being subjected to sexual violence one day. Some mothers in Al-Zaatari camp added that their daughters who work in agriculture confessed to them that they had been subjected to some type of sexual harassment by their employers or workers on the farm and did not know what to do and which entity is responsible for such incidents. In addition, they are afraid they will lose their jobs if they report this kind of behaviour to an official entity.

The girls said they are not concerned about any abuse or violence inside school by female teachers or other female colleagues. This encourages them to commit to education. In addition, most of them said that school is the only safe space for them to play and laugh, away from the burden of household chores.

Although male children were subjected to various types of sexual harassment as well, very few mothers admitted it. Furthermore, they did not take any action to protect their boys so they could avoid any kind of social stigma and bullying. However, male children admitted that they are subjected to physical and psychological violence daily by their fathers or older brothers, or at school by their teachers or peers. Some of them are also victims of bullying.

These types of violence, along with the lack of academic follow-up at school that particularly affects male children, encourages boys to drop out of school and start seeking a job. The same applies to Syrian refugees at Al-Zaatari camp who expressed their regret at the lack of knowledge about child rights and child protection laws and regulations, which are not even applied on the ground. Females are physically, sexually, and verbally abused. Furthermore, girls are married off at a young age and boys are deprived of education because of poverty.

During our interview with Save the Children, it was mentioned that, after poverty, the main cause of school dropout for both sexes is violence perpetrated by teachers and students inside the school, and the harassment toward female students. Committees were formed within the case management programme to implement awareness-raising activities about the dangers of harassment on girls and the importance of improving the school environment to become more encouraging for students to return to school.

According to parents, girls are more conservative and polite. In addition, they leave the house less often than boys, which means they are less exposed to toxic environments outside their homes. Also, after girls return from school, they assist their mothers with domestic work and do their homework. Thus, they have no time for quarrels or arguments.

Nonetheless, the mothers of girls who work in agriculture believe that their daughters are subjected to violence outside the house because they are required to work after school or are deprived of education for the sake of work. In addition, they believe that their daughters are subjected to physical abuse and exploitation by their employers. Also, fathers sometimes threaten to marry off their daughters at an early age if they do not work, and this is considered one of the worst forms of violence.

Some mothers expressed their anger at what their daughters are exposed to, particularly because they perceive them as a reflection of their previous life cycle. Consequently, they try to influence their husbands' decisions to marry them off at an early age, while encouraging their daughters to work and study at the same time, both inside and outside the home.

We noticed from the analysis that child marriage is one of the child labour risk factors and a consequence of poverty and social norms. However, it's a few mothers and some of fathers highlighted it during the FGDs as a protective factor. 30% of fathers said that the presence of a large number of girls at home without work is considered a burden on the family and working brothers. Marrying them to men who are able to work or have a job is an opportunity to give them a better life than their current one. Their ability to complete education after marriage will depend upon their husbands' approval. Forced marriage is certainly a risk factor for girls, as marrying them without their consent is one of the worst forms of abuse, and their fear of living with stranger older men is another type of harassment and abuse.

In conclusion, the previous analysis applies particularly to males; while girls are less exposed to physical or verbal violence inside home and within school as they said, the percentage is higher among girls who work in the agricultural sector in East Amman and Mafrq areas.

Concerning access to education, the situation is similar for the children of Al-Zaatari camp. However, children of both sexes often choose to drop out of school for fear of harassment within and outside the school. This particularly affects girls who end up staying at home or look for a job. In males' cases, some drop out of school for the sake of work or running away from the violence they are exposed to on a daily basis by teachers or other abusive students.

Despite the risk factors mentioned, mothers play a strong yet hidden role in protecting their daughters by supporting their aim to complete their education and forbidding child marriage, and they encourage their sons to work and study at the same time.

	Boys	Girls
Risk factors inside the household	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Considered as the main income source Exposed to physical and verbal abuse 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> They get abuse regarding domestic work Threatened by getting married before 18 Don't have control over their decisions. Feel harassed by their unknown future husbands In Al-Zaatari camp, fathers sometimes threaten to marry off their daughters at an early age if they do not work.
Protective factors inside the household	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Older brothers have some access and control over resources Protected by their mothers who encourage them to study and work at the same time In East Amman, boys are aware that they have a partial responsibility regarding domestic work, more so than boys in Al-Zaatari camp who are not aware of this 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Girls are less exposed to physical or verbal violence They are protected by their mothers who do their best to stop their early marriage and encourage them to complete their education.
Risk factors inside in school	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Exposed to physical harassment by colleagues or strangers and verbal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Girls are less exposed to harassment, but the percentage is increasing in Al-Zaatari camp.

	<p>abuse by teachers in both East Amman and Al-Zaatari camp</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dropped out or at risk of drop out, looking for jobs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drop out or at risk of drop out, to avoid any kind of abuse and harassment. • Drop out or at risk of drop out to work with their families in the agriculture sector.
Protective factors in school	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mothers support: in convincing their fathers to let them work and study at the same time • Some males are aware of the importance of education, but their financial situation forces them to drop out. But they try to support their sisters to keep going to school for a better future. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encouraged by their teachers to complete their education • Not exposed to any kind of GBV as said • School is a safe space to talk and play
Risk factors at work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boys and girls who work in agriculture in al Al-Zaatari camp and Sahab said that they face risks daily when going to work and returning home in the evening. They mentioned a fear of being bitten by snakes and scorpions while working on the farms or being attacked by street dogs on their way home at night • They are exposed to physical and mental exploitation as they are required to work for long hours under the sun, or in the cold during winter without the slightest mercy from the employer • Lack of knowledge about reporting mechanism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Girls who work in agriculture are exposed to verbal abuse and sexual harassment by other male farmers and the employers. • Girls who work in agriculture in al Al-Zaatari camp and Sahab said that they face risks daily when going to work and returning home in the evening. They mentioned a fear of being bitten by snakes and scorpions while working on the farms or being attacked by street dogs on their way home at night • Exposed to a physical and mental exploitation as they are required to work for long hours under the sun, or in the cold during winter without the slightest mercy from the employer • Lack of knowledge about the reporting mechanism and fear of speaking out about the incident
Protective factors in school	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employers said they prevent boys from using any sharp tools or being exposed to any chemical materials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restrictions are applied by employers to protect female workers from any kind of abuse or harassment within the workplace, such as females avoiding engaging with males at work and asking females to return home with one of their relatives

Social norms, beliefs, and practices

In Jordan, the social norms and traditional practices are a second important element influencing child labour, taking into consideration that the strong gender inequality in the country and a mentality that favours girls staying at home and dropping out of school are important triggers for child labour, particularly domestic work.⁶

In our interview with Mohannad Al-Hammi, Child Protection Officer at UNICEF, he confirmed that a second risk factor for child labour is the social norm which considers a male child to be the breadwinner after his father. This means that his commitment towards his family is to bear the financial burden alongside or instead of the father. A female child is considered a breadwinner if she is the older sister and has younger brothers. These beliefs influence the children's mindset and convince them of their obligation to work. Moreover, patriarchal authority - which can often be abusive - within these societies, affects the lives and decisions of girls in terms of work, education, and marriage - without any sense of guilt.

The analysis shows that 90% of the children interviewed in East Amman and Al-Zaatari camp share similar thoughts and behaviours regarding customs and traditions. They also emphasised the importance of education for both sexes, but with different perceptions related to their educational and professional attainment in the future. For example, male children in East Amman believe that poverty and the urgent need to provide basic needs are a major reason for children to work and help their families. Nonetheless, this does not mean that girls should work outside the house, except out of necessity or where there is no male at home. Therefore, the work of girls is mainly concentrated inside the house as it is perceived as their primary role before getting married and after, considering it as a stereotypical reproductive role.

The males interviewed had diverging views regarding a girl's ability to complete her education or/and choose her own career in the future. 40% wish that their sisters would complete their high school and work in a profession that would make their families proud - such as becoming a doctor, an engineer, or a nurse. The other 60% believe that their sisters are only capable of becoming school teachers or nannies. Otherwise, they should learn a profession such as sewing or hairdressing, or work in a beauty salon, occupations that prevent them from mixing with men.

From the girls' point of view, 60% of them emphasised that their brothers prevented them from working at a young age for fear of harassment and encouraged them to complete their education with the aim of finding a decent job with a good wage in the future.

The girls in Zaatari camp, indicated that they wish to finish their education, graduate from university, and find a suitable job. Their goal is to leave the camp and live in nice homes, get married and have children, and live a better life. Males supported what the girls said because they fear for their sisters' future and want them to have a better life. In this context, 30% of male children said that they want to work, regardless of education, to secure a better life for their sisters. They believe that working in agriculture is already difficult for boys, and girls would not be able to tolerate it and that it could negatively impact their reproductive health in the long term.

50% of fathers in East Amman are against the idea of waiting for children to graduate from universities to have a good job. They believe that work is the only source of income in the current circumstances, and children need to work from early age. Regarding their daughters, 80% of fathers in East Amman believe that it is important for a female to know how to read and write and to get married before 18. If they want to be financially empowered, they can do income-generating projects and work from home.

⁶ https://www.tdh.ch/sites/default/files/situational_analysis_of_child_labour_in_jordan.pdf

From a religious point of view, the 2 imams from East Amman and Mafrag praised the importance of work in general. Both stated that work is important for individuals and should be performed from childhood as it teaches children how to rely on themselves and enables them to face life crises. However, they highlighted that the working conditions should not weaken their bodies, make them sick, or overburden them. Islam encourages working, as well as learning, and considers it a virtuous deed. Therefore, it is beneficial for children to have a profession or learn a craft from childhood, but it is wrong to prevent them from obtaining education for the sake of work, as this would build our society on ignorance, illiteracy, and lack of knowledge. According to the imams, among the jobs that children of both sexes can do are those in agriculture. In addition, they should be taught simple and non-hazardous handicrafts in parallel with the school curriculum. Children should also perform household chores, as religion enjoins benevolence, mercy, and help for parents.

As for females, the Islamic religion does not prevent them from working. However, certain conditions should be met. A woman’s work is important if she does not have a breadwinner to support her, but she must find an occupation that does not harm her body or chastity, or expose her to humiliation or exploitation of any kind. If a woman is married, then she must be supported either by her husband, father, or brother. However, if the husband, father, or brother are unable to support her, there is no objection to her working.

In conclusion, we noticed that interviewees in two targeted areas, Russaifeh and Sahab, were more aware of children’s rights and have a good knowledge of equal access to education opportunities for boys and girls as they were targeted in the UNICEF awareness programme in 2021. This was reflected in their answers, as they explained that girls should complete their education as it will help them find a decent profession in the future, potentially earning a good income and preventing them from any kind of exploitation. In addition, education will strengthen girls’ personalities and their abilities to overcome difficult circumstances.

The females pointed out that education is compulsory in Jordan and free for Jordanians and Syrians as every child must learn. They believe that it is unfair to have to drop out of school in order to work. Nonetheless, if boys choose to drop out of school for the sake of work, this should not be an obstacle to girls completing their education. 70% of girls in East Amman wish to graduate from university, choose the career they want, and move out of the cities in which they live.

Even from a religious point of view, Islam has protected girls from working at an early age and does not force boys to work. Rather, it encourages education and work when the circumstances dictate, preventing them at the same time from doing jobs that could expose them to physical and psychological harm.

	Boys	Girls
Risk Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Males in Al-Zaatari at risk of drop out • Social norm: males regarded as main source of income • Poverty and the urgent need to provide basic needs are major reasons for children to work and help their families 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Girls in Al-Zaatari camp are less able to complete their education • Social norms: not in favour of females’ future work in both areas
Protective factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supportive mothers • Education is compulsory in Jordan and free for Jordanians and Syrians • Awareness sessions have started to change traditional gender norms toward gender roles, behaviours and traditional practices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong gender norms generally protect girls from hazardous work outside the household • Girls are protected by their brothers who encourage them to complete their education and find a decent work in the future • Supportive mothers

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religion protects females from working in occupations that harm the body or chastity, or expose them to humiliation or exploitation of any kind • Education is compulsory in Jordan and free for Jordanians and Syrians • Awareness sessions have started to change traditional gender norms toward gender roles, behaviours and traditional practices
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The Impact of COVID-19 on Gender Equality, education & Child Labour Phenomenon

In the Jordan context, an increase in the number of females involved in child labour was noted after the pandemic as many families in the targeted areas lost their jobs, prompting mothers to launch income-generating projects inside the home and encourage their daughters to work with them. Social distancing measures, school closures and overburdened health systems have put an increased demand on girls and female adolescents for unpaid domestic work to cater to the basic survival needs of the family and care for the sick and elderly.

Discriminatory social norms are likely to increase the unpaid COVID-19-related workload on girls and adolescent girls, especially those living in poverty or in rural isolated locations. Evidence from past epidemics shows that adolescent girls are at particular risk of dropping out and not returning to school even after the crisis is over. Female unpaid domestic work has long been recognised as a driver of inequality with direct links to wage inequality, lower income, and physical and mental stressors.⁷

Based on the analysis, 90% of children of both sexes confirmed the negative impact of COVID-19 on their financial, social, and educational life. Males experienced a greater increase in pressure than females, as they are considered the main breadwinners after their fathers who became unemployed. Many parents lost their jobs during the pandemic, especially labourers who are paid on daily basis in the industrial and agricultural fields. As a result, their children were forced to drop out of education and look for a job, even if it meant working for long hours and for low wages.

The quality of education is poor, our academic achievement is poor, and we are exposed to constant violence by teachers and some students. I'd rather drop out of school and work long hours for a low wage than waste my time with something that won't do me any good.
Male: H.A, 13 years old
East Amman

Male children in East Amman mentioned that finding work during the pandemic has been a lifesaver for their families. One of them said: "In our society, it is easier for a child to find a job than it is for his father".

As for the situation of females in East Amman, many of their mothers decided to start productive work at home, such as making food. As a consequence, girls witnessed an increased pressure in terms of having to juggle between domestic work, caring for family members - such as the elderly or children - and helping their mothers in their small new projects. Therefore, girls were exploited and forced to work beyond their capacities for two years during the pandemic, which affected their academic achievement as they ended up not having the time to attend their online classes. Additionally, internet outage negatively impacted both sexes as it prevented them from attending their online classes.

In Zaatari camp, the pandemic did not impact the relation between child labour and school dropout as most children already worked in agriculture and had consequently dropped out of school.

⁷ UN Women; COVID-19 Educational Disruption and Response (visit this link for the latest school closure information), UNESCO; Covid-19 school closures around the world will hit girls hardest, UNESCO, 31 March 2020; From insights to action: Gender equality in the wake of COVID-19, UN Women. **Related resources:** In Focus: Gender equality matters in COVID-19 response

The problem of child labour was and still is on the rise, especially after the pandemic. This was confirmed by a mother who participated in the FGDs. She specified that many factors influence the decision to withdraw girls from education, including social norms, the social environment, educational attainment, and parents' awareness of the importance of education for girls. This awareness varies from one family to another, and from one region to another. The more conservative a region is, the more restrictive it is in terms of education for girls. This factor is also influenced by the fact that many of the targeted mothers are illiterate or were married off at a young age and did not complete their education. This role model does not encourage their daughters to make an effort to pursue their education, particularly because their mothers are unable to support them.

As for boys, the need for money is the decisive factor when it comes to dropping out of school. Therefore, getting a job is considered a necessary source of income, and boys are given the option to either drop out of school or complete their education alongside work. It is worth mentioning that peer pressure plays an important role in this regard as many boys want to imitate their friends who have dropped out of school. Needless to say, the low quality of education is also a negative factor.

From an institutional aspect, many government institutions underscored the defective work system in general after the pandemic and the ineffectiveness of many activities implemented within the national frameworks to combat child labour in the local community or schools during the past two years due to the introduction and enforcement of the Defence Law. The latter resulted in the closing of schools and youth centres in which awareness activities were carried out. In addition, the change in priorities negatively impacted the budgets of many government institutions. This affected children and led to an increase in poverty and the need for money. Furthermore, online education has led to an increase in the percentage of child labour for males in particular, and early marriage for females.

Some of the major educational obstacles that affected children's academic path and changed their gender roles inside the home during the pandemic were:

- Lack of children's commitment to the educational platform and their focus on finding a job, either for lack of parental follow-up or on account of feeling careless about the online classes.
- The absence of a mechanism for counting the number of dropouts of both sexes by the MoE.

In addition, during this period, many of the campaigns planned by the National Council of Family Affairs regarding school dropout and child labour, which focused on their negative consequences for both males and females, were stopped, and partner institutions were unable to carry out any of the campaign activities. This negatively impacted the awareness programme to reduce child labour and increased the percentage of child workers.

In terms of the government's role, Jordanian legislation still excludes certain categories, such as domestic work. A major subject is how to change the institutional culture and the organisational framework to activate the role of the Ministry of Labor inspectors with regard to the mechanism for detecting the informal sectors where children are employed. In addition, there is a lack of focus on protection policies within the workplace and on the importance of gender-based violence, especially sexual harassment, in the agricultural sector. This is due to the sensitivity surrounding GBV (some policy makers in government institutions consider it a taboo) in the matter of child labour. This means that the country still suffers from shortcomings in many matters, the most important of which is that the definition of the child labour is still weak and undetermined, and the working child service system is still inefficient due to the lack of an effective partnership between government institutions, CSOs, and international organisations. Despite the government's full knowledge of the main causes of child labour,

such as poverty and social norms, the numbers are still increasing. This is reflected in the statistics, which do not accurately reflect reality, as there is no precise data related to children working inside homes or in productive projects. Therefore, these children are not considered or included in the priorities of the national framework and the agenda of institutions working to combat child labour.

Outcome 2: Governments have enforced relevant child rights-based laws and have implemented policies on child labour, education, youth economic empowerment, and social security.

Outcome 4: The EU, the Dutch government, and international organisations act in support of the elimination of child labour and fulfil their obligation by setting and reinforcing due diligence policies and laws.

This section focusses on the society level of the socio-ecological model and mainly on policies and practices aimed to ensure safety and well-being of boys and girls. Interviews were conducted with several governmental institutions and international organisations to get a broader picture of their commitment to national and international legislation regarding combating child labour and its implementation mechanisms, in addition to related organisations' programmes and activities in government programmes, and exploring the main gender gaps to provide an overview of where WNCB can improve its work and focus its implementation. The analysis helps to answer the second research question and thus to support the WNCB Programme to eliminate child labour and support children in their access to education from a gender lens perspective.

Child labour: risk and protective factors for boys and girls

In Jordan, there are no accurate statistics on the nature and extent of child labour because households are reluctant to acknowledge that they employ children illegally, and employment surveys do not typically account for children working in the informal sector, such as in the domestic sphere, in family enterprises and in agricultural activities. Historically, the lack of accessible, affordable, and good quality schooling has always been a key factor in encouraging children to enter the workforce. However, the reverse is also true, and enrolment in schooling can contribute to children entering the workforce in order to be able to pay the direct and indirect costs of schooling for themselves or members of the family. Some children enter the workforce as a result of poor schooling or dropping out; others enter the workforce as a result of finding the curriculum dull, irrelevant, or unable to equip them with the direct skills required to sustain a living.²⁵

According to the Ministry of Labor, which reports very few cases of children illegally working, NGOs recognise the prevalence of child labour, and attribute it to poverty, lack of parental awareness of children's rights and needs, and dissatisfaction with school. Sources in refugee camps reported rampant child labour, particularly during the summer months. Social workers at refugee camps reported that 20-30% of children working as mechanics were exposed to sexual assaults and substance abuse, while others toiled in agriculture for twelve hours daily for little pay.

During the FGDs, parents were asked their opinion about the role of laws and policies with regard to protecting children in the workplace and preserving their dignity, in addition to the extent of their awareness of child rights and child protection policies within households, school and workplaces. Most of those in East Amman answered that although certain laws and policies exist, *we are not aware if it's really effective or not in our country. We believe that if it's there, the situation of our children will not be the same. Maybe it exist but we are sure that it's not effective enough.*

As for the interviewees in Zaatari camp, the situation was worse in terms of knowledge and implementation concerning human rights in general and child rights in particular. Mothers were very pessimistic about the challenges and dangers their daughters face on a daily basis, which makes them feel insecure. They described the international agreements as ineffective in crisis situations.

One of the mothers said during the FGD: *We have seen the organisations' employees and their cars in the camp for years, but the basic needs are still missing. I no longer trust anything but fate.*

Social norms

Traditional gender roles, in addition to traditional practices towards children – such as child labour, early marriage, and deprivation of education – play an influential and negative role towards societal change and societal behaviours. In addition, social norms are considered stronger than laws in some conservative areas. One of the mothers said: *Linking religion with traditional practices and believing in them is one of the most important obstacles facing the process of changing laws and implementing them on the ground, which puts human rights in general and children's rights in particular in a hidden corner, especially related to domestic work.*

Based on what parents said during the FGDs, especially mothers, it appears that some roles of females, such as domestic work, are still hidden, and even some of their influential roles inside households are still hidden and it's still not allowed for women to have access to decisions or to influence others outside their homes. Nonetheless, mothers in East Amman did not deny that some behavioural changes have resulted from attending the UNICEF programme activities in the Russaifeh and Sahab areas, which included several awareness-raising sessions and activities regarding children's rights, child protection, and gender equality. These activities had a good impact on their personalities and knowledge, in addition to the changes on their children's perceptions and behaviour in terms of practices inside the home, such as male children helping with domestic work and encouraging their sisters to study.

As for fathers, 98% of them are aware of the existence of agreements on the rights of child. However, they are unaware of their content but hope that their children will become knowledgeable of their rights through the awareness sessions they attend. At the same time, fathers reject any policy that prevents their children from going to work, as they consider the children a source of income and a financial support for the household. In their opinion, policies should protect children in the workplace, not prevent them from working.

The ILO confirmed the insistence of fathers to keep their children at work, especially those working in agriculture. ILO showed that child labour in agriculture is primarily caused by parental control over decisions in the family, as the father or the older brother are the decision-makers who force girls and women to work in agriculture beside domestic work, despite girls' refusal to drop out of school.

These social norms, especially in the Al-Mafraq area compared with other targeted areas, generate a lack of parenting skills within the family and a loss of the element of communication between its members, which in turn reinforces the role of the authoritarian father and brother and increases the rates of violence against girls and younger children. It was also mentioned that this is due to the closedness of many families from each other and their lack of social contact with other areas or gatherings, in addition to the remoteness of the farms where they work from urban centres, which makes them more isolated from the outside world.

For females, these factors affect their awareness and the lack of communication with other communities outside their area. In addition, there is an absence of any development and youth centres through which they can learn and participate in community activities that would enhance their personality, orientation, and awareness of their right to education and decision-making.

Concerning domestic work and policies, unfortunately, all of the governmental institutions we interviewed still do not consider domestic work as one of their priorities, instead confirming that it is one of the country's gender norms and traditional practices. As a result, it is not perceived as a challenge or as an issue for institutions to work on. When the NCFA was asked about their role in this field, their

answer was that domestic work as an issue is not on their agenda at the moment, but it should be taken into account in the upcoming national plans to highlight the most important problems facing girls within this kind of work.

Education policy: risk and protective factors for boys and girls

All factors that drive child labour have an impact on working children's access to education, especially for Syrian refugee children. According to UNHCR figures, only 65% Syrians are enrolled in primary schooling, against 100% of Jordanian children⁸. Moreover, UNICEF reported that school dropouts are very high and one of the main concerns for children in Jordan. In 2014, 46.3% of children aged 5-15 years old were dropouts⁹, and 28% of registered Syrian refugee children were out of school¹⁰. Moreover, the gaps in the education system contribute to learning difficulties for children leading to school dropouts, which in turn lead many children to enter labour.

Based on the interview that was conducted with UNICEF, we noticed that as a result of their intensive awareness programme during 2021, parents and children in East Amman became more aware about the importance of child rights and the concept of gender equality in education. This awareness began to be reflected in males' behaviours and practices toward their sisters, such as encouraging them to study and share some household chores with them. Meanwhile, mothers have become more aware of the importance of supporting their children to complete their education and reducing the idea of "early marriage instead of education". However, UNICEF highlighted that the issue of GBV toward children of both sexes (which takes different forms for boys and girls) is one of the main risk factors driving children to be at risk of dropping out of school, but they have no idea of how to stop these bad practices or deal with the issue.

When interviewing the MoL, we noticed that two protective-factor approaches are followed on the educational level to push students back to schools and eliminate the GBV issue: the first one aims to prevent school dropouts and the other one to reduce child labour. In other words, *preventive and curative tracks*. These two approaches study specific indicators related to the risk of girls dropping out of school (exposure to violence or bullying at school or within the family) which have a direct impact on academic achievement, child labour, or early marriage among girls. It is worth noting that the MoL, under the supervision of the Department of Gender, began working with school counsellors in 2021 on awareness-raising workshops on GBV inside and outside schools, considering it one of the main causes of school drop-out. However, there is still an institutional misunderstanding of how gender-related risk factors that drive child labour within the framework of education – such as school dropout, early marriage, and bullying – are related to GBV.

The MoL also supports girls under the age of 18 who dropped out of school and work currently as housemaids due to certain circumstances – including deprivation of education for work or marriage, or seasonal migration of Syrians or individuals working in agriculture – which makes it difficult for these children to enrol in school on a regular basis.

A protective factor in terms of GBV should be highlighted before ending this section: during the past two years, the NCFCA cooperated with the MoSD on the issue of begging, especially after the Ministry received many reports of children being subjected to violence in the street, children under the age of five at risk of being kidnapped or harassed at work, and girls trying to escape from begging by seeking help. Many cases were referred to court and described as human trafficking, but there was insufficient

⁸ KIIs with UNHCR. 2018

⁹ UNICEF 2014, p.1

¹⁰ UNICEF. 2018, p.1

evidence in this regard due to the presence of other aspects and factors that hinder the work of the law and the implementation of the legislation necessary to protect these children.

Youth economic empowerment: risk and protective factors for boys and girls

The analysis shows that 60% of males in East Amman face one main challenge that prevents them from feeling more independent and resilient, and that is their poor social and vocational skills. They asked for more support from the CBOs and youth centres by conducting fundamental courses instead of basic activities for kids, such as communications skills training, problem-solving skills and vocational training courses. These courses would have an impact on their personalities, behaviours and self-reliance, which would make them more empowered. Thus, they would be able to integrate better into society and deal with the circumstances they face with confidence and in a more powerful way.

Male youth economic empowerment, for example through improving their life skills and self-resilience, helps them feel more nurtured and empowered to choose their own lifestyle and how to earn money professionally, away from exploitation and subordination. They added that they see their parents as guilty: their fathers forced them to work on different jobs regardless of the kind of work, safety environment, place of work, tools that are used, other employees' attitudes and behaviours, etc. They just care about money!

Mohannad Al-Hammi, Child Protection Officer at UNICEF agreed on what is mentioned above. He stresses that the main reason for child labour is economic. This leads parents to practise one of the negative coping mechanisms, such as encouraging their children to work in different jobs, even if they are not appropriate for them, for the sake of providing for their families. For example, during the period of home quarantine, adults required special permits to commute to work, while children could leave the house more easily. This encouraged many parents to prompt their children to work and support their family financially.

Some females in East Amman said that they feel sad for their brothers. They forbid their sisters to work for different reasons and encourage them to complete their education to aim for a better life. Those females said that it is unfair for their brothers to work for their family and earn money to keep them alive, but at the same time, they have no education, no skills, are full of negative energy and emotionally insecure.

The situation in Al-Zaatari camp is worst for both sexes. Mothers said that their husbands have a lack of vocational skills to rely on financially; they don't send their sons and daughters to any vocational training centres to get a skill and invest in them to support their family but prefer to encourage them to seek any kind of work, especially males.

Mothers said that children and youth in Al-Zaatari camp need community and organisation support to provide them with skills and a small fund to start with. The mothers themselves would from organisational funding to teach their daughters a basic skill (sewing, planting, hair dressing, cooking) to improve an income-generating project and be financially empowered, educated and protected from any kind of abuse within workplaces.

From the perspective of the organisations, many of them have worked and still work through different programmes to increase the protective factors related to youth economic empowerment, which will support the elimination of child labour in Jordan. Noor Al-Hussein Foundation confirmed that male child labour is considered by society as a source of income that supports families financially, while the role of girls focuses on domestic work. Due to these traditional roles, the Foundation plays an important role in changing some of these stereotypes by conducting awareness sessions in Al-Zaatari camp to

discuss the misunderstanding of gender roles and how modifying them will positively affect the local community. The Foundation also shared success stories of women who were able to change their gender roles within their homes and influence decisions related to financial and social matters, such as enabling their children to resume their education.

Save the Children is also working on a new programme to enrol youth and parents in a course entitled Business Development Training, which explains the principles and ethics of work. In addition, they will be offered integrated vocational trainings that assist them in starting their own projects. This programme will be a key to rehabilitate and assist families in building their projects and improving their economic level as well as enhancing the chances of enabling children to return to school. Unfortunately, this training has still not been implemented due to the pandemic.

Social security: risk and protective factors for boys and girls

Protecting children from harm is an important cornerstone of the Jordanian government's policies in a variety of sectors. While there are legal frameworks in place, such as a minimum age for employment or marriage, the enforcement of these regulations can be complicated by social/cultural norms and economic realities. Bullying and violence in schools is a key issue underlying child protection as it affects children's ability to feel safe and limits their right to education. Children with disabilities, unaccompanied or separated children, children without parental care, children from marginalised minority communities and children living and/ or working on the streets face particular inequities. Refugee children and children from the poorest families also face significant child protection concerns.²⁰

In addition, studies by NGOs note that when girls do work, they are most likely to be found doing domestic work for other families or assisting their family in agricultural work.²¹ The nature of this work raises certain associated protection concerns, especially with live-in domestic work. Girls may be working in private homes and could face emotional, physical and sexual exploitation, problems that have been well documented among migrant workers in similar situations.²²

Through the analysis, we noticed that Syrian working children preferred to work with their families because they could split childcare responsibilities while on the job and felt safer. This was particularly true for female workers, who generally refused to work with strangers.

Males in East Amman, tried to forbid their sisters from working to avoid any kind of abuse or exploitation by their employers or to avoid them being exposed to verbal or sexual abuse in the public sphere.

Families with older sisters and younger brothers rely on females as an income source and send them to work in the industrial and agriculture sectors. 20% of females said that they are financially exploited by their employers, who make them work for long hours with low wages, knowing that the female workers will not object due to their financial need.

From our interviews with some governmental institutions, we noticed that the MoL in cooperation with the MoSD are trying to improve their mechanism of work regarding the child labour and how it can be linked more with protection. They are introducing programmes to combat the worst forms of child labour, by increasing the number of inspectors and improving the mechanism of inspections. In addition, the MoSD is starting to examine the situation of families with working children, and determining appropriate interventions by sending them to rehabilitation centres or referring them to specialised organisations. Also, they are developing an accurate and up-to-date database on child labour in Jordan to monitor the situation and assess the impact of the various interventions on the children and their families.

However, the MoL still does not have adequate protection policies with regard to child labour for either sex that take into consideration social norms, gender gaps and both sexes' needs and challenges within the private and public spheres. In addition, it does not have sufficient budget or sufficient staff to cover and implement periodic plans to mitigate the factors that increase the risk of child labour. The MoSD is the only ministry with judicial powers to stop children from working, especially street children, but is not yet aware of mechanisms to improve child rehabilitation such as extending the rehabilitation period, vocational courses, re-engagement in society, or family case management approach. It also lacks psychosocial specialists and financial capacity.

Furthermore, the NCFA has drafted policies to protect children's rights and seeks to implement laws related to the family and childhood. With a focus on child labour, a national framework has been developed and was agreed upon by the Jordanian Prime Minister in 2020 to reduce child labour through partnerships with government agencies, CSOs, and international organisations. Main gaps in the laws were pinpointed with the aim of addressing them. However, the separation of numerical data and gender-based needs were not taken into account, traditional gender roles such as domestic work, and power relations within the family were not studied. The lack of human resources and financial resources to implement the national plan activities and the change in national priorities after the pandemic have all had a negative impact on moving forward towards working on reducing the percentage of child labour at the national level. Also, NCFA stressed the need to adapt the framework to the recent changes in national legislation concerning child labour, pointing to the amendments made to the Juvenile Law in 2014 and to the 2018 draft strategy for the situation of street children.

NCFA is trying their best to strengthen partnerships with other relevant organisations and government institutions to activate the case management methodology (transferring cases to competent authorities and activating mechanisms to protect working children) and to improve the national framework so that it becomes more sensitive in terms of language, inclusiveness, and the tools needed for implementation. However, NCFA does not have an accurate plan for expanding knowledge on gender equality within the national framework nor does it have a guidance in this regard.

Last but not the least, there is little conclusive evidence that social protection by itself suffices to eliminate child labour or that it makes the situation less precarious for children working in the informal sector. However, it can increase bargaining power for better working conditions, enabling workers to negotiate against exploitive or extremely low-paying employers.

Social security: protective factors and associated gender gaps

Protective factor	Gender gap	What can affect females	What can affect males
Due to the lack of proper laws and legislation regarding street begging, the MoSD highlighted the need to work with the relevant stakeholders with children's families to convince them of the danger of begging on the academic,	Their approach is very general, with weak understanding of gender sensitivity and the methods for dealing with each case from a gender lens perspective.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Street begging is not one of the government's priorities within the national framework. Lack of knowledge and responsive plans concerning the risk factors that a girl may be exposed to while working on the street, such as kidnapping, sexual harassment, beatings, or 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Street begging is not one of the government's priorities within the national framework. Lack of knowledge and responsive plans concerning the risk factors that a boy may be exposed to while working on the street, such as kidnapping, sexual harassment, beatings, or theft, in

<p>social, and psychological levels.</p>		<p>theft, in addition to her absence from school.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The possibility of attracting a girl to paid prostitution by strangers on the street. 	<p>addition to his absence from school.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feeling of need, dependency and deficiency, especially when seeing other children of the same age, but in better circumstances, which affects the child psychologically and increases the possibility of resorting to violence or theft to earn money.
<p>The MoSD monitors street children, places them in rehabilitation centres in the areas of Madaba and Ad-Dulayl and implements recreational and non-recreational activities for them with the aim of improving their skills, behaviours and healthy social re-engagement.</p>	<p>3 months rehabilitation period in the rehabilitation centres is not enough to modify children’s behaviours, as they resume their begging activities after a while.</p> <p>Gender gaps:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Mechanism is rigid, dealing with both sexes as individuals but not taking into account their needs or sex. * Lack of female specialists who can deal with female-sensitive issues, such as sexual harassment. * Re-engagement process is not professional and does not rely on gender dynamics or social norms, which makes some children feel traumatised, insecure, making their situation worse. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The inability to deal with GBV cases professionally within the case management approach and by trained female specialists may lead to a girl’s condition worsening condition of the girl, for example making her suicidal . • Not integrating parents into the rehabilitation programme for children means traditional practices will not change and thus female illiteracy rates, early marriage and subordination to men’s orders to work on the streets or engage in activities such as drug selling and prostitution will increase. 	<p>The presence of male children within a patriarchal system that motivates them to stay at work, and their presence in a short-term rehabilitation programme that does not depend on the integration of parents, changing beliefs and the importance of education, will reinforce mistrust in government programmes and their surrender to their current lives.</p>
<p>In 2020-2021, a law was issued to cover farm workers, address the importance of taking into account</p>	<p>*Inspection visits are periodic or based on complaints of children under the age of 18 being</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inspectors do not cover the agriculture sector, thus perpetuating female children’s physical abuse, school dropout, sexual 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inspectors do not cover the agriculture sector, thus perpetuating male children’s physical abuse and school dropout.

<p>workers' age when inspecting facilities, and investigate the standards applied and working conditions of children to ensure their safety and assure that they are not burdensome or harmful to their health. This law has led to the establishment of an inspection directorate in each governorate of the Kingdom. Inspectors perform their work based on a clear strategy and annual action plan, and document their field visits in specialised reports.</p>	<p>employed, to unveil employers'.</p> <p>*This approach cannot cover and secure working children who are severely abused and exploited by their employers.</p> <p>*The MoL deals with the employer only, without questioning children or checking on the number of females and males within the workplace. In addition, MoL does not take a professional approach to checking on the working environment, the kind of work, the tools used, the risks children can be exposed to, nor does it employ a specific gender tool or ask each child about the risks, fears, working hours, GBV, etc.</p> <p>*MoL does not deal with working children's families to raise their awareness about the risk factors of child labour within workplaces in terms of their physical, psychological and reproductive health, in addition to the importance of their child's right to education instead of working at a young age which leads to losing their right to find a decent job opportunity in the future.</p>	<p>harassment, verbal abuse and lack of access to education.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Females and their mothers are not aware of the reporting method and fear reporting any kind of incident which keeps them hidden, abused and removed from inspectors' supervision. • Working for long hours under the sun or during the winter season in addition to being exposed to chemical materials may affect their reproductive health. • Lack of home visits by inspectors increases the percentage of girls doing domestic work and increases illiteracy among both sexes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Working for long hours under the sun or during the winter season in addition to be exposed to chemical materials may affect their physical and mental health. • Working children for long hours - more than 6 hours - increases the possibility of dropout and illiteracy.
<p>According to the MoL statement, the percentage of girls in the labour market is</p>	<p>There is no coordination between the MoL and MoE on whether these girls return to education.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Females taken out of employment are more vulnerable to abuse and exploitation by their 	

<p>lower compared to boys, which reduces the risk factor in terms of their exploitation by employers. Also, most of the girls who are suspended from work do not return to find another job.</p>	<p>There is not policy for doing a regular follow-up on females' situation and getting them back to school.</p>	<p>family, forcing them to do domestic work and take care of the elderly instead of going to school.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They are exposed to early marriage. 	
<p>The Domestic Professions Law was approved in Jordan to encourage families to undertake income-generating projects inside their homes.</p>	<p>*MoL lacks a proper follow-up mechanism on these projects to ensure that families do not exploit their daughters. This is due to the lack of cooperation with the judicial police, which prevents them from making home visits.</p> <p>*However, UNICEF bridged some of these gaps (although not to the required extent) by taking advantage of the presence of community development centres in the targeted areas to build the capacities of some graduates and to name them as social listening volunteers whose task is to collect information from children, especially those working in homes, and conduct home visits to make sure that there are no children working inside homes. This helped UNICEF build some data, but it is neither accurate nor sufficient.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many girls are threatened by the family if they report that they are exploited within the productive work inside the home, especially if they report that this has an impact on their education, which reduces the validity of the data collected through the government or its partners. • Females' lack of understanding that domestic work and supporting family businesses drive school dropout and that this is part of the system of abuse and patriarchal subordination. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Males' lack of understanding of the importance of education for their sisters and encouraging their work within the income-generating projects within the household, enhance the social norms and promote subordination in favour of males and making them unconsciously subordinate to traditional practices that are unequal to both sexes

Outcome 3: Private sector takes full responsibility for preventing and addressing child labour

In the Jordan context and within Syrian refugee camps, male children working in industry and trading is more accepted than females doing so, whereas female work in agriculture with their families is more accepted. In addition, employers in informal sectors prefer children aged 13-17 years for their physical ability to withstand some types of work for long hours and low wages, rather than bringing in an older worker with a higher wage and who is aware of their labour rights.

This assessment targeted 5 employers in 5 different fields under the informal sector, including industrial, agricultural, and domestic work. 3 of the 5 employers have female workers aged 14 -17 years old, while all of them have male workers in the same age group. The wages they pay are 1-2 JODs per day (2.8 USD/5 hours). The remaining 2 employers are one male and one female who have income-generating projects/family businesses.

My son delivers sweets to restaurants and homes, and my daughter bakes sweets with me.

My daughter and son help me improve our economic life, but it is impossible for me to allow them to drop out of school for the sake of work. They must become better than their father and I.

Female employer, income-generating project.
East Amman

Informal sector	Type of work	Workers (females/males)	Age group
Agriculture	Farming, poultry farm	Both sexes	12-16
Industrial	Plastic, detergent	Males	14-17
Trading	Clothing	Both sexes	17
Income-generating projects	Cooking and treats, babysitting	Females	10-16

Figure 2: Type of work based on gender

Roles, responsibilities & time use

Our observations based on our interviews with the targeted employers, children and parents, show that girls tend to work more often in clothing shops, agriculture (such as farming and poultry farms) and domestic work, as well as income-generating projects such as sewing, productive kitchens, and babysitting. In agriculture sector, employers admitted that females are better at managing detailed tasks that need specific technical skills and care, and this is very important when they are picking fruits and vegetables or planting seedlings. Males mostly cover loading, offloading, pesticide management, etc.

Employers encourage child labour equally for both sexes, with some restrictions for girls in regard to working in factories, restaurants, or any kind of occupation that requires working for long hours or at night; but they do discourage them from dropping out of school. Restrictions for girls are to forbid them from talking or working with males at the same place to avoid any sensitive problems, such as sexual harassment. Girls tend to work fewer hours than males, and employers prefer that one of the girls' family or relatives comes to pick them in the evening from the workplace to avoid them being subjected to any kind of harassment or assault while going home.

In addition, employers said that child labour is not wrong and that it is accepted more for males than females in East Amman. Child labour provides children with good vocational and communication skills and teaches them how to be financially responsible and support their families. This enables them to become mature from an early age. Accordingly, some employers encourage their own children to work with them after school. However, 4 to 5 of them confirmed the importance of education, in particular

those who live within the cycle of poverty, as education is the only solution to finding better opportunities and improving their lives.

30% of the female interviewees in Zaatari camp said that all children who work in agriculture, regardless gender, are exposed to various kinds of violence and abuse, such as working for long hours, sometimes being attacked by dogs when returning home, in addition to the low wages and exposure to verbal and physical abuse on a daily basis.

Social norms, beliefs, and practices

Child labour for both sexes is deemed acceptable within the Syrian refugee camp, due to the emergency situation, poverty, lack of access to education and losing the family breadwinner during the asylum period. One of the mothers said: *I feel sad for my sons because of the loss of their right to education and their having to work and feel insecure when sending my daughters to school or work, but I am obliged to encourage them to work and face the life challenges and to save some money so that can support them to live a better life.* Another mother said: *This is our fate to be here but I will do my best to protect my son from any kind of exploitation and my daughter from getting harassed or raped.*

Some employers in the industrial field said that they are trying to give children a chance to attend school by reducing their working hours, indicating that females often quit working to complete their education. This contrasts with farmers who said that boys and girls who come to them have chosen to drop out of school for various reasons and emphasise the financial aspect as a solution to improve the financial situation of their families.

Working and studying at the same time is seen as an opportunity to improve the physical and vocational skills of children on the one hand and enhance their knowledge and awareness on the other. Income-generating projects put less pressure on males and are more burdensome on females. Males help their families through providing supplies, while girls do all the work, in addition to housework and studying.

Children under the age of 16 are exploited by employers, who exploit children's physical energy by making them work for long hours for a low wage. Children submit to these conditions due to their families' need for money and the lack of better options. The other options to provide an income for their families would be through resorting to drug dealing or other illegal activities, which would put an end to the children's social and professional future.

Laws, policies, regulations & institutional practices

There are several bodies in Jordan responsible for minimising child labour: the Ministry of Labour, especially the Inspection Department; the Public Security Directorate; the Joint Anti-Human Trafficking Unit of the Ministry of Labour and Public Security Directorate; and the Child Labour Units. All actors play a role in enforcing child labour laws, the Penal Code, and monitoring violations related to child labour and human trafficking.

Concerning child protection laws and workplace protection policies, the targeted interviewees lack knowledge about children's rights, policies and conventions. This is a risk factor that makes employers more likely to accept hiring children under the legal age. Interviewees also stressed that they take care of children of both sexes in the workplace, treat them equally, and do not expose them to any kind of danger. In addition, they confirmed that children are not exposed to sharp or polluting tools or dangerous chemicals at work.

The owner of a detergent factory added that he *ensures children wear masks during work to protect them from inhaling any chemicals.*

Protective factors: examples of work by NGOs

Noor Al Hussein Foundation relies on the national framework and policies to protect children within workplaces and also have their own internal protection policy. The latter includes a reporting and safeguarding system as well as an inter-agency referral pathway to protect children who have been exposed to abuse or exploitation, in cooperation with the Family Protection Unit. The Foundation's key mechanisms include respecting confidentiality standards and guidelines and adopting a preventive approach.

Mohammed Al-Akkad, Field Coordinator at Save the Children, added that working in partnership with specialised and governmental bodies strengthens their work to combat child labour and could be considered a protective factor. For example, field visits are conducted to employers known to be violating the labour law by employing underage children, in cooperation with the MoL. The cooperation includes conducting awareness sessions on children's rights, protection mechanisms, and the penalties for labour violations by employers.

	Boys	Girls
Risk Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Informal sector employers accept and prefer children aged 13-17 years. * Children who work in agriculture are exposed to various kinds of violence and abuse, regardless of gender. * Employers lack knowledge of children's rights, policies and conventions, making them more likely to accept hiring children under the legal age. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Informal sector employers accept and prefer children aged 13-17 years. * Reproductive role/domestic work is an essential part of females lives, which they are forced to perform beside their paid work and education. * Children who work in agriculture are exposed to various kinds of violence and abuse regardless of gender. * Income-generating projects are more burdensome on females, who do all the work in addition to housework and studying. * Employers lack knowledge of children's rights, policies and conventions, making them more likely to accept hiring children under the legal age.
Protective factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Employers encourage children to study beside work. * Working and studying at the same time is seen as an opportunity to improve the physical and vocational skills of children on the one hand and enhance their knowledge and awareness on the other. * Income-generating projects put less pressure on males, meaning they have time to help their families by providing home and project supplies. * Activate partnerships between NGOs and governmental bodies to work on new or existing mechanisms and policies together to eliminate child labour and protect working children from any kind of abuse within workplaces. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Employers have some restrictions to protect females from GBV such as harassment. * Employers encourage children to study beside work. * Working and studying at the same time is seen as an opportunity to improve the physical and vocational skills of children on the one hand and enhance their knowledge and awareness on the other. * Activate partnerships between NGOs and governmental bodies to work on new or exist mechanisms and policies together to eliminate child labour and protect working children from any kind of abuse within workplaces.

Overview of risk factors and protective factors

This section splits the results of the data analysis into:

- Risk factors that drive child labour
- Protective factors that can support WNCB in eliminating child labour in Jordan

Risk factors			
Outcome 1: Children are empowered and have improved access to (quality) education and youth employment within a supportive family and community environment			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty, paired with the absence of a male breadwinner, is a major cause of school dropouts and child labour for males. Girls are exposed to early marriage, and Syrian female refugees are deprived of their education as they work in agriculture and support their families with household chores. • Social norms have a negative impact on males because parents believe that it is their boys' responsibility to support their family and improve its income. For street children, begging is considered the norm. As for girls, the patriarchal system and social practices enable males in the family to take control of decisions related to their work, education, or marriage. As a consequence, they are subjected to early marriage and school dropout. • Pattern of decision-making and access over resources: Fathers, and sometimes mothers, encourage their boys to drop out of school and work to support the family financially. Girls are forced to work for long hours, both at home and outside their homes, and have no control over the income they generate. • Academic achievements: Males receive no academic support from their parents or teachers and do not commit to their education. Syrian male refugees have limited access to education or vocational trainings. Illiterate mothers put an additional burden on females, and Syrian female refugees have limited access to education. • Dignity, safety, and well-being: Boys face bullying at school from their peers. Teachers have no skills to deal with the abuse students are exposed to, or with boys who are at risk of dropping out. In addition, boys are exposed to verbal and physical abuse in the workplace and at home. They are forced to work for long hours and are paid low wages. Girls are subjected to gender-based violence, at home and in the workplace, and to verbal and sexual harassment on their way to school or work. They are also underpaid and forced to work for long hours. 			
Outcome 2: Governments have enforced relevant child rights-based laws and have implemented policies on child labour, education, youth economic empowerment, and social security			
Outcome 4: The EU, the Dutch government, and international organisations act in support of the elimination of child labour and fulfil their obligation by setting and reinforcing due diligence policies and laws			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Syrian refugees living in the Zaatari camp face difficulties obtaining work permits. This increases poverty and drives children to child labour to support their families. • Lack of mechanisms for detecting child labour in informal sectors. • Lack of protection for child workers, including street children. This includes protection from sexual harassment. • Lack of precise data related to children working inside homes or in home income-generating projects. As a consequence, these children are not considered or included in the priorities of the national framework or in the agenda of institutions working to combat child labour. • The MoL and MoSD do not have the authority to suspend a child from work, and the judicial police is not granted power to hold employers accountable. • The MoL lacks inspectors to carry out periodic inspections of workplaces and social counsellors capable of dealing with child labour and child beggars or children of either sex who are exposed to violence in the workplace. • Jordanian legislation is comprehensive but lacks integration and coordination, and linkage and partnership with official and unofficial institutions. • Figures and statistics on child labour in Jordan do not reflect reality. 			

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MoE lacks a mechanism for counting the number of school dropouts of both sexes. • Lack of proper and relevant legislation regarding street begging. • There is still a lack of information on the number of early marriages due to the pandemic, which has doubled impact of females being prevented from completing their education.
Outcome 3: Private sector takes full responsibility for preventing and addressing child labour	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wage discrimination: Boys are paid very low wages and are required to work for long hours. Girls are not paid for the domestic work they perform and receive very low wages when working outside the house. • Limited potential for career development: Child labour combined with no access to education. • Working environment: Lack of safety, exposure to GBV and abuse, lack of responsiveness to females' personal needs.
Protective factors	
Outcome 1: Children are empowered and have improved access to (quality) education and youth employment within a supportive family and community environment	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education is compulsory in Jordan and free for Jordanians and Syrians of both sexes. • Children who were engaged with the UNICEF programme in 2021 have a good knowledge and understanding of children's rights and believe in equal access to education for boys and girls. • Islam prevents girls from working from an early age and does not force boys to work. It encourages education instead. • Mothers protect their children from child labour by finding alternative means to improve the family income and encouraging their children, male and female, to pursue their education.
Outcome 2: Governments have enforced relevant child rights-based laws and have implemented policies on child labour, education, youth economic empowerment, and social security	
Outcome 4: The EU, the Dutch government, and international organisations act in support of the elimination of child labour and fulfil their obligation by setting and reinforcing due diligence policies and laws	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instructions, regulations, and decisions related to child labour were derived from articles 73, 74, 75 and 76 of the Labor Law, which was issued in 2011 to include the risks that children may be exposed to in the workplace under the framework of occupational health and safety. • The Jordanian Labor Law does not differentiate between individuals based on gender or nationality. • In 2020-2021, a law was issued to cover farm workers, including child labourers. • The MoL lacks adequate protection policies for both sexes with regard to child labour, as well as budget and staff. • The MoL is updating the national strategy to combat child labour, which will be issued during 2022. • The MoL is drafting a new policy emanating from the national framework that supports the development of an electronic system for child labour, which connects the MoL to the MoE, the MoSD, and CSOs, and that provides services to children and their families. • Amendment of the Juvenile Law in 2014 and inclusion of the mention that working children need protection and care. • Launch of a joint campaign "Together towards a safe school environment" by the MoE and UNICEF that aims to develop the educational curricula and modern teaching methods and create alternatives to corporal punishment for students. • Development of a protection mechanism related to GBV within the national framework to reduce child labour. • Formation of a committee of relevant ministries, international organisations, and CSOs under the supervision of the NCF to follow up on referrals, give feedback regarding laws and policies to reduce child labour, and provide services to them.
Outcome 3: Private sector takes full responsibility for preventing and addressing child labour	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employers encourage children to complete their education beside working. • Employers put protective restrictions on females to avoid any kind of harassment in the workplace and at home, and consider their physical needs and capacities by reducing their working hours.

Conclusion and Recommendation

A. Conclusion

Based on the data analysis, using the literature review and the evidence-based approach, this section gives an overview of answers to the first research question:

1 What causes/drives child labour for boys and girls within the WNCB programme target groups (migrants, street children, and refugee children)? And what is the relationship with the informal sector under the two components (education and employment) in Jordan?

Outcome 1: Children are empowered and have improved access to (quality) education and youth employment within a supportive family and community environment
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty and increases in school dropout rates, combined with an influx of Syrian refugee children, led child labour rates to triple between 2006 and 2016. Many Syrian refugee children received no schooling because they were the sole breadwinners for their families and had to work formally or informally. Many households in both targeted areas send their children into work and out of education to bring in much-needed income. Households rely on males to earn more income more than girls in the industrial field, relying more on females in unpaid domestic work and low-paid agricultural work, especially Syrian refugee children aged 9-13. • Girls are most at risk within the agricultural sector. Child labour in agriculture among Syrian refugee families seems to be widespread and involves mostly young girls. <p>Social norms:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unequal workloads based on gendered roles means that females carry much more of the household labour burden than males. Males' lack of contribution to the daily household labour exacerbates females' mental and physical load. • Male dominance and unequal power relations within the household have a strong impact on either encouraging children access to education or putting them at risk of dropping out of school, driving them to child labour or to an early marriage. • Most girls in East Amman are encouraged by their brothers to remain in school instead of working because they believe that this is the way to preserve their sisters' reputation and honour. They also consider that a working girl can be exposed to strangers, abuse, and harassment, all of which compromise the family's reputation. • Reproductive/domestic roles are compulsory roles for females in both areas, regardless of their paid work or access to education. • The theory of personal control predicts that women have a lower sense of control than men, but the evidence is equivocal. Mothers have a hidden role in protecting their children by finding alternative means to improve the level of family income and thus prevent their children from losing their right to education. • The percentage of males dropping out of school due to employment is higher than that of females, while the reasons for girls dropping out of school are mostly related to early marriage. <p>GBV</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GBV, such as domestic violence, may have been exacerbated due to heightened tensions in the household in response to the length of the confinement period and the stress and anxiety of the COVID-19 outbreak. • Girls are less exposed to physical or verbal violence within households in East Amman, but among girls who work in the agricultural sector in East Amman and Al-Mafraq areas the percentage is increasing.

	<p>Lack of access to education: Child labour, early marriage, poor educational attainment, poor quality of education, GBV within male schools, no follow-up on male students by their teachers, no-follow up on drop-out cases by the school administrators, unsupportive fathers in East Amman and a high percentage of illiterate mothers in both areas.</p> <p>Islam has protected girls from working at an early age and did not force boys to work. Rather, it encouraged education and work in urgent circumstance, while preventing them at the same time from doing jobs that could expose them to physical and psychological harm.</p> <p>Domestic work Males performing non-traditional role within the household and supporting mothers and females in domestic work does not affect the education of males and is not a reason for their dropping out of school, but a protective factor in terms of encouraging access to education of both sexes.</p>
	<p>Outcome 2: Governments have enforced relevant child rights-based laws and have implemented policies on child labour, education, youth economic empowerment, and social security</p> <p>Outcome 4: The EU, the Dutch government, and international organisations act in support of the elimination of child labour and fulfil their obligation by setting and reinforcing due diligence policies and laws.</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender gaps are the result of deeply rooted power imbalances between males and females. This is clear and reflected in Jordan’s laws, regulations and social norms. • Despite some recent improvements, females’ access to and control over resources remain restricted by a combination of discriminatory laws and social norms, the latter often restricting rights provided in law. • Education is compulsory in Jordan and free for Jordanians and Syrians as every child must learn. Female interviewees believe that it is unfair to have to drop out of school in order to work. Nonetheless, if boys choose to drop out of school in order to work, this should not be an obstacle to girls completing their education. 70% of girls in East Amman wish to graduate from university, choose the career they want, and move to a better place. • Organisations that prioritise the concepts of gender equality, human-based approaches and child rights can succeed in changing behaviours and practices of parents and children so that parents encourage their children of both sexes to access education, break stereotypes concerning traditional gender roles and increase their knowledge of laws and policies regarding child protection within household and workplace. • Domestic work is still not a governmental or non-governmental priority, nor is it on their agenda, as it is considered a normal and traditional practice in Jordan and the Arab region. • Lack of work permits outside the camp for Syrian refugees prevents parents from finding better jobs, improving their financial situation and gaining more vocational skills.
	<p>Outcome 3: Private sector takes full responsibility for preventing and addressing child labour</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jordanian farmers and companies exploit Syrian children: 46% of Syrian refugee boys and 14% of Syrian refugee girls, aged 14 and above, work more than 44 hours per week. • Lack of knowledge about workers’ rights and child protection policies. • Children work for long hours for a very low wages and in unsafe environments, in addition to lacking access to transportation.

B. Recommendations

This section forms the final part of the analysis and lists the needed and realistic recommendations in response to the second research question:

What can the WNCB programme improve to address the risk factors of child labour and promote protective factors for boys and girls within the WNCB programme target groups and sectors (education and employment) in Jordan?

The recommendations below are listed under each outcome, providing a clear picture for both WNCB programme and government as to where should they intervene, taking into consideration the gender dynamic, the financial situation and the technical capacity at government level.

Outcome 1: Children are empowered and have improved access to (quality) education and youth employment within a supportive family and community environment

Recommendation	Risk / protective factors of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Start doing	
<p>WNCB programme starts focusing on girls in domestic work and those who work long hours in agriculture especially in Zaatari camp. This should include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revising the lists of names of targeted children who will be involved in the next phase of the Save the Children/UNICEF programme. • Doing capacity building of female social workers to they are well equipped to do home visits/observation/situational analysis of working females. • Investing with some CBOs in the targeted areas or with WNCB partners in conducting awareness sessions for relations of females, especially targeting their brothers and mothers, who can be a supportive element in reaching those females and helping them return them to school. Girls that have been talked to and with are more often at school. • WNCB investing in CBOs by supporting them technically and financially to hold remedial lessons/educational programmes for both sexes who have low educational attainment and are at risk of dropping out. • WNCB activating the role of local committees, including women’s committees, so they become more productive and effective regarding their education and economic empowerment components, by giving them a tangible societal role - such as conducting awareness sessions related to 	<p>Risk factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Doing domestic work causes females to be left behind. - Long working hours put children at risk of dropping out of school, especially those who work in the agriculture sector. <p>Protective factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - WNCB partners/CBOs staff are well-trained on child rights and gender equality. Those staff have the capacity to conduct the recommended sessions. - Save the Children and UNICEF have female social workers who can learn new mechanisms under the Case management programme to reach the missing girls. - Supportive mothers can facilitate the mentioned goals and help their daughters to return to school. - These lessons will be a major incentive to raising children's academic level and encourage them to complete their education beside work. - The remedial lessons will be a major incentive to raising the child's academic level and encourage them to complete their education beside work. In addition, these will help solve the learning loss during COVID-19, especially for refugee students who didn't have access to the online platforms. - Working on a community-based approach is a snowball approach that can reach each individual in the community. It can also support donors and INGOs

<p>human rights, child rights and women’s economic empowerment.</p>	<p>to focus on other challenges such as domestic work and improving the quality of education.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conducting advocacy campaigns that align with the National Plan workplan and objectives. This campaign should involve cooperation between the WNCB programme and its partners in addition to The National Council of Family Affairs as part of the National action plan, through the following points: • Develop a gender sensitive communication plan targeting children of both sexes and their parents from the targeted project areas, focusing on agricultural and domestic work. • Community engagement programmes and national campaigns to address gender-based violence and more broadly, to address shared norms that sustain gender inequality and prevent girls from accessing alternatives to child labour, domestic work and early school dropout. • Girls’ empowerment programmes, peer-to-peer support groups. This can be done by providing safe spaces to discuss females' problems and success stories to empower them. • Psychosocial support to adolescent girls and refugee communities at large. • Legal support to adolescent girls and refugee communities at large, including support for all forms of gender-based violence and abuse, early or forced marriage, school drop-out, work permits etc. • Health services, especially sexual and reproductive health and rights information and services. • Safety and security, especially on the way to and from school and work, and in the home. 	<p>Protective factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The aim of thiis campaign is to change the traditional behaviours toward gender norms and increase knowledge on gender equality.
<p>Do differently</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continue child labour and child rights awareness sessions with children and parents with more emphasis on gendered risks using role models. These sessions and its impact should be monitored by a professional staff from both Save the Children and UNICEF on regular basis/quarterly, by conducting short sessions with children and parents to measure the extent of change in their behaviour inside and outside home, the way they communicate with others, the impact of children work/ school 	<p>Protective factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Addresses social norms, including specific gendered risks of child labour - Builds on protective role of mothers by increasing children’s awareness (especially males) of gender roles and non-traditional practices.

<p>dropouts/ their access to school/ their role inside home/the impact of non-traditional gender roles on their mental health.</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To separate the female sessions from the males' sessions to measure the needed changes and get an accurate information from both sides. Parents sessions should be separated as well. 	<p>Risk factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Usually female children will not attend mixed sessions. In this case, only male children will speak so the information collected will not be accurate. <p>Protective factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mothers is a supportive element who may have a positive influence on family males' members decisions and to do a good balance in what related to the power relations between siblings.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> WNCB programme can network with professional organisations who are specialised in gender issues, Gender based violence and sexual harassment to target all schools' key persons within the camp, such as (teachers, consolors and principles) by conducting one week workshop to address the impacts of bullying and GBV in access to education for both sexes. 	<p>Risk factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of knowledge about the reporting mechanism Fear from reporting Abusive teachers within boys school, Females' students could be exposed to sexual harassment during their way to school or home. Social stigma <p>Protective factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increase knowledge of child labour and child rights. Decrease the percentage of GBV cases within the boys schools.
<p>Stop</p>	
<p>WNCB to stop working intensively on awareness sessions and life skills sessions, thus keeping some of its funding for other valuable issues that should help eliminate child labour, such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Working at the policy level by guiding NCFA to prioritise its activities within the Child Labour National Framework (focusing on the agriculture sector and domestic work), in addition to supporting them financially with the implementation of the urgently needed activities that require financial and technical resources. Supporting families who have working children to do their own income-generating projects, by providing them with financial support, technical guidance, coaching and long-term follow-up. 	<p>Risk factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Awareness sessions are good and can increase the knowledge and understanding of the risk factors of child labour, child protection policies and child rights, but this alone will not eliminate child labour in Jordan. Intensive awareness sessions are a waste of time and money for the WNCB programme and for the community who need our support to find a radical solution to the child labour phenomenon. <p>Protective factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Supporting NCFA technically and financially to implement their activities which align with WNCB objectives will have a strong impact on decreasing the percentage of child labour in Jordan and will be a tangible achievement for the programme.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Supporting families with income-generating projects is a successful and sustainable idea that can improve their standard of living, change their negative practices in terms of the traditional gender roles within the household and those related to child labour and protect children from employers' exploitation.
<p>The WNCB programme should work to build on what has been done by other organisations in terms of current and previous research, studies, national plans and practical activities related to child labour, and stop working on new studies, so that funds can be used to start practical implementation on the ground.</p>	

Outcome 2: Governments have enforced relevant child rights-based laws and have implemented policies on child labour, education, youth economic empowerment, and social security

Outcome 4: The EU, the Dutch government, and international organisations act in support of the elimination of child labour and fulfil their obligation by setting and reinforcing due diligence policies and laws

Recommendation	Risk / protective factors of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Start doing	
<p>MoE to intensify its efforts to activate non-traditional vocational courses in coordination with the vocational training centres and Luminus Technical University College to encourage students who have vocational talents to become professional and well-skilled. Taking into consideration that LTUC has a good network and agreements with several employers who usually support those graduated students in finding decent jobs.</p>	<p>Protective factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Decent work and a better future for both sexes. - This will reduce child labour and enhance the vocational training approach. - The percentage of early marriage will decrease, as females will be well-educated and financially empowered.

<p>Child protection mechanisms related to “safety and security” should be updated, activated and applied within private and public spheres, in addition to ensuring that they are integrated into the Child Labour National Framework.</p> <p>The mechanisms should include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Restrictions on the type of work and the acceptable working hours - Safe and healthy environment - Access to transportation - Building code of conduct/accessibility - Sanitation facilities based on gender needs - Social security and health insurance 	<p>Risk factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The weak implementation of the child protection policy is a huge risk factor that can play a strong role in keeping children exploited by employers and exposing them to various kinds of danger. - The lack of government responsibility in updating and monitoring the effectiveness of CP policies is a key barrier to organisations reducing the rate of child labour and protecting children in the workplace. <p>Protective factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Updating and implementing child protection mechanisms effectively will reduce child labour and organise it in terms of type of work, work mechanisms, age allowed, working hours, creating an appropriate environment for child labour according to physical abilities and gender
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. NCFA to focus on domestic work and add it as a fundamental element within the national framework as one form of child labour, which affects females negatively in terms of their education, reproductive and mental health. 2. MoSD must set standards for domestic work based on a gender lens and non-traditional roles based on the principle of equal rights and social justice. It must be worked on asking for the issuance of a law related to domestic work as a protection tool for female children, focusing on the permitted working hours inside the home, penalties imposed on the family if this type of work causes any physical or psychological harm to the girl, in addition to imposing penalties related to a child’s inability to study because of domestic work. This law can be developed by lobbying the government with conclusive evidence and realistic cases presented by the National Council of Family Affairs and the Ministry of Social Development. 	<p>Risk factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Domestic work is not taken into consideration in policies and laws and is not considered as a form of child labour, which keeps many females disadvantaged and without education. <p>Protective factors:</p> <p>Start adding domestic work to the government’s agendas and national frameworks. This will change the institutional culture mindset toward this issue.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Start changing the perception of domestic work as a participatory role for all family members and not compulsory unpaid work related to the traditional female reproductive role.

<p>WNCB programme, in cooperation with NCFA, to put pressure on the government/MoL and ILO in order to create high-level legislative support in terms of advocating and lobbying for more stringent application of labour regulations to ensure that employers provide at least minimum wages and decent working conditions for both men and women engaging in paid work in agricultural and industrial sectors.</p>	<p>Protective factors:</p> <p>Providing women and men (parents) with fair wages and a safe environment can eliminate child labour and help keep their children in education.</p>
<p>Do differently</p>	
<p>1- 1. MoE to activate/update the follow-up system for students who drop out of school or are at risk of begging in order to push them back to school. In addition, activate the mechanism of school counselling by:</p> <p>2- Providing teachers and counsellors with GBV and parenting skills trainings.</p> <p>3- Providing school counsellors with full training on a case management approach to deal professionally with students' cases, support them at the academic level, encourage them not to drop out of school, and refer them to specialised entities if needed.</p> <p>4- Build on the existing materials related to these topics compiled by other organisations previously.</p> <p>2. This system should be built in cooperation with MoL to count the number of Jordanian and Syrian refugee girls who are under 18 and work in farms and do not have access to education.</p>	<p>Risk factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Child labour/early marriage/domestic work <p>Protective factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Encourage all children (females and males) to have access to education. - Make families more aware that education is compulsory and their children should be educated.
<p>MoE to improve the educational system within the vocational education unit, by selecting some working children who have special vocational talents and support them to present and sell their work in bazars, festivals or small shops.</p>	<p>Protective factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - This kind of initiative will eliminate child labour for children aged 16-18. - Enhance the pull factor by encouraging students to stay at school and encouraging them to enhance their vocational skills.

<p>The financial revenue will be given to the student to encourage him/her to work professionally within the school and legally instead of doing child labour.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Vocational skills can be a strong element for building up a decent family business and providing the family with a good income. - Give females an opportunity to learn a good skill, so they can have their own business in the future and be financially empowered.
<p>The MoE should improve the school environment by implementing awareness campaigns to combat the phenomenon of bullying and by imposing academic and disciplinary sanctions on students who subject their colleagues to physical, verbal, and psychological violence. Staff working at school should also improve their skills in identifying the push and pull factors and work on these in cooperation with the local community to keep children in school.</p>	<p>Protective factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Advocacy campaigns, school activities and safe environment encourage students to stay at school and to focus on their educational attainment instead of work.
<p>3. NCFA technical taskforce should agree to hire a consultant to review and update all the child protection policies and to share the final documents with all youth and development centres in the targeted areas.</p> <p>4. CBOs should be trained on these policies and support employers to implement within workplaces.</p> <p>Efforts should be intensified through the NCFA task force regarding the unification of the definition of child labour in Jordan, by reviewing the legal texts on child labour and the national definitions for both governmental institutions and NGOs in addition to those used by international organisations, and then merging them in a way that covers all aspects, standards and ages that would clarify child labour, its causes, types and negative effects on children socially, economically and psychologically.</p>	<p>Protective factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inclusive awareness within the targeted areas about child rights and child protection policies within workplaces. - Unifying the definition of child labour will facilitate the government NGOs and INGOs' work and reduce any challenges or barriers that prevent them from working on a certain methodology to eliminate child labour due to this reason being stated. - Supervision of policy implementation and measurement of the achievements will provide an overview of its impact on children's academic attainment, the quality of education and the percentage of child labour,.
<p>Strengthen the system of economic empowerment for women provided by certain national and international organisations, such as UN WOMEN, Micro-fund for women, and women programme centres in the targeted areas, which would open greater work opportunities for them and improve the level of family income. This can be done by creating a one-week intensive training for women on methodologies for building financial workplans, doing marketing studies, understanding society and market</p>	<p>Protective factors:</p> <p>This would contribute to changing societal attitudes and practices that push children to work and give girls a greater opportunity to complete their education away from the social and economic burden inside and outside the home.</p>

needs and how to succeed in their income-generating projects.	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MoSD and MoL to make a joint effort in aim to build a professional and technical framework with accredited approach, specialised in referring street children to the rehabilitation centres in Madaba and al-dulayl. • Identify the academic and professional standards required of counsellors who will deal with children of both sexes during the rehabilitation period (preferably not less than 6 months). • Implement joint recreational and non-recreational activities with children’s families, which include case management sessions and identify the challenges, strengths, weaknesses and opportunities that can support them to re-engage in the community with better behaviour and attitude, and to gain a new perspective toward education. • For females, MoSD should deal with females’ needs and cases in different ways using the case management approach. • Provide children with vocational skills and try to support their families financially by linking/registering them with the National Aid Fund, which can cover their basic needs. 	<p>Protective factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A professional programme within the rehabilitation centres can support males and females for a healthy community re-engagement. - Specialised and trained counsellors of both sexes can support children’s mental health on a case-by-case basis. - Vocational skills will enhance children to find decent work or to do an income-generating project with their families. This can give them the opportunity to think of returning to education.
WNCB in cooperation with NCFCA to work on child-care services programme	<p>Protective factors:</p> <p>This programme aims to provide mothers with an opportunity to work and thus become empowered financially. This will help keep their daughters in education instead of dropping out of school to take care of their younger siblings.</p>
Stop	
Government, NGOs and INGOs to stop planning, revising and updating policies without taking into consideration the gender lens. Most laws and regulations related to human rights and child rights are gender blind, dealing with humans as individuals with a narrow view of the gender dynamics within the Jordan context.	<p>Risk factors:</p> <p>Moving forward with the same laws and policies will leave many persons behind when it comes to child labour: females under 18, women, children refugees and persons with disabilities.</p>

Outcome 3: Private sector takes full responsibility for preventing and addressing child labour

Recommendation	Risk / protective factors of child labour for boys and girls addressed
Start doing	
<p>Employers to start attending sessions and workshops that talk about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Legal status of Syrian child refugees and their conditions of work - The International Convention on Child Rights - Gender equality and social norms - Laws and regulations related to child labour - Child protection and safety and security within workplaces - Gender roles and needs within workplaces <p>These sessions should be held and coordinated by the child labour technical taskforce - NCFR, ILO and MoL.</p>	<p>Protective factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The joint effort between the government and related organisations will make the implementation of laws more effective and keep both sides on the same track. - Employers will be more aware about child rights and protection policies when hiring youth. - Employers will be more cautious and try to limit the number of children they employ.
Do differently	
<p>The Ministry of Agriculture and MoL to make agreements with employers about the conditions and causes that allow employers to hire males or females, under specific restrictions and governmental supervision.</p>	<p>Protective factors:</p> <p>This could limit the number of children of different categories and ages who are working, which would reduce the rate of child labour or those at risk of working in unhealthy environments.</p>
<p>Employers to provide children with more safety and security by registering them for social security and health insurance.</p>	<p>Protective factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Health insurance can encourage employers in both industry and agriculture to improve safety measures within the workplace and place more conditions on the recruitment process. - Social security will protect employers from penalties for employing people illegally, and will provide children and their families with government savings/financial support in the long run.
Stop	
<p>Employers must stop employing any children under the age of 16 and observe the legal standards and restrictions when hiring youth aged 16-18 for types of work that involve risks that threaten the physical safety of children, such as handling sharp objects, inhaling toxic materials, long working hours, and unhealthy environment.</p>	<p>Risk factors:</p> <p>Unsafe environment, unhealthy environment, sexual harassment and GBV, long working hours.</p> <p>Protective factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Children under 16 have access to elementary and secondary school - Females can complete their education

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- No exposure to any kind of abuse or harassment by the employers
Employers to stop hiring female children in all fields, but to encourage them to complete their education.	

Annexes

Annex1:

DEFINITION AND EXPLANATION OF TERMINOLOGIES AND CONCEPTS	
Child	<p>The concept of “child” varies across contexts. According to the 1989 United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the international legal instrument most commonly referred to for children-related issues, the child is ‘Every human being below the age of eighteen years, unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier’.¹ The 1999 International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention (No.182) on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL) also defined a child “as an individual under the age of 18”. The Jordanian Labor Law No.8 of 1996 defines a ‘juvenile’ as “Every person, male or female, who reached the age of seventeen and not yet eighteen”.</p>
<i>Child Labour</i>	<p>The term “child labour”⁴² is often defined as work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development. It refers to work that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children; and/or • interferes with their schooling by: depriving them of the opportunity to attend school; obliging them to leave school prematurely; or requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work. <p>Whether or not particular forms of “work” can be called “child labour” depends on the child’s age, the type and hours of work performed, the conditions under which it is performed and the objectives pursued by individual countries. The answer varies from country to country, as well as among sectors within countries.</p> <p>Three types of child labour:</p> <p>Child labour is often divided into three major categories: paid or unpaid work outside the home, family work, and housework. Children’s work outside the home has received the most empirical attention. Work outside the home is itself divided into three broad sectors of agriculture (69% of economically active children; such as farming, fishing, and forestry), services (22%; such as trade including street selling or begging, domestic, restaurant, and transportation work), and industry (9%; such as manufacturing, mining, construction, and public utility work.⁴³ These kinds of work outside the home can be paid or unpaid. Family work consists of any (usually unpaid) work that children do for the family. Often, family work is agricultural⁴⁴ but it also includes work for any other type of family-owned business. Finally, housework, or household chores, includes childcare, cleaning, cooking, laundry, shopping, fetching water and wood, and home maintenance. Housework is considered to be a hidden form of child labour because it is unpaid, and it often goes unreported⁴⁵. UNICEF (2006)⁴⁶ considers housework to be child labour if the child engages in 4 or more hours per day (28 hours per week).</p>

<p>Worst forms of Child labour and Hazardous work</p>	<p>In its Convention 182, the ILO provides the following definition of the Worst forms of child labour (WFCL): ‘ Work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children (also called hazardous work); work that is prohibited to any person below the age of 18; and include: All forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom, as well as forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; The use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances; The use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in relevant international treaties.</p> <p>Whilst the list of hazardous work is defined by individual countries, the 1999 ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Recommendation No.190 determines the following as hazardous work: ‘Work that exposes children to physical, emotional or sexual abuse; that is underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces; that involves dangerous machinery, and equipment or the manual handling or transport of heavy loads; that is carried out in unhealthy environments which may expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to damaging temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations; that is carried out under difficult conditions, as long hours, during the night, no returning home each day’.</p> <p><i>As per Jordan’s Labour law, the list of hazardous work includes: the use of dangerous machinery and equipment; the use and manufacture of explosives; working with fire, gas or chemicals; guarding duties; work that requires excessive physical or repetitive effort; work that takes place in dusty, noisy, extremely hot or cold, or otherwise unhealthy environments; work that takes place underwater; work in mines and at construction sites; and work in hotels, restaurants, clubs and nightclubs.</i></p>
<p><i>Hazardous child labour or hazardous work</i></p>	<p>Is the work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children⁴⁷.</p>
<p>“The world of work”</p>	<p>“Work” is commonly defined as any physical or mental activity to produce or accomplish something. ILO uses the concept of “the world of work” to encompass such activities that are both paid and unpaid. Paid labour is an activity or service performed for which cash and/or in-kind payment is made. Unpaid labour comprises both “productive work” and “reproductive work”. Unpaid productive work includes, for example, family members toiling in subsistence agriculture or in the family business but receiving no payment. Unpaid reproductive work is mostly carried out within the household – such as preparing food, child and elderly care, and cleaning – but can also be performed within the community such as attending births or helping maintain community property⁴⁸. Unpaid reproductive work is overwhelmingly performed by women and girls in most countries, although time-use studies or polls in some show an increasing number of males are performing a more equitable share.⁴⁹</p>
<p>Gender</p>	<p>Refers to the learned social differences and relations between girls and boys and between women and men. These can vary widely within and between</p>

	<p>cultures. In some countries, for example, it is appropriate for women and girls to work on road construction, whereas in others only men and boys perform roadwork-related labour. The term gender is distinct from “sex”, which refers only to the biological/genetic differences between women and men that do not change. Only women give birth; only men get prostate cancer. Gender differences and relations between women and men can change over time and they differ from place to place.⁵⁰</p>
<i>Equality between women and men and between boys and girls</i>	<p>According to ILO/IPEC, refers to the equal rights, responsibilities, opportunities, treatment and valuation of women and men in employment and the link between work and life.⁵¹</p>
<i>Social norms</i> ⁷⁷	<p>Are typically defined as those rules of behaviour that do not require formal enforcement.^[8]</p>
<i>Child Trafficking</i> ⁹¹	<p>The Human Trafficking Act, 2005 defines trafficking to mean recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring, trading or receipt of persons within and across national borders. Thus, a child is said to have been trafficked if he/she is recruited and transported elsewhere to engage in labour that is exploitative and is likely to interfere with the child's education or expose him/her to abuse or danger.</p>
<i>Gender equality</i> ⁵²	<p>Means that women and men enjoy the same status within a society. It does not mean that women and men are the same, but rather that their similarities and differences are recognised and equally valued.</p>
<i>Gender gap</i> ⁵³	<p>Is a concrete example of political, economic, social and cultural differences or inequality between men and women or between boys and girls? Gender responsiveness entails consistent and systematic attention to the differences between men and women in society to address institutional constraints to gender equality.</p>
<i>Gender-based violence against children</i>	<p>Is a crime against girls and boys that “undermine the health, dignity, security and autonomy of its victims.”[iii] These acts are perpetuated physically, sexually, psychologically and/or economically, and seek to deny access to resources or services that may help lift a victim out of the cycle of violence.⁵⁴</p>
<i>Gender-based violence against women</i>	<p>Violence against women was defined in 1993 by the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women as “any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life”⁵⁵</p>
<i>Gender analysis</i>	<p>Used to identify differences and describe relations between girls and boys/men and women. We conduct a gender analysis to avoid invalid assumptions about who does what, why and when.⁵⁶</p>

Annex 2:
 Data collection tools: Survey and interview questions
 Survey with children

Domains	Guiding sub-questions
General questions	<p>What is your Sex?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boy • Girl • Other (if deemed appropriate in context) <p>Where do you live?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Survey location A • Survey location B • Survey Location C <p>Do you go to school?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Always when the school is open • I'm enrolled at school, but often skip classes • I used to be enrolled in school but have stopped • I never went to school <p>How does your family situation look like?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I live with my mother, father and Brothers and ... sisters • I live in a single parent family with siblings • I live with relatives • I live in a child headed household
Roles, responsibilities and time use	<p>Do you perform any tasks/work at home?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes, can you list the tasks/work that you perform: • No <p>Do you perform any tasks/work outside your home?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes, what kind of tasks/work: • no <p>Do these tasks in and outside your home influence your possibilities to attend school?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes, I've stopped school because of these tasks/work • Yes, I've sometimes skipped classes due to these tasks • No the tasks do not influence my schooling <p>How do your task at home and work outside home differ from boys/girls (depending on the sex of the child)?</p>
Patterns of decision-making and Access to and control over resources	<p>Who decided at home if you can go to school?</p> <p>Who decides at home what tasks/work you have to perform at home?</p> <p>Who decides what tasks what tasks/work you have to do outside your home?</p>

	<p>What are the differences between boys and girls for the decisions if you can go to school and work?</p> <p>What influence do you, yourself have on the decisions regarding your school, tasks and work?</p> <p>How does your influence on going to school or work differ from children of the other sex?</p>
<p>Safety, dignity and well-being</p>	<p>What do you see as your personal biggest risks to get harmed? Think for example about physical or mental abuse, being deprived from school, friends, being in a dangerous situation for your health.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • My biggest risks at home are:.. • My biggest risks at school are.. • My biggest risks at work are:... <p>How do your personal risks differ from those of the opposite sex?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At home the risks of children of the opposite sex are.. • At school the risks of children of the opposite sex are.... • At work the risks of children of the opposite sex are.... <p>Have you ever experienced any of the harmful examples that you just shared?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes • No <p>What would you/did you do if you when you were feeling harmed?</p> <p>What can be done better to support that feel harmed?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For all children... • For girls specifically.. • For boys specifically....
<p>Social norms, beliefs and practices</p>	<p>What opinions do your family and friends have about education for boys and girls?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For boys education is.... • For girls education is.. <p>What opinions do your family and friends have about household tasks and work for boys and girls?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For boys the following household task and work are important because: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For girls the following household task and work are important because: <p>To close Let's play "Three wishes game": "If you had three wishes about your future, what would they be?" (This question will be analysed from a gender lens of how each sex think of it based on their families' backgrounds and gender norms)</p>

FGDs with parents

Overall FGD details:

Location of FGD:

Number of participating parents:

Father or mother group:

Domains	Guiding sub-questions
Opening questions	<p><i>In this discussion we are going to talk about school, household tasks and work of your children and particularly explore possible differences between your sons and daughters. To start with:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Please raise your hand if your children between (7-17) are currently going to school. (note number) • Please raise your hand if your children (7-17) are currently working outside your home. (note number) • Please raise your hand if your children (7-17) are currently both working outside your home and going to school (note number)
Roles, responsibilities and time use	<p><i>We will talk about the responsibilities of your children within and outside of your home</i></p> <p><u>Responsibilities for household chores/tasks:</u></p> <p>What responsibilities for household chores do your boys and girls have at home?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boys usually do: • Girls usually do: <p>Who spends the most time of household chores, boys or girls?</p> <p>To what extent do household chores influence the possibilities to attend school and do school work?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For boys: • For Girls: <p><u>Responsibilities at work:</u></p> <p>What work do boys and girls normally do outside the household:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Boys usually do: ○ Girls usually do: <p>Who spends the most time work outside the household, boys or girls?</p> <p>To what extent does work outside the household influence the possibilities to attend school and do school work?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For Boys: • For Girls:
Patterns of decision-making	<p><i>Next, we will be talking about who within your household is taking decisions about school, household and work for your children:</i></p>

	<p>Who decides within your home if boys and girls can go to school?</p> <p>What influences the decision for boys and girls to stop with school?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For girls the decision to stop school is influence by: • For boys the decision to stop school is influenced by: <p>Who decides if boys and girls have to perform tasks in the house?</p> <p>Who decides if boys and girls have to work outside of your house?</p> <p>What influences the decision if a boy or girl has to perform household tasks or conduct external work?</p>
<p>Access to and control over resources</p>	<p><i>Ensuring school and work opportunities for your children requires resources, for example, money, land and connections. Next, we will talk about what resources are required to access school and work and who within you family is responsible to manage those resources</i></p> <p>What resources (such as money, land, connections) influence the decision if a boy or girl can go to school or acquire a job?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resources needed to go to school: • Resources needed to acquire a job: <p>Who in your family and community is responsible to decide on the use of the assets and resources needed to go to school or get a job?</p>
<p>Safety, dignity and well-being</p> <p>(Also touches on Laws & policies)</p>	<p><i>At school, work and at home children may face certain risks for their health and will being. Think for example about physical or mental abuse, being deprived from school, friends, being in a dangerous situation for their health. Next, we will talk about the risks for your of being harmed:</i></p> <p>For boys the biggest risks to get harmed are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For boys the biggest risks at school are: • For boys the biggest risks at work are: • For boys the biggest risks at home are: <p>For girls the biggest risks to get harmed are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For boys the biggest risks at school are: • For boys the biggest risks at work are: • For boys the biggest risks at home are: <p>What can you do if your children are being harmed?</p> <p>What can be done better to support children who get harmed?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For girls specifically... • For boys specifically.... • For all children...

<p>Social norms, beliefs and practices</p> <p>(Also touches on Laws & policies)</p>	<p><i>Finally, we will talk about what how you imagine the future of your children.</i></p> <p>How do you envision the future of your sons and daughters?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When daughters grow-up I envision that they: • When my sons grow-up I envision that they: <p>To what extend is school important to achieve the envisioned future of your children:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For Boys: • For Girls: <p>To what extend is the prospect of a job important to achieve the envisioned future</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For Boys: • For Girls: <p>Which factors in your family and community need to change to achieve your vision for your children?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For boys: • For Girls
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Questionnaire for Imams

Domains	Guiding sub-questions
<p>Social norms, beliefs and practices</p>	<p>According to you what is the position of religion about education for children?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For boys: • For girls: <p>What is the position of religion on the issue of work within or outside the household?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For boys (5 – 17) permissible work within or outside the household includes: • For girls (5 – 17) permissible work within or outside the household includes: <p>Are there interpretations (according to Sharia) that allow or oppose work within or outside the household conducted by boys and girls based on changing environment and circumstances?</p> <p>In case you observe practices regarding education and work within in your community, what do you usually do as Imam?</p> <p>What should be done more/better to address any education or work-related challenges for boys and girls in your community?</p>

Questionnaire for employers

Domains	Guiding sub-questions
Opening questions	<p><i>As a start we would like to know a bit about about the background of your business/company:</i></p> <p>What is the sector in which your business/company works?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agriculture • Retailing • Small industries/manufacturing • Services • Other: <p>How many employees do you have?</p> <p>Are there any children (up to 17) among your employees?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No • If yes, how many boys and how many girls?
Roles, responsibilities, and time use	<p>Who generally work most hours in your company / sector, boys or girls?</p> <p>What types of work do both boys and girls up to 17 usually do in your company / sector?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boys usually do: • Girls usually do:
Access to and control over resources	<p>Is there a difference in the salary received by boys and girls?</p>
Laws, policies, institutional practices	<p>What are reasons to hire boys and girls under 18 in your company / sector?</p> <p>What do you find an appropriate age for boys and girls to start working in your company/ sector?</p>
Safety, dignity and well-being	<p>Are there any difference between the types of work that you consider save to perform for boys and girls?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Save work for boys in my sector under 18 includes • Save work for girls in my sector under 18 includes <p>Are there any risks for boys and girls to get harmed when working for you/in your sector?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Specific risks for boys include: • Specific risks for girls include: <p>What do you do to alleviate those risks as company / sector?</p> <p>What can be done better to alleviate work related risks for boys and girls?</p>
Social norms, beliefs and practices	<p>What is your opinion about boys who work instead of going to school?</p> <p>What is your opinion about girls who work instead of going to school?</p>

Questionnaire for organisations

Questionnaire for organisations	
Opening questions	<p>How does your organization respond to the issue of child labour?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Which policies does your organization develop and/or implement to address child labour? • What activities does your organization implement to diminish child labour? <p>What differences in risks for child labour for boys and girls does your organization observe?</p>
Laws, policies, institutional practices	<p>To what extent do the policies and activities that you implement address child labour risks for boys and girls? (Please share examples)</p> <p>What are the challenges with policy / activity implementation to address specific child labour risks for boys and girls?</p> <p>Are there any unintended consequences of existing policies and practices (from your organization and that of others) that increase the risks for child labour for girls and boys?</p>
Social norms, beliefs and practices	<p>Which social norms contribute to the different child labour risks for boys and girls?</p> <p>How can the policies / activities that your organization implement influence these social norms?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are successes? • What are challenges?
Roles, responsibilities, and time use	<p><i>From our analysis we know that girls more often perform work in the household were they are at higher risks for abuse while boys more often work outside the household where they are more at risks for more hazardous forms of work in order to make money for their household.</i></p> <p>How may your organizations policies influence the different risks related to the roles and responsibilities of boys and girls in the household?</p> <p>What policies and activities should be implemented better to alleviate the specific risks related to the roles and responsibilities for girls and boys?</p>
Access to and control over resources & Patterns of decision-making	<p><i>From our analysis we have learned that it is often the fathers who make final decisions about a finances and issues such as access to work and education putting girls more at risks for abuse during domestic work and boys more at risks in hazardous work</i></p> <p>How may your organizations policies/practices influence the different child labour risks related to the control of resources for boys and girls?</p>

	<p>What policies and activities should be implemented better to alleviate the specific risks for girls and boys?</p>
<p>Safety, dignity and well-being</p>	<p><i>From our analysis we see that boys are more at risks for hazardous work while girls risk abuse in the domestic sphere.</i></p> <p>What protection and support mechanisms do your policies/activities put in place that can reduce risks for boys and girls?</p> <p>What can be improved in the child protection services to address specific child labour risks for boys and girls?</p>