GENDER & ADOLESCENCE: GLOBAL EVIDENCE

BASELINE REPORT SERIES

Adolescent well-being in Jordan: exploring gendered capabilities, contexts and change strategies

A synthesis report on GAGE Jordan baseline findings

Jones, N., Baird, S., Presler-Marshall, E., Małachowska, A., Kilburn, K., Abu Hamad, B., Essaid, A., Amaireh, W., Sajdi, J., Banioweda, K., Alabbadi, T., Alheiwidi, S., Ashareef, Q., Altal, S., Kharabsheh, W., Abu Taleb, H., Abu Azzam, M. and Abu Hammad, B.

October 2019

Acknowledgements

The authors wish to thank the GAGE Jordan quantitative research team based at Mindset, especially Rana Samara, Anas Al Masri, Nada Shannak and Majd Haddad; and the GAGE Jordan qualitative research team based at the Information and Research Center King Hussein Foundation, as well as Mindset and the West Asia-North Africa (WANA) Institute.

Thanks also to the team of transcribers and translators: Riyad Diab, Nadia Al Bayoumi, Laila Al Bayoumi, Ahmed Al Naouq, Ahmed Rezeq, Eman Abu Hamra, Haia Yaghi, Israa Suliman, Khulood El Sedawi, Mohammed Sbaita, Merna Alnosiry, Mostafa Ali, Nadeen Redaisy, Omar Abdelghany, Samah Saleh, Shurooq Abu Hamad, Suliman El Sous and Wafaa Nahhal.

We would also like to thank Megan Devonald and Eric Neumeister for their dedicated research assistance, and Anna Tobor, Bethelihem Gebre and Malgorzata Janusz for their keen support with coding. We also wish to thank Kathryn O'Neill, Deborah Eade and Anna Andreoli for editorial support, Jojoh Faal Sy for layout and design and Ottavia Pasta for infographic design.

We wish to gratefully acknowledge the continuous support of UNICEF Jordan staff, including their participation in the GAGE baseline validation workshops in April 2019, thoughtful reflections and feedback to the research design and findings, and support in disseminating GAGE findings to key stakeholders. In particular, we would like to thank Maureen Njoki, Kenan Madi and his team, Hideyuki Tsuruoka, Jessica Chaix, Manuel Rodriguez Pumarol, Robert Jenkins and Ettie Higgins for their ongoing support and dedication to the UNICEF and GAGE partnership. We would also like to thank the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Jordan (UNHCR) for their feedback to the research design and assistance in accessing research sites in Zaatari and Azraq Camps.

Finally, we wish to thank all the adolescents, caregivers, community leaders, service providers and government officials who generously agreed to be part of the study and provided us with rich insights into the lived experiences of adolescent girls and boys in Jordan.

Suggested citation

Jones, N., Baird, S., Presler-Marshall, E., Małachowska, A., Kilburn, K., Abu Hamad, B., Essaid, A., Amaireh, W., Sajdi, J., Banioweda, K., Alabbadi, T., Alheiwidi, S., Ashareef, Q., Altal, S., Kharabsheh, W., Abu Taleb, H., Abu Azzam, M. and Abu Hammad, B. (2019) *Adolescent well-being in Jordan: exploring gendered capabilities, contexts and change strategies*. A synthesis report on GAGE Jordan baseline findings. London: Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence.

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Abbreviations and acronyms

EMIS	Education Management Information System
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FGD	Focus group discussion
FIES	Food Insecurity Experiences Scale
GBV	Gender-based violence
GER	Gross enrolment ratio
GHQ	General Health Questionnaire
HDI	Human Development Index
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IMC	International Medical Corps
IPV	Intimate partner violence
IRC	International Rescue Committee
ITS	Informal tented settlements
JD	Jordanian dinar
JPFHS	Jordan Population and Family Health Survey
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
NGO	Non-government organisation
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
RAIS	Refugee Assistance Information System
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SIGI	Social Institutions and Gender Index
SRH	Sexual and reproductive health
TVET	Technical and vocational education and training
UMIC	Upper middle-income country
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WASH	Water, sanitation and hygiene
WFP	World Food Programme

Introduction

Situated at the crossroads of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), Jordan has a long history of hosting the region's refugees. Beginning with Palestine refugees in 1948, followed by Iraqi refugees in the 1990s and, since 2011, accepting hundreds of thousands of Syrians fleeing both drought and civil war, it is estimated that of Jordan's approximately 10 million inhabitants, 1 in 3 is a refugee. Of those, more than 2 million are Palestinian (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), 2019b), just over 660,000 are Syrian, and nearly 100,000 are from Iraq, Yemen and Sudan (UNHCR, 2019). While the country is ranked 'high' in terms of human development (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2019), Jordan has faced significant economic and social challenges in seeking to absorb its large refugee population. Its public schools, many of which are running double-shift, cannot meet demand and the country faces severe and escalating water shortages. The labour market is also struggling to keep up with the burgeoning population. It is estimated that the real unemployment rate is twice that of the officially reported rate of 15% (CIA World Factbook, 2019; World Bank, 2019b).

Jordan's refugee populations are especially vulnerable. While most Palestine refugees have been granted full citizenship, which affords them the same rights and services as other Jordanian citizens, the nearly 20% who remain living in refugee camps (especially those originally from Gaza) are legally barred from doing many types of work, which means they have a poverty rate approaching one-third (31%) (Tiltnes and Zhang, 2013; Palestinian Return Centre, 2018). Jordan's Syrian refugees – of whom approximately 85% live in urban host communities and 15% live in one of two formal camps – are in many ways even more vulnerable, despite assistance from the international community. Approximately 85% live below the Jordanian poverty line (UNHCR, 2018).

Girls and women face additional gender-related barriers, due to social norms and laws that position them as second-class citizens. The Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) ranks Jordan as '*very high*' in terms of gender inequality, and notes that women's rights within the family and access to civil liberties are particularly limited (OECD, 2019b). The World Bank (2019b) reports that women's labour force participation rates in Jordan are among the lowest in the world, while the World Economic Forum (WEF, 2018) notes that Jordan's ranking in terms of women's economic opportunity has dropped significantly – from 105th to 144th– in the past decade.

This report draws on baseline evidence from GAGE (Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence) – a unique longitudinal mixed-methods research and impact evaluation study focused on what works to support the development of adolescents' capabilities during the second decade of life (10–19 years). Recognising that the transformations that take place during adolescence are second only to those experienced in infancy and early childhood in terms of their scope and speed, and that the current generation of adolescents (1.2 billion) is the largest ever, the development community is increasingly focused on how to capitalise on the window of opportunity that is adolescence, to reap a triple dividend: for adolescents today, for their adult trajectories, and for their children.

GAGE brings to this global movement a focus on gender. Our starting point is that adolescent transitions often shape lives in highly gendered ways, due to the prevailing norms of socio-cultural environments. These norms – especially around sexuality – start to become more rigidly enforced and more consequential in early adolescence, forcing girls' and boys' trajectories to diverge as they approach adulthood. Understanding this divergence, and tailoring programme interventions accordingly, is critical if we are to fast-track social change.

Drawing on GAGE's mixed-methods research in Jordan, this report synthesises findings about adolescent girls' and boys' capabilities across six key domains: (1) education and learning; (2) health, nutrition, and sexual and reproductive health (SRH); (3) bodily integrity and freedom from violence; (4) psychosocial well-being; (5) voice and agency; and (6) economic empowerment. It concludes with policy and programming implications viewed through a multidimensional capability lens.

GAGE framing and methods

Conceptual framing

GAGE's conceptual framework takes a holistic approach that pays careful attention to the interconnectedness of what we call '*the 3 Cs*' – capabilities, contexts, and change strategies – to understand what works to support adolescent girls' and boys' development and empowerment, now and in the future (see Figure 1). This framing draws on the three components of Pawson and Tilley's (1997) approach to evaluation, which highlights the importance of outcomes, causal mechanisms and contexts. However, we tailor that approach to the specific challenges of understanding what works in improving adolescent girls' and boys' capabilities.

The first building block of our conceptual framework is capability outcomes. Championed originally by Amartya Sen (1984; 2004), and nuanced to better capture complex gender dynamics at intra-household and societal levels by Martha Nussbaum (2011) and Naila Kabeer (2003), the capabilities approach has evolved as a broad normative framework exploring the kinds of assets (economic, human, political, emotional and social) that expand the capacity of individuals to achieve valued ways of '*doing and being*'. Importantly, the approach can encompass relevant investments in girls and boys with diverse trajectories, including the most marginalised and '*hardest to reach*', such as those who have a disability or girls who are already mothers.

The second building block of our conceptual framework is context. Our 3 Cs framework situates girls and boys ecologically, recognising that their capability outcomes are highly dependent on family or household, community, state and global contexts.

The third and final building block of our conceptual framework acknowledges that girls' and boys' contextual realities can be mediated by a range of change strategies, including: empowering individual adolescents; supporting parents; engaging with men and boys on gender inequalities; sensitising community leaders; enhancing adolescent-responsive services; and addressing system-level deficits.

Research questions

Stemming from our conceptual framework, there are three sets of questions that are central to GAGE's research. They focus on:

1. adolescent experiences and the ways in which these are gendered and also differ according to adolescents' economic, social and geographical positioning;
2. the ways in which programmes and services address adolescent vulnerabilities and support the development of their full capabilities; and
3. the strengths and weaknesses of programme design and implementation in terms of ensuring programme efficacy, scale and sustainability.

At baseline, we are focusing on the first two questions. We will explore the third question in more detail during subsequent rounds of research currently scheduled for 2019/2020 and 2021/2022.

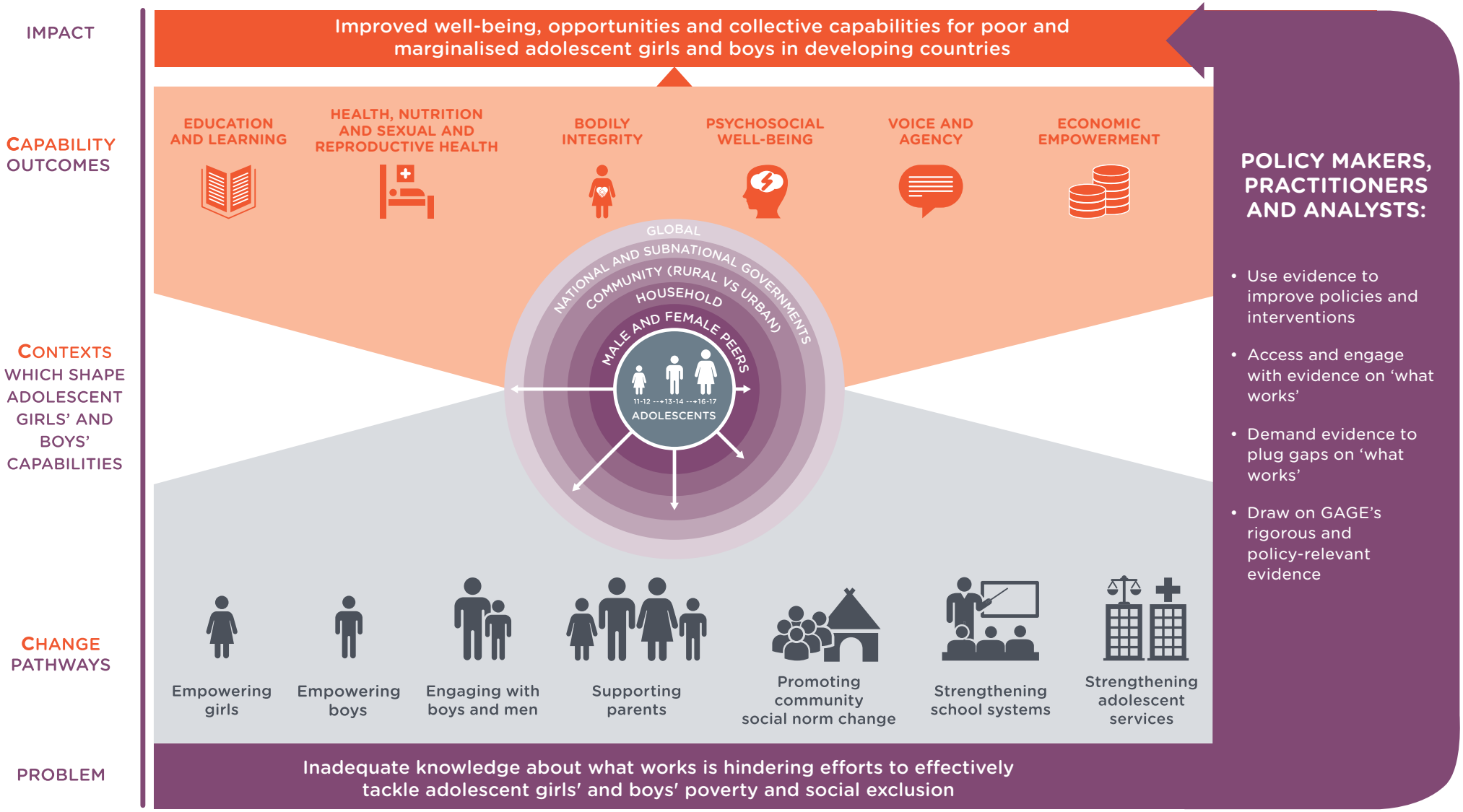
Research sample and methodology

GAGE is using both quantitative and qualitative methods to explore these research questions. Our baseline data was collected between mid-2018 and early 2019 and included a survey of nearly 4,000 adolescents and their caregivers. We also conducted in-depth individual interviews with 240 young people and their caregivers, held focus group discussions with adolescents, with parents and with community leaders, and conducted key informant interviews with service providers, governmental and non-governmental stakeholders.

Research sample overview

GAGE research sites were informed by two complementary considerations: (1) a review of existing data and evidence on adolescents and gender in Jordan, which highlighted where the evidence base is especially thin (see Presler-Marshall et al., 2017; Presler-Marshall, 2018); and (2) the design of UNICEF Jordan's integrated adolescent and youth programme for vulnerable girls and boys, through which we are exploring questions related to change

Figure 1: GAGE conceptual framework



Source: GAGE Consortium, 2019 forthcoming

strategies (as per the GAGE conceptual framework) and how they shape the development trajectories of adolescents from refugee and host communities alike.

GAGE is working in five governorates in Jordan – Amman, Mafraq, Irbid, Zarqa and Jerash – where most of the Syrian refugee population live. In order to explore the complexity of adolescent realities in refugee and host communities, we spread our sample across three very different contexts: host communities[1], informal tented settlements (ITSs), and United Nations (UN) refugee camps (see map in Annex 1). Recognising that recent attention has been focused on the Syrian population, and that Jordan's Palestinian population is increasingly invisible to development actors, we have also included the ex-Gazan Palestinian population in Jerash refugee camp, which has high rates of child marriage and is particularly disadvantaged economically and socially due to residents lacking national identity documents.

To understand the effects of UNICEF's programming – especially its Makani centres (see Annex 2) – it was important that our sample included participants and non-participants. For participants, we were able to select adolescents using data from UNICEF's Bayantati (Our Data) database. For non-participants, we undertook a two-step process. In host communities, to minimise differences between the participant and non-participant sample, we selected adolescents whose families were either receiving UNICEF's Hajati cash transfer for vulnerable households, or those who were eligible but due to resource constraints were still on the waiting list (as of mid-2018). In the camps, because there is no equivalent cash transfer programme, we relied on the Refugee Assistance Information System (RAIS) of the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) and selected adolescents from families with similar vulnerability scores.

Our final quantitative sample consisted of 4,000 adolescents, equally split by sex (girls and boys) and by age cohort (younger adolescents aged 10–12 years, and older adolescents aged 15–17 years). Because sampling was based on household vulnerability, and refugee households are more vulnerable than Jordanian households, our sample is tilted towards refugees (with 15% Jordanians) (see Table 1 and 2 for details) (Baird et al., 2018). In line with the mandate of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to '*leave no one behind*', we also deliberately over-

Table 1: Quantitative baseline sample breakdown – nodal adolescents and caregivers

	Girls			Boys			Adolescents	Female caregivers
Age	10-14	15-18	Sum	10-14	15-18	Sum	TOTAL	Sum
Formal camps	381	302	683	354	311	665	1348	1311
Informal tented settlements	86	65	151	78	79	157	308	305
Host communities	641	639	1280	633	532	1165	2445	2447
TOTAL	1108	1006	2114	1065	922	1987	4101	4063
Sub-sample of adolescents with disabilities	115	95	210	128	79	207	417	417
Sub-sample of married / divorced adolescents	4	183	187	0	3	3	190	186

Table 2: Qualitative baseline sub-sample breakdown – nodal adolescents

	Governorate	Syrian	Jordanian	Palestinian	Other
Formal camps					
	Azraq	513	0	0	0
	Zaatari	545	0	0	0
	Gaza	0	17	273	0
Informal tented settlements					
		296	6	0	6
Host communities					
		1736	619	31	59
TOTAL		3090	642	304	65

1 UNHCR (2019) reports that 84% of Syrian refugees live in host communities and 16% live in formal camps.

sampled some groups of especially marginalised young people, including those with disabilities[2] and girls who were (or had been) married. Our qualitative sample, which consisted of 240 adolescents, was purposively selected out of the larger sample (for more details on the research methods and research ethics, see Jones et al., 2018).

Research tools

In Jordan, GAGE implemented quantitative and qualitative research assessment with robust mixed methods research tools combining:

Figure 2: GAGE research tools

	Tool type	Objective	Target group
	Quantitative survey • Core respondent questionnaire		Young adolescents Older adolescents
	Quantitative survey • Adult female questionnaire		Female caregivers
	Individual interviews	In-depth interviews with adolescents (Favourite Things tool) and parents on their experiences and perspectives relating to the second decade of life	Young adolescents Older adolescents Caregivers
	Focus group discussions	Focus group discussions with adolescents and parents using participatory community mapping and vignettes to explore social norms	Older adolescents Caregivers
	Focus group discussions	Body mapping involves drawing and labelling an outline of a body, which is filled in during a creative and reflective process, producing an image representing multiple aspects of adolescent's embodied experience.	Young adolescents
	Focus group discussions	Community timelines involve adult members of the local community hand drawing a timeline and filling in key moments in the community's history to understand how these events may impact adolescent lives.	Community leaders
	Key informant interviews	Interviews with national and community level officials and service providers	Social workers Teachers School counsellors Healthcare workers Religious leaders Makani providers

2 Disability is defined using questions from the Washington Group and includes difficulty in six core functional domains (seeing, hearing, walking, self-care, cognition, and communication). Using functional difficulties resulted in two groups: a larger group of adolescents (717 individuals) who were functionally impaired if they were not using any sort of assistive device (including eye glasses) and a smaller group of individuals (417) who remained impaired even with the use of assistive devices.

1 Education and learning

Key points

- Adolescent educational aspirations are quite high – especially among Jordanians and girls – but often unrealistic because young people do not understand what concrete steps are required to turn aspirations into reality.
- Parents' educational aspirations for their adolescent children are high but are more likely to reflect gender norms and are often poorly translated into pragmatic support.
- School enrolment varies by age (younger adolescents are almost twice as likely to be enrolled as older adolescents), gender (girls fare better than boys), nationality (Syrians have the lowest enrolment rate), location (adolescents in ITSs are especially excluded) and marital status (married girls are effectively shut out of education).
- Due to overcrowding and non-child-centred pedagogies, learning outcomes are extremely low, especially for boys and among refugees.
- Transitions to secondary school, especially for refugee adolescents, are limited by gender norms that prioritise marriage and motherhood for girls, and the family provider role for boys.
- The government of Jordan, donors and NGOs are heavily invested in education. Progress has been significant although not uniform, and is at risk due to funding cuts.

While nearly all children in Jordan (95.6%) attend basic education (see Box 1), less than three-quarters of adolescents (70.7%) attend secondary school (Department of Statistics and ICF, 2019). Enrolment rates vary by nationality and by gender; where rates favour girls, it is largely due to the problems that plague boys' schools (Tweissi et al., 2014; Ripley, 2017; World Bank, 2017). The Jordan 2017–2018 Population and Family Health Survey (Department of Statistics and ICF, 2019) reports that the net attendance ratio at secondary level is 74% for Jordanians (78% of girls versus 71% of boys), but only 30% for Syrians[3] (31% of girls versus 29% of boys). Of Palestinian 15-year-olds living in formal camps, 82% of girls and 80% of boys are enrolled[4] (Tiltnes and Zhang, 2013). Notably, even students who are attending school are not necessarily learning. Learning outcomes in Jordan, as measured by the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) test, are among the world's lowest – especially for boys (OECD, 2019a).

Box 1: Schooling in Jordan

Schooling in Jordan consists of three cycles – two years of preschool, 10 years of basic education, and two years of secondary education – and is gender segregated starting in third grade. Basic education is free and compulsory for students aged 6–15 years. Secondary education is free, but not compulsory. At the end of 12th grade, students sit the Tawjihi (school leaving exam), which is required for entrance to tertiary education. In addition to government schools, which educate the majority of Jordanian students, Palestinian students who are living in host communities, and nearly all Syrian students, the United National Reliefs and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) provides education, through the end of 10th grade, for Palestine refugee children living in formal camps. The private sector is also active and educates up to 30% of all children (primarily Jordanian children, given the costs of private education).

3 The JPFHS does not disaggregate Palestinians. They are included in the category '*other*'.
4 Outside of camps, figures are markedly higher – 95% of girls versus 90% of boys (Tiltnes and Zhang, 2013).

1.1 Adolescent aspirations

Our research found that adolescent educational aspirations are overall quite high, although those of Jordanians living in host communities – especially girls – are markedly higher than those of Syrian refugees living in ITSs (see Annex 3). Approximately 82% of young survey respondents indicated that they wished to complete at least some secondary school (ranging from 93% of Jordanian girls to 60% of Syrians in ITSs) (see Figure 3). Patterns were similar for tertiary education, with 70% of all respondents (ranging from 83% of Jordanian girls to 48% of Syrians in ITSs) aspiring to attend university.

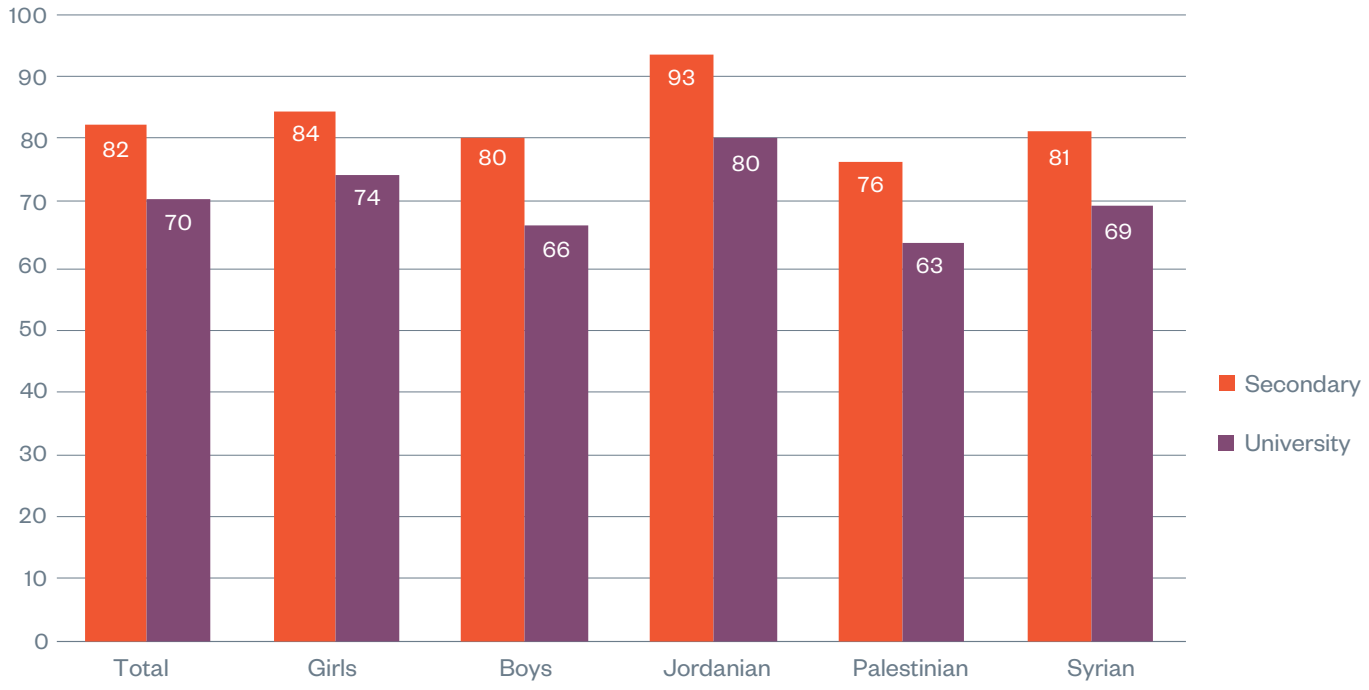
Across nationalities, we found that girls were more likely than boys to want a university education (74% versus 66%), though older married girls' aspirations for a tertiary education were lower than those of their unmarried peers (50% versus 77%). These findings echo the broader literature, which notes that boys are pushed out of school by rampant violence, pulled out of school by the lure of paid work, and discouraged from attending school by high youth unemployment (United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 2015; Abu Hamad et al., 2017; Ripley, 2017; World Bank, 2017). Interestingly, Syrian adolescents' educational aspirations were higher than those of their Palestinian peers. Differences are driven almost entirely by Palestinian boys' extremely low educational aspirations (67% want to attend at least some secondary and 48% want to attend at least some tertiary), which the literature suggests is due to their increasing disengagement from the labour market (Tiltnes and Zhang, 2013).

> All of us want to go back to school. We want to convince our parents to send us to school. This is our ambition.
>
> (An older out-of-school girl in an ITS, Jordan)

Our qualitative work highlighted that most adolescents, including most out-of-school girls, have a strong desire for education. An older out-of-school girl in an ITS explained, '*All of us want to go back to school. We want to convince our parents to send us to school. This is our ambition.*' Among adolescents who are still in school, aspirations are often professional. For example, a 16-year-old Jordanian girl explained that she wants to become a doctor because '*my grandmother was sick and she died*'. The aspirations of refugee adolescents are often similarly high. A 15-year-old Syrian boy living in Azraq Camp reported that his goal is '*to study at university, to study law, and to come back to Syria and become a lawyer*'. A 10-year-old Palestinian girl added that when she grows up, she '*must study medicine*' so that she can become a cardiologist.

However, among refugee adolescents, even the youngest sometimes recognised their limited opportunities for achieving their aspirations. A 12-year-old Syrian boy living in an ITS, when asked how he might achieve his goals, noted that '*We won't be able to achieve anything. If we were*

Figure 3: Percentage of adolescents who aspire to some level of education



in Syria, then a person could study, and they would find a job there.' A 12-year-old girl in an ITS, who would like to become a teacher despite the fact that she is not currently enrolled in school, explained that '*We move a lot, and my dad goes wherever there is work. So if we move from here, I might not be able to go to school.*'

Despite the restrictive gender norms that shape every element of girls' lives (International Rescue Committee (IRC), 2015; King Hussein Foundation, 2016; UNICEF, 2016; 2017; Abu Hamad et al., 2017), our qualitative work found that some girls not only aspire to higher education, but to non-traditional educational pathways. Perhaps unsurprisingly, this was most often the case for Jordanian girls. A 16-year-old Jordanian girl, for example, when asked what she wanted to study at university, replied, '*My first choice would be security studies. Because my teacher would always talk about them and how they investigate and do raids.*'

1.2 Parental support

Adults' educational aspirations for their younger adolescents are also high and largely mirror those of adolescents themselves. Of all women caregivers, 96% aspire for their children to attend at least some secondary school and 88% for them to attend at least some university courses. Aspirations are highest among Jordanian parents (99% and 91% respectively) and lowest among parents in ITSs (86% and 73% respectively). Reflecting the region's gender norms, while girls in Jordan complete more years of education than boys, female caregivers' aspirations for boys are slightly (but significantly) higher than for girls. For example, 89% of female caregivers want their sons to complete at least some university education, compared to 86% for daughters.

Almost without exception, Syrian and Palestinian parents who participated in our qualitative research framed their educational aspirations for their adolescent children in terms of avoiding poverty. A Syrian mother in a host community explained, '*I tell my husband, I tell him, if I had a better education, I would be working and helping you with money. After spending so much time unemployed, he now is convinced of that.*' However, while parents' aspirations for their children are high, only a small minority were able to detail how they are supporting their children's schooling. A father in an ITS, for example, pays his adolescents to attend school every day and a Palestinian father provides his adolescents with English tutors as he is desperate for them to have the opportunity to emigrate to Canada or the USA.

Critically, while adolescents often spoke of specific educational trajectories and professional aspirations, parents tended to be more circumspect about their goals

17-year-old Jordanian girl who attends school in Mafraq, Jordan

for their children, because they are more aware of the barriers. A mother in an ITS explained, '*I wish them the best education, but I can't help them. Education is expensive in Jordan*.' A Palestinian father added that because many occupations are legally proscribed for refugees, parents often prefer their children to focus on vocational training rather than advanced education: '*That's how things are here*'. Some mothers even flatly acknowledged that their aspirations for their children are irrelevant. A Syrian mother in an ITS explained, '*I hope they can continue their studies but my husband plans to let him quit school and work. Because he is very poor*.'

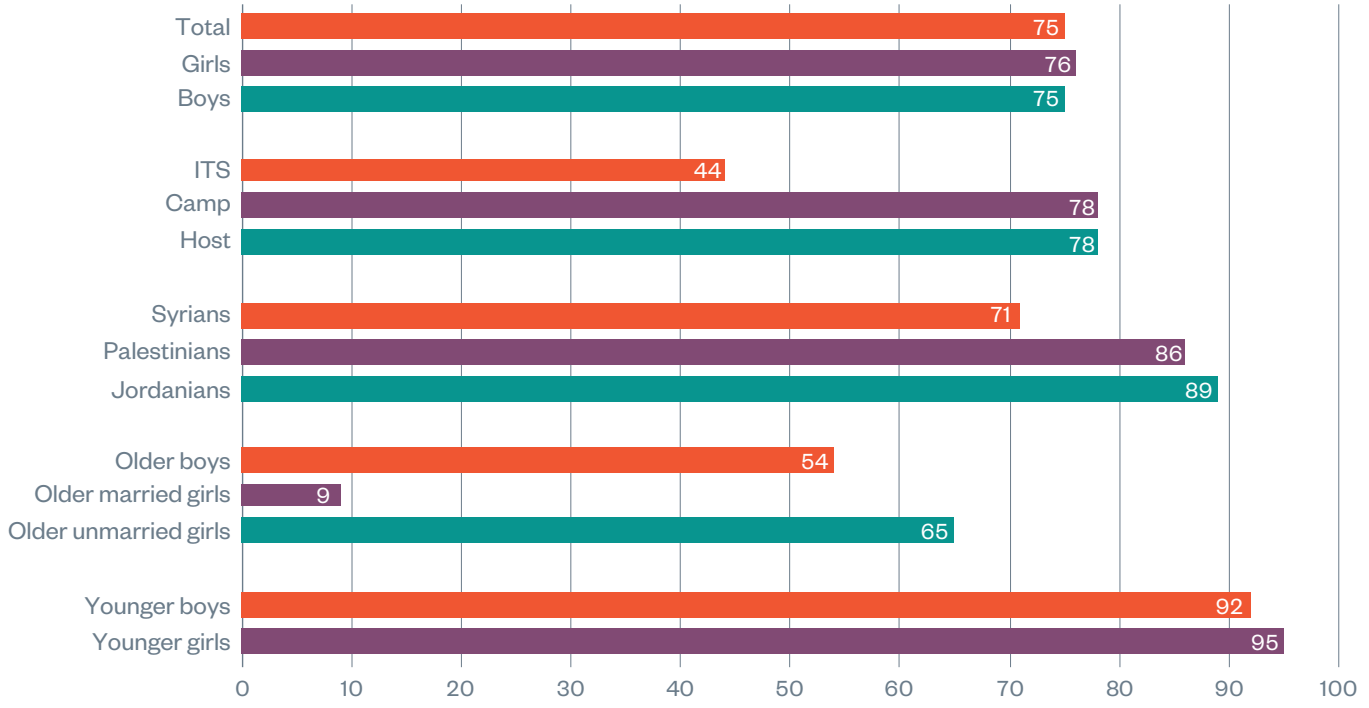
Our qualitative work also highlighted how gender norms shape parents' aspirations for their children's education. For boys, who are seen as providers, there is a tension between parents' aspirations for their education and future employment, and their immediate demands for boys' paid labour. For girls, there is a tension between upholding gender norms – and protecting girls from them. Several Syrian fathers, for example, explained that educating girls is largely pointless, because after marriage '*all her degrees will go away*'. Several Palestinian mothers also said that '*getting married is better for the girls*'. Other mothers see education as a way to help their daughters avoid child marriage and early motherhood. A 15-year-old girl living in Azraq reported, '*My mum was married twice, once at 14 and a second time at 18 years old and she encourages me not to get married young and to finish my education – based on her own experience*'.

> My mum was married twice ... and she encourages me not to get married young and to finish my education – based on her own experience.
>
> (A 15-year-old girl living in Azraq)

1.3 Access to quality education

In line with existent evidence, our survey found that adolescents' access to formal and informal education varies by age, gender, nationality and location. Overall, 75% of the young people in our study are enrolled in school. Younger adolescents (aged 10–12) are far more likely to be enrolled than older adolescents (aged 15–17) (94% versus 54%), with younger girls slightly advantaged over their male peers (95% versus 92%) and older unmarried girls[5] significantly advantaged over older boys (65% versus 54%) (see Figure 4). Jordanians (89%) are more likely to be enrolled than Palestinians (86%) and Syrians (71%), with adolescents living in ITSs (44%; overwhelmingly Syrian) the least likely

Figure 4: Percentage of girls and boys enrolled in school, by gender, location, nationality and marital status



5 Of the married adolescents in our sample, nearly all are older girls.

to be attending school. Married girls are almost entirely shut out of education – only 9% are enrolled. Interestingly, enrolment figures in our sample do not vary by disability status, although our qualitative research – which highlighted transport barriers, poorly adapted school infrastructure and stigma (see Box 2) – suggests that this is most likely because our sample does not match the population.

Unsurprisingly, given that older adolescents were of school age when the Syrian war broke out – and arrived in Jordan before schooling had been scaled up – our survey found that older adolescents are far more likely than their younger peers to have ever been out of school

> There were many problems between me and the management of the school because of not allowing her to register in the school. Even after the school confirmed that she is capable, the Ministry of Education refused to register her … so I sat on the floor in the middle of the Ministry, and told them I am not leaving.
>
> (A Jordanian mother)

Box 2: The impact of disability on education

Although the GAGE survey, which is not nationally representative, found that adolescents with disabilities are no less likely to be enrolled than adolescents without disabilities, our qualitative work highlighted the many physical and social barriers that prevent adolescents with disabilities accessing and continuing in school, especially those with more severe impairments.* For example, a 19-year-old Syrian girl with a physical impairment reported that transport problems had kept her from attending school: '*I went to school in Syria for two years and then stopped due to transport problems … Here, I have never been … I know only how to write my name.*' A Jordanian mother, with a 13-year-old son who is blind and a 10-year-old daughter who is deaf and blind, noted that her daughter had been denied enrolment by the Ministry of Education and was receiving an education only because she and her husband were making it happen. '*There were many problems between me and the management of the school because of not allowing her to register in the school. Even after the school confirmed that she is capable, the Ministry of Education refused to register her … so I sat on the floor in the middle of the Ministry, and told them I am not leaving … Then after a while someone from the management told us we could register her but that a parent has to stay with her. So, I go with her and my husband takes care of the other kids. But then they started to cause trouble for me by saying "you can't get in here" or "you are not supposed to be here" … We had many problems with the school.*'

Survey results reinforced our qualitative findings on learning outcomes and participation. Only 33% of adolescents with disabilities can read a simple story or perform subtraction with borrowing (versus 48% and 41% respectively for adolescents without disabilities). Furthermore, adolescents with disabilities are 23% less likely to hold a leadership position at school than those without disabilities (30% versus 39%). Our qualitative work suggests that this is largely because those with disabilities are seen as less capable. Mothers in our qualitative research reported that they sometimes felt that their children were invisible to teachers, who overlooked even their greater needs for physical safety. For example, the mother of an 11-year-old boy who is deaf reported that she was very concerned that his cochlear implant might be damaged: '*The kids with disabilities were playing in the same playground as the youth, so they were in danger. There was no care at all. The cochlear was transplanted for my son through an operation in his head, and we paid thousands of dinar, so I didn't want to put him at risk of falling or being beaten by other students. So, I wanted to move him out of this school.*'

Our research found that there can also be barriers to informal education for adolescents with disabilities. For example, many such adolescents had never heard of Makani centres, despite the fact that these are ostensibly aimed at the most vulnerable children and adolescents and have a mandate to include those with disabilities. Other adolescents with disabilities had been deliberately excluded because centres could not accommodate their needs. The mother of a girl with a physical impairment explained, '*I registered all three of my children but they only called back about places for my two daughters without disabilities, not my daughter in the wheelchair. I asked about her again but they said there were no classes suited to her.*'

* *UNESCO (2018) reports that in Jordan in 2013, 99.5% of young people aged 15–29 years with no disability had ever attended school. Among young people with disability, the comparable figure was 89.2%.*

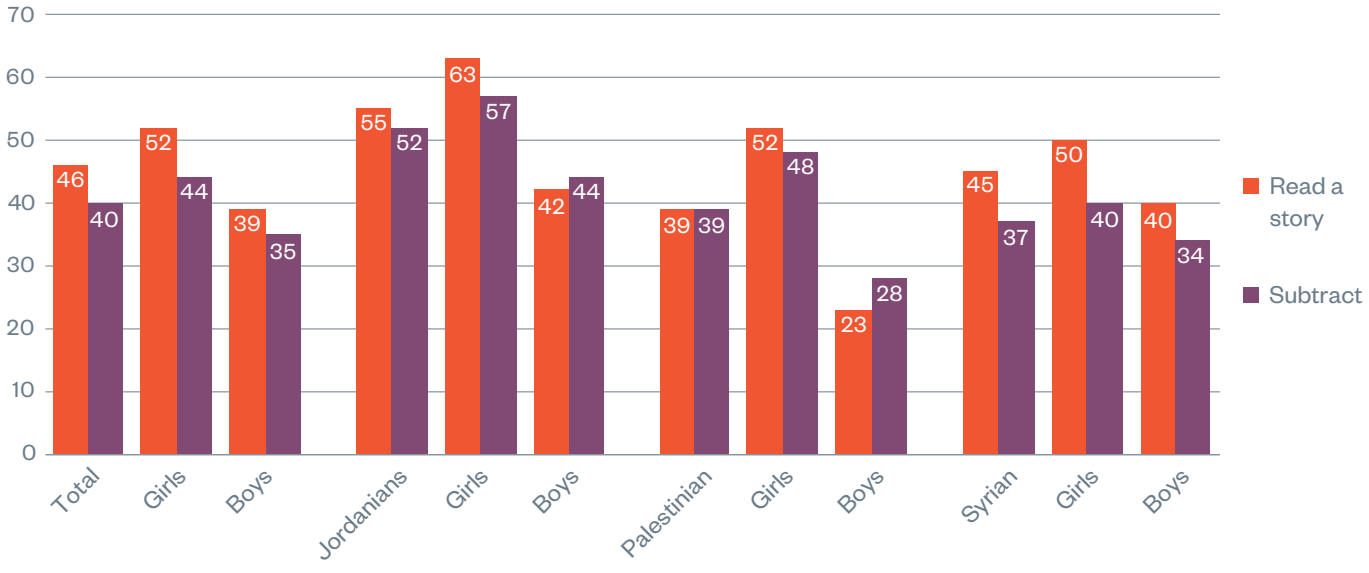
for more than three months (26% versus 7% across nationalities). Indeed, our qualitative work highlighted that many (though hardly all) of the existing enrolment issues for older Syrian adolescents are a legacy from the years before double-shift schools were taken to scale and documentation requirements largely abolished. A father in Zaatari Camp, whose daughter is two years too old for her grade, explained that '*when we came here there weren't schools so her education was delayed*'. Since children who are more than three years too old for their grade are not allowed in formal education, the older adolescents who lost the most years of schooling soon after the onset of the Syrian crisis sometimes still find the pathways to learning blocked. A Syrian girl in a host community explained that she has been waiting for years for the Ministry of Education to '*create a school for the dropouts*'.

Our qualitative research found that even outside of legacy impacts, many adolescents – especially those who are refugees – face insurmountable barriers to education. Barriers are highest for those living in ITSs and for older adolescents, and they are also deeply gendered. For girls, in line with previous research, barriers derive from their parents' limited commitment to formal education (especially in ITSs), concerns about safety, and child marriage (IRC, 2015; King Hussein Foundation, 2016; UNICEF, 2016; 2017; Abu Hamad et al., 2017). An older girl in an ITS noted, '*they told me that I can write and read, so no need for school*'. A mother from Zaatari Camp added, '*I swear to God, her father married her, made her leave eighth grade … her first day of 16 years, because of the verbal harassment of her peers*'. For boys, and also in line with previous research, the biggest barriers to education are the need to obtain paid work, and endemic school violence (Tweissi et al., 2014; Human Rights Watch (HRW), 2016; Abu Hamad et al., 2017; UNICEF, 2016; 2017). A 15-year-old Syrian boy living in a host community noted that his parents '*even wanted me to pay for the whole house*'. Out-of-school Jordanian boys – few of whom are expected to contribute to household income – noted that they had left school because they '*felt bored*'.

Our research echoes the evidence base, which has found that learning outcomes for adolescents in Jordan are among the lowest in the OECD[6] (OECD, 2019a), and suggests that while adolescents' access to education is improving over time, access to quality education still lags. This is especially the case for boys, who are taught after third grade by male teachers – identified by previous research as frequently uninspired (Tweissi et al., 2014; Ripley, 2017; World Bank, 2017) – and for those living in Azraq Camp and ITSs. Our survey, which included a brief test of literacy and numeracy, found that Jordanians outperform refugees (see Figure 5). Across age groups and genders, 55% of Jordanians were able to read a simple

> They told me that I can write and read, so no need for school.
>
> (An older girl in an ITS)

Figure 5: Learning outcomes by gender and nationality



6 In 2015, out of 69 ranked countries, Jordan was 63rd for reading and math and 60th for science (OECD, 2019a).

story (written at the second-grade level), compared with 45% of Syrians and only 39% of Palestinians. Similarly, while 52% of Jordanians could perform double-digit subtraction with borrowing, only 39% of Palestinians and 37% of Syrians could do so. As expected (given national patterns), across nationalities and both age groups, girls outscore boys. Of all GAGE adolescents, over half of girls (52%) are able to read a story, whereas only 39% of boys are able to do so. Likewise, while 44% of girls can perform subtraction, only 35% of boys can do so. Learning outcomes are particularly poor for adolescents living in ITSs (21% can read a story and 20% can subtract) and those living in Azraq Camp (25% and 28% respectively) (see Annex 3).

Our qualitative work explored the reasons behind young people's poor learning outcomes. In Azraq, adults blamed overcrowding. A mother from Azraq Camp explained: '*They attend school but they do not learn anything … This is because of chaos, large number of kids and intermingling*.' An 18-year-old girl from Azraq, who previously lived in Zaatari, added that the teachers in that camp are not effective: '*education in Zaatari Camp is better than here. Because there, teachers used to teach us well and help us understand the lessons. Here, on the contrary, they don't*.' In host communities, Syrian parents noted that their children lag behind Jordanian children, whose parents can afford to '*assign a private teacher for every subject*'.

While Palestinian parents generally spoke quite positively of UNRWA schools, which outperform government and private schools on national examinations (UNRWA, 2019a), our survey results make it clear that teachers are not reaching boys in Gaza Camp. As we discuss in more detail below, this is perhaps partly due to disproportionate levels of poverty and social exclusion among ex-Gazan Palestinian refugees and partly related to concerns about school violence. Nearly 58% of adolescent boys who completed our survey (compared to 25% of adolescent girls) reported having experienced corporal punishment at school, and there are also high levels of peer violence (46% for boys versus 38% for girls).

> My brothers swore that I couldn't continue [school] unless I wear [a full face veil]
>
> (A 15-year-old Palestinian girl)

1.4 Support for educational transitions

As noted earlier, and reflecting national statistics, older adolescents in our sample – particularly refugees – are far more likely to be out of school than their younger peers (46% versus 6%). Our qualitative work found that in most cases this is due to restrictive gender norms (for girls) and the need to work (for boys). In Azraq, where many families are particularly conservative, older girls noted that the dropout rate across grades is extreme, especially for girls: '*The girls get married young, or due to custom and traditions, so their parents don't allow them to continue education … In 6th grade you have four classes then they gradually decrease until they reach one class in the 10th, 11th and 12th grade … The boys are more. The 10th grade has three classes per grade*.' Custom also restricts Palestinian girls' access to secondary school. For example, a 15-year-old girl reported that her brothers control her older sister's continued school attendance. She is allowed to attend only if she wears a full-face veil. '*My brothers swore that she wouldn't continue unless she wears it*.'

Adolescents in host communities also observed that secondary schools can be more rigid and violent. A 16-year-old Syrian girl observed, '*The primary school differs a lot. It is indescribable with 1,000-degree difference. The school manager of the primary school was so kind. She listened to us. She did not punish us. Here, if you speak just a word, she punishes us even in the morning at the queue*.' Other Syrian adolescents noted that some secondary schools continue to deny Syrians permission to attend, leaving them to either drop out or find their own transport to more distant schools.

Support for tertiary education is still more limited, especially for Palestinian[7] and Syrian adolescents. The former have access to a limited set of university programmes, due to '*discrimination between those who hold the national number and those who don't*' (Palestinian boy), and costs are prohibitive for all non-Jordanian families. A father in Zaatari Camp noted that although '*in 2018, 267 students succeeded in Tawjihi*[8] *… only five entered university*', because their scores were high enough to be given an international scholarship. We also found

7 Palestinian students without a national identification number pay twice the fees to attend university as those with a number (Dowling et al., 2018).

8 The Tawjihi is the exam students take at the end of secondary school and is required for university admission.

evidence that for some girls, access to tertiary education may be decreasing due to parents' increased concerns about their security. As a Palestinian father noted, '*Our time is different from the past … Sedition has increased. I will keep them [my daughters] in school until the 10th grade or maybe for the secondary stage because the secondary school is close to my house. But that is it. If you go to a girls' school, you will find young males there. We feel worried about our females.*'

1.5 Change strategies

While the availability of programming has been highly volatile, due to fluctuations in funding and the number of actors involved, the Government of Jordan, donors and non-government organisations (NGOs) have been – and continue to be – heavily invested in supporting education in the country. Compared with Turkey, which is also hosting very high numbers of Syrian refugees, the proportion of Syrian children aged 5–17 years in Jordan who are out of school is relatively low (37% versus 47%) and is equal to the proportion of Syrian children out of school in Lebanon (KidsRights, 2018). Government schools are free to all students and have, since 2017, required relatively little documentation in order to register. Hundreds of schools also run double shifts, typically with Jordanian (and Palestinian) students attending in the mornings and Syrian students in the afternoon. Some children who were out of school for one or two years are combining grades, doing two a year, to help them catch up with their peers.

UN agencies are also active. UNRWA is providing education to 120,000 Palestinian students living in formal camps – albeit with a budget that has seen particularly severe cuts. UNICEF is currently providing a few thousand of the poorest families with a labelled cash transfer (Hajati), to encourage parents to invest in education (see Box 14 in Chapter 6, 'Economic empowerment'), and is offering an array of learning support services through its Makani programme, which appears to be bringing significant results (see Box 3).

Box 3: The impact of disability on education

The provision of learning support is one of the core pillars of UNICEF's Makani programme. It not only provides children with after-school tutorials, but also helps out-of-school children enrol and catch up, and is working with partners to provide transport to ensure that parental concerns about safety do not preclude their children's schooling. Our baseline research found significant differences in both enrolment and learning outcomes between Makani participants and non-participants, suggesting that UNICEF's efforts may be paying off.

For example, our survey found that older boys who have ever participated in Makani are 48% more likely to be enrolled than non-participants (67% versus 45%). They are also 34% more likely to be able to subtract (41% versus 31%). For older girls, the enrolment difference between participants and non-participants is 50% (69% versus 46%), with participant girls also 33% more likely to hold a leadership position at school (30% versus 23%), perhaps because of the improved communication skills that Makani fosters (see Chapter 5).

Our qualitative work highlights that provision of transport to school accounts for part of the positive dividends, as do proactive referrals to formal schooling. As one programme implementer (Mateen) at an informal tented settlement explained, '*We receive children who don't go to school and rehabilitate them so they can return to schools, their natural places*'. Another implementer (Islamic Center Charity Society) from a host community added that Makani has '*clear results on [student] behaviour*,' helping adolescents '*to learn and to exchange information with friends*'.

We also found some evidence of synergies between the Hajati cash transfer and the Makani programme, in that older boys who receive both (11%) are more likely to be enrolled in non-formal education than those who receive either Hajati (3%) or Makani (10%) alone. Similarly, for younger girls, those benefiting from both programmes (65%) were more likely to be able to subtract than those benefiting from either Hajati (40%) or Makani alone (52%).

2 Bodily integrity and freedom from violence

Key points

- Age-based violence – perpetrators by family members, teachers and peers – is common in Jordan, with boys more at risk than girls due to gender norms.
- Most girls experience sexual harassment – especially as they travel to and from school – and may be blamed for inviting it.
- Child marriage is common among Jordan's refugee populations, where it is seen as a way to protect girls' sexual purity – and family honour.
- Although many actors are involved in supporting adolescents' right to bodily integrity, impacts are generally limited because violence against children is normalised and seen as a private concern, and because NGO-led programming is rarely at scale or sustained.

Adolescents living in Jordan face an array of threats to their bodily integrity, some of which are age-related. For example, the most recent Jordan Population and Family Health Survey (JPFHS) (Department of Statistics and ICF, 2019) reports that more than three-quarters of children aged 10–14 years have experienced violent discipline at home in the past month, with more than half experiencing physical punishment and more than a tenth experiencing severe physical punishment[9]. Research has also found that violent discipline at school is endemic, with Syrian refugees all too regularly bearing the brunt (UNICEF, 2016; Krafft et al., 2018). Risks to adolescents are, however, deeply gendered: while boys are more at risk than girls for physical violence, especially from teachers and peers, girls are at risk of child marriage and sexual- and gender-based violence (IRC, 2015; USAID, 2015; Abu Hamad et al., 2017; UNICEF, 2016; 2017). Refugee girls are at the highest risk of the former. The JPFHS reports that of women aged 20–24 years, 8% of Jordanians but 37% of Syrians were married by age 18 (Department of Statistics and ICF, 2019). Tiltnes and Zhang (2013) report that just under 20% of Palestinian women had married as children. Notably, Jordanian law stipulates that marriage before age 18 years is illegal without the permission of religious courts.

2.1 Age-based violence

At home

GAGE baseline research found that despite increasing recognition that '*screaming and shouting at the child is not a good solution*' (mother, Azraq Camp), age-based violence at home, at school and in the community is common in Jordan. Of the adolescents who completed our survey, 49% had experienced violence at home. Jordanian adolescents (62%) were more likely than their Palestinian (54%) and Syrian (46%) peers to report experiencing violence at home, probably due to refugee groups' under-reporting, which may be linked to fear (of the authorities) or the normalisation of violence. Although a minority of adolescents reported that their parents never hit them, and use only verbal forms of discipline, other adolescents consider violence so normal that when they claim they are not beaten at home, they then clarify that they get only '*ordinary beatings … but not a real beating*' (16-year-old Jordanian girl). Echoing the JPFHS, after accounting for sample differences[10] and presumed under-reporting on the

> Screaming and shouting at the child is not a good solution.
>
> (A mother, Azraq Camp)

9 These results are not further disaggregated by nationality and gender in the JPFHS.
10 The JPFHS sample is primarily Jordanian and the GAGE sample is primarily Syrian.

part of refugee populations, 37% of mothers who took part in the GAGE research admitted to using physical discipline in the past month – and 8% admitted to severely beating their adolescent child within that same timeframe. '*I have no solution except beating them. I like beating … it is like emptying and a release*', explained one Syrian mother in a host community.

Also in line with previous evidence, our survey found that boys are more likely to experience violence at home than girls (52% versus 47%). Differences between boys and girls were particularly pronounced among the younger cohort (56% versus 47%). Our qualitative work highlighted that boys are not only more likely to experience violent discipline, they experience discipline that is more violent than that experienced by girls because their parents often view them as intractable, whereas parents see girls as compliant. A Syrian mother in a host community explained, '*I do not beat my daughter because this will affect her but when I beat my son, he will be better. Girls can hear the speech but you must hit boys in order for them to obey.*' When girls are beaten, it is most often because they have contravened gender norms. A Palestinian mother reported: '*My daughter once visited her friends without telling me, and I beat her harshly. And there is another girl in the area who had an affair with one of the boys. If my daughter talked to her I would beat my daughter. Because she might ruin my daughter's future, the future that I hope for her.*' Girls added that beatings are frequently administered not by their parents, but by their older brothers, who appoint themselves as guardians of family honour. A 14-year-old Syrian girl living in Mafraq reported that when she went out without permission, '*my brother beat me with a stick or iron stick, with a hose, they punished me, and they locked me in the room.*'

At school

Echoing findings from previous research, our survey found that not only is violence at school endemic (Abu Hamad et al., 2017; UNICEF, 2016; 2017), but it has also become normalised. While over 40% of young people report having experienced corporal punishment administered by teachers, 94% feel safe at school most of the time. Boys are twice as likely to experience violence than girls (58% and 25% respectively) and Jordanians (45%) and Palestinians (46%) are more at risk than Syrians (39%). The latter is again presumably due to under-reporting driven by fear on the part of Syrians – something that is underscored by the fact that students in Zaatari Camp report more violence than those in Azraq (43% versus 31%), fear of detention and deportation may play a role in silencing complaints in Azraq in particular due to the higher surveillance that refugees face there. In addition, Azraq inhabitants are likely to be particularly reticent due to the fact that nearly half of the camp population was forcibly relocated to Azraq from other locations in Jordan following problems with law enforcement authorities (Jordan INGO Forum (JIF), 2018). Participants in our qualitative research reported that adolescents are hit with '*sticks or a notebook*' (younger boy, ITS) and are left '*standing under the sun*' (Jordanian mother). They noted that punishments are meted out not only for misbehaviour, but also for not knowing '*how to write on the board*' (younger boy, ITS), '*if the uniform was ripped*' (Syrian mother in a host community), and for being late or absent from school when they have to undertake domestic and care-related tasks for their parents. In line with previous research, which found that 60% of Syrian refugees leave school due to violence (Krafft et al., 2018), we found that for boys especially, violence drives them to leave school. As an older Palestinian boy explained, '*I dropped out of school because they hit us*'.

By peers

As noted by UNICEF (2016; 2017), adolescents are also at high risk of bullying. Overall, 42% of young people in our sample reported that they had experienced peer violence in the past year. Boys are at greater risk than girls (46% versus 38%), younger adolescents are at greater risk than older adolescents (49% versus 33%), and those with disabilities are at greater risk than those without (53% versus 40%). The mother of an 11-year-old boy who is

> I do not beat my daughter because this will affect her but when I beat my son, he will be better. Girls can hear the speech but you must hit boys in order for them to obey.
>
> (A Syrian mother in a host community)

> They were calling him deaf, speechless, and unable to walk. You know how are our community and their perception about the disabled....
>
> (A mother of an 11-year-old boy who is deaf)

deafexplained that her son endures so much taunting when he leaves home that the family is looking to move: '*They were calling him deaf, speechless, and unable to walk. You know how are our community and their perception about the disabled... So, I wanted to move to another house*.'

Our qualitative research found that while most bullying is verbal – albeit often relentless for the Syrian young people who tend to face the brunt of host-community resentment towards the changes brought about by the refugee crisis (Abu Hamad et al., 2017; UNICEF, 2016; 2017) – physical violence is also common and can be quite severe. A mother in Azraq reported that her son '*had a rupture in his stomach*' due to being beaten up, while a 10-year-old Syrian boy in a host community noted that many of the older boys who lie in wait to beat children up on their way to school carry knives: they '*beat us with the blade*'. Peer violence appears particularly severe in Gaza Camp, where a 17-year-old boy noted that '*this street has witnessed gun shooting several times*' and a mother reported that her younger adolescent son had been hit with stones at school by children who then stole his lunch because they were hungry.

In the community

It should be noted that especially in host communities and in ITSs, where security is overall more lenient, our research found a pervasive fear of violence against children. Fear was most notable for girls and during night-time hours – although there were also significant differences by nationality, with Syrian students feeling less safe (84%) travelling to and from school than Jordanian and Palestinian students (90%). During the day, 90% of boys and 80% of girls reported that they felt safe in their communities, whereas at night, only 44% of boys and 19% of girls felt safe. In some cases, fear was of '*real*' threats, such as kidnapping and trafficking, and was often attributed to growing drug use. While stories were universally second-hand, both parents and adolescents reported that '*some people kidnap children because they take their body parts*' (Jordanian father). Fathers in a community norms-mapping exercise in an ITS near Amman added that fear for girls was especially high. They explained, '*The girls communicate with our relatives and neighbours only inside the camp. Outside the camp, no. If she wants to visit her friend outside the camp, I go with her or her brother goes with her. We are foreigners and we are afraid for our daughter ... From the road it is possible that she could be exposed to anyone passing by in a car ... But the boys can go wherever they want alone*.' In other cases, fear was not only virtual, but urban legend. Key informants and young adolescents alike mentioned an ostensibly popular app[11] that encourages self-harm and eventual suicide.

Support-seeking

Only half (48%) of adolescents who completed the GAGE survey reported that they knew where to seek support if they were hit. Boys, who have greater mobility, were more likely to know where to seek support than girls (49% versus 46%), and older adolescents (who have more life experience) more likely than their younger peers (55% versus 42%). Adolescents living in ITSs (35%) and Gaza Camp (38%) were particularly unlikely to know where to seek support, probably in part because their social circles are more insular. In addition, of adolescents who had been bullied, only 38% had spoken to someone about it, with girls 17% more likely than boys to have discussed bullying, despite the fact that boys are more likely to be bullied. Violence at home is especially unlikely to be reported. Only 14% of victims had ever spoken with someone about their experiences; older girls were most likely to have done so (26%), younger boys least likely (7%).

2.2 Sexual violence

Our qualitative work, echoing the limited existent evidence, found that most adolescent girls experience sexual harassment (UN Women, 2013; IRC, 2015; USAID, 2015). Boys and young men follow girls on the street and lurk outside school buildings waiting for girls to be released. They '*whistle or say dirty words*', explained a 16-year-old girl from an ITS. As a result of this harassment, girls are not only faced with increasing restrictions on their mobility, to the point that they '*can't even visit our friends during the day*' (older Syrian girl living in Marka), they are also terrified, particularly because they know that they will be blamed for '*inviting*' the abuse. A 15-year-old Syrian girl living in Zarqa reported that

> Our community is unmerciful ... If anyone violates any girls, the community thinks that the girl likes to do that, and she wanted this action.
>
> (A 15-year-old Syrian girl living in Zarqa)

11 This app is not real (see Adeane, 2019).

'*our community is unmerciful … If anyone violates any girls, the community thinks that the girl likes to do that, and she wanted this action*.' Noting that most accounts of sexual violence are second-hand, and that some adolescents only '*heard about it from Facebook and TV*' (older Syrian girl, host community), our work suggests that abduction and rape are not uncommon. We heard several incidents described in some detail from more than one respondent – all involved girls being accosted on the street by unknown drivers.

There is very little evidence on sexual violence against boys (UN Women, 2013; UNHCR, 2017). Although there are hints that it is not uncommon, because violence is believed to reflect on boys' masculinity, the topic is effectively taboo.[12] Our qualitative work uncovered several reports of young adolescent boys being sexually abused, sometimes by young men at knifepoint under the threat of death, and other times by older men after months of careful grooming.

2.3 Child marriage, intimate partner violence and gender-based violence

GAGE baseline research, echoing existent evidence, found that child marriage is common in Jordan – though less so than the social norms indicators included in our survey might suggest (see Box 4). Of the 1,010 older adolescent girls in our sample, 18% (almost exclusively Syrian) were already married. Although respondents in our qualitative research reported that girls as young as 12 sometimes marry, in line with the JPFHS (Department of Statistics and ICF, 2019), we found that most girls appear to marry at the age of 16 or 17 – when their families no longer see them as children. '*We no longer consider girls at 9th grade as a young girl*', explained a Syrian mother in a host community.

> Families want to marry their daughters quickly because they are worried about them. They want to marry their daughters to be free of their burden.
>
> (A Palestinian mother)

For Syrian girls, child marriage is not only customary (nearly half of Syrian mothers were married as children), but is seen as a way to control girls, and keep them from becoming too '*open-minded*' due to the '*influence of their friends*' (mother in a host community). For Palestinian and Syrian girls alike, marriage is considered a form of protection. As a Palestinian mother explained: '*Families want to marry their daughters quickly because they are worried about them. They worry about their exposure to drugs and violence. They want to marry their daughters to be free of their burden*.' With exceptions, and while noting that the JPFHS reports significantly lower rates, respondents reported that Syrian and Palestinian girls are married to their cousins, generally irrespective of their

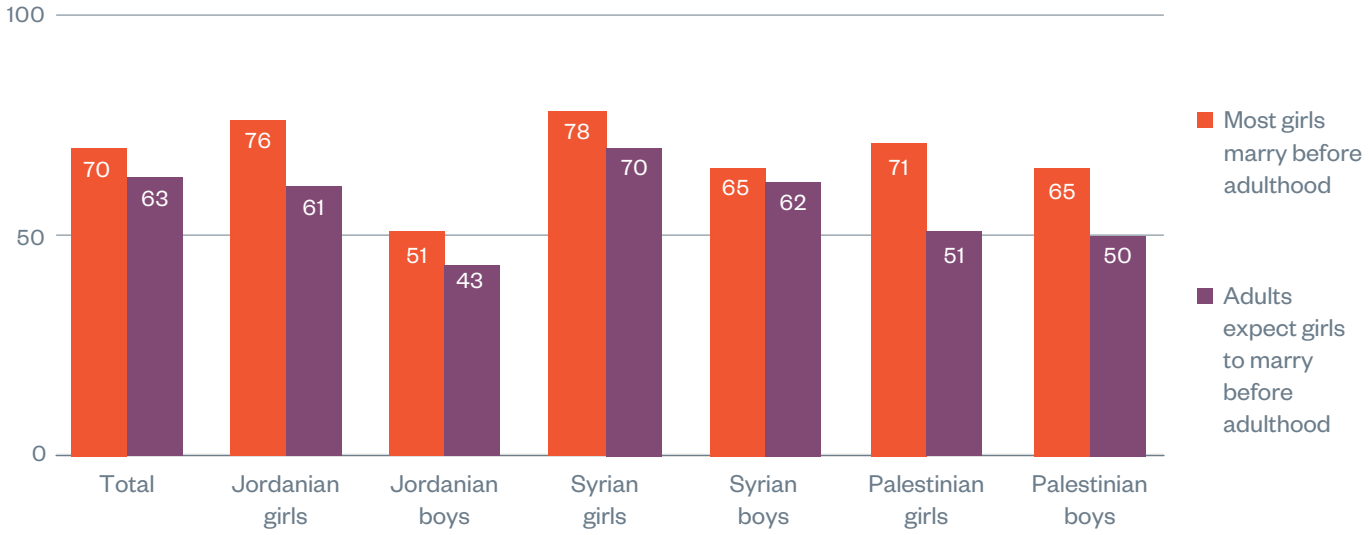
Box 4: Social norms and child marriage

There has been a great deal of effort in recent years devoted to understanding social norms and how they perpetuate harmful traditional practices such as child marriage (Bicchieri et al., 2014; Mackie et al., 2015; Bicchieri, 2016). There are two types of norms: descriptive and injunctive (which Bicchieri calls social norms). The former refers to what people believe other people in their community do, and the latter to what people think other people in their community believe ought to be done. Our survey included two questions – asked of older adolescents – aimed at capturing these norms. The first read, '*Most adolescent girls in my community marry before the legal age*'. The second read, '*Adults in my community expect adolescent girls to get married before the legal age*'.

As Figure 6 shows, most adolescents – boys and girls, and across nationalities – affirmed both norms. Interestingly, support for the descriptive norm was higher than support for the injunctive. Girls were more likely to affirm child marriage norms than boys, presumably because they are more sensitive to them as they are the ones expected to marry. Syrians are the most likely to affirm both norms. Interestingly, and speaking to the power of social norms, well over half of Jordanian adolescents report that most girls marry before legal adulthood and that most girls are expected to marry as adolescents. According to the JPFHS, the actual rate of child marriage among Jordanians is under 10%.

12 Sexual violence against boys and men is under-reported in nearly all contexts due to stigma. However, a recent survey found that at least in one MENA country (Iraq), there is reason to believe that sexual violence against boys is common, despite its invisibility (see Mohan and Ahmed, 2019).

Figure 6: Learning outcomes by gender and nationality



Box 5: Consanguineous marriage

While rates are declining, consanguineous marriage remains common in Jordan, and throughout the Middle East, mainly between cousins. Indeed, the most recent Jordan Population and Family Health Survey (JPFHS) found that 27.5% of all marriages in the country were consanguineous (Department of Statistics and ICF, 2019). The most common pattern was marriage between first cousins (accounting for 23% of all marriages and 66% of consanguineous marriages) (as cited in Islam et al., 2018). This not only has immediate ramifications for young brides, as it suggests an arranged marriage supported by the extended family, but also has longer-term repercussions, as consanguineous marriages are more likely to produce children with disabilities who require more care – and face uncertain futures.

The youngest brides are the most likely to marry a relative. According to the 2018 JPFHS, 33% of married girls aged 15–19 years are related to their husbands, compared to only 26% of women aged 20–24. Older brides are not only less likely to have arranged marriages, but are also more likely to be urban, wealthier and better educated – and thus to have a better understanding of the risks of intra-familial marriage (Islam et al., 2018). At the national level, rates of consanguineous marriage have declined significantly over recent decades, largely due to efforts to reduce cases of thalassaemia (Alswaidi and O'Brien, 2009; Saffi and Howard, 2015). In 1990, 57% of marriages were consanguineous (Islam et al., 2018).

Across all age groups (15–49 years), Syrian women are more likely to be married to relatives than Jordanian women (33% versus 27%) (Department of Statistics and ICF, 2019).

interest, and often with considerable pressure from aunts and uncles, and very little space to refuse (see Box 5). As a 17-year-old living in Azraq explained: '*Our customs and traditions stipulate that priority in marriage is for the cousin*'. An older Palestinian girl added, '*I'm disagreeing about the proposal and don't want to get married. My parents don't acknowledge that I have an opinion and that I disagree with their opinion. They don't listen to me.*' While most married girls in our research noted that they had wanted to remain unmarried and in school, a few reported genuine interest in marriage – sometimes because they thought it would improve their financial situation, sometimes because they thought it would bring them more freedom, and very occasionally because they were in love.

> We no longer consider girls at 9th grade as a young girl.
>
> (A Syrian mother in a host community)

Regardless of why girls were married, adults in our research were clear that many child marriages end in separation and eventually divorce. A father in Azraq

> Some Syrians now get married and then get divorced a month or two later, why? Because they're not mature, he can't handle the responsibility and neither can she.
>
> (A father in Azraq)

observed, '*Some Syrians now get married and then get divorced a month or two later, why? Because they're not mature, he can't handle the responsibility and neither can she*.' For girls, the consequences of child marriage do not end when the marriage is dissolved. Some are forced by their marital families to sign away their legal rights (including to children) before they are allowed to divorce. In addition, Jordanian law stipulates that if the wife initiates the divorce, she must repay the marriage payment ('*moakhar*'), which exacerbates the financial strain on their natal families. Pressure to remarry quickly can be significant. Most divorced girls reported experiencing daily stigma, including '*dirty*' language (18-year-old Syrian girl), rejection by married women who assume that divorcees '*want to take away their husbands*' (19-year-old Syrian girl), and exclusion from services and programmes that seldom mix unmarried girls with those who have been married because the latter's

> [My husband] used to pour water in my ears, because these things don't leave any mark on the outside.
>
> (A 19-year-old Syrian woman in a host community)

greater knowledge of sexual relations is perceived to threaten the '*purity*' of their unmarried peers.

While our survey found that married girls were no more likely to experience violence at home than unmarried girls – perhaps because of under-reporting and perhaps because rates of violence for unmarried girls are so high – our qualitative work echoed the national survey (JPFHS), which found that 25% of married girls had experienced violence and that 86% of violence was perpetrated by husbands (Department of Statistics and ICF, 2019). Indeed, for some of the youngest girls (who are least likely to understand what marriage entails), marriage effectively began with rape. Girls noted that intimate partner violence (IPV) can be constant and extreme. An 18-year-old young woman in an ITS explained: '*He beats me by his hand, foot, or using a stick*'. A 19-year-old Syrian young woman in a host community told how her husband ' *... used to pour water in my ears, because these things don't leave any marks on the outside*'. Some married girls also reported

17-year-old married Syrian girl with her baby in Mafraq, Jordan
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that they are beaten by their in-laws (sometimes for not becoming pregnant quickly enough) and that they are sexually assaulted by their father-in-law and brothers-in-law. Again, in line with the JPFHS, others noted that their own fathers and brothers are sometimes invited to their marital homes to beat them. A 17-year-old Syrian girl in a host community explained, '*I lived with my mother-in-law. She would ask my brother to beat me*.'

2.4 Change strategies

We found evidence that a diverse set of actors are using various change strategies to protect adolescents' right to bodily integrity – albeit often with quite limited impact. For example, participants noted that the Noor Al Hussein Foundation is working with schools and the police to stop boys from harassing female students, and that teachers who use corporal punishment can be fired by the Ministry of Education as '*this really is not supposed to happen*' (older girl, Zaatari). Unfortunately, while several parents reported having made multiple trips to their child's school – and having involved school administrators – it was not uncommon for them to be told by those administrators, '*We will continue to hit students at school*' (Syrian mother, host community).

Research participants also noted that officials are increasingly working to prevent girls under the age of 16 from marrying – refusing to register their marriages, imposing fines on parents, and increasing healthcare costs as a deterrent. Several girls who married very young reported that their families were forced to pay out of pocket for their prenatal and delivery care and that their children had been denied health insurance. A few girls also noted that they had used the formal justice system to escape abusive marriages, going to '*Family Protection … the police department … the courts and everything … with medical reports documenting the beating*'. However, most noted that justice is rarely served, as perpetrators are let off with small fines of only '*10 JDs* [Jordanian dinar] *for court fees*' (19-year-old Syrian girl, host community). UNICEF's Makani centres emerged in our research as playing a key role in supporting adolescents' rights to bodily integrity (see Box 6).

Box 6: How UNICEF's Makani programme supports adolescents' bodily integrity and freedom from violence

UNICEF's Makani programme is using multiple channels to protect children's bodily integrity, working with adolescents, parents and schools. Adolescent participants reported that they had learned that child marriage is both harmful and illegal, that there is a difference between '*comfortable touches and uncomfortable touches*' (12-year-old girl living in an ITS), that they should not call names and fight with one another, and they should '*scream well and very loud so that people hear me*' (12-year-old girl, host community) if they are approached by a stranger.

Parents mentioned parenting education classes provided by Makani centres. A Syrian mother in a host community reported, '*I benefited a lot from lectures, I was a lot nervous, I used to hit my children a lot, but now it's impossible… Beating does not help, and does not give a result. On the contrary, hurts the psychology of children.*' Makani facilitators noted that they work with schools to intervene on a case-by-case basis in the event of bullying or corporal punishment.

Although many of the differences between Makani participants and non-participants are most likely due to differences in who attends the centres, rather than to the programming itself (e.g. non-participants are more than twice as likely to be married), our survey did find evidence suggestive of impact. For example, we found that young participants are more likely to have discussed experiencing violence and to know where to seek support, while older girls are 30% more likely to know where to seek support if they experience violence. Older boy participants are 42% more likely to have talked to someone about bullying they have experienced, and younger boys are 20% more likely to know where to seek support if they experience violence.

3 Health, nutrition, and sexual and reproductive health

Key points

- While most adolescents are healthy, substance use, especially among boys, is a growing concern.
- Food insecurity remains a threat, with many adolescents reporting hunger and most reporting poor-quality diet – the latter in part due to young people's own poor choices.
- Due to social norms that render sexuality a taboo topic, few adolescents appear to receive timely information about puberty and menstruation; while girls may get support from their mothers or sisters, boys are much less likely to receive support from family members
- Adolescents' knowledge about contraception, even among married girls, is extremely limited.
- Many actors are involved in supporting healthcare in Jordan; however, shifting fiscal space, combined with adolescent developmental priorities and cultural taboos, mean that impacts are variable.

There is scant evidence on the health status of adolescents living in Jordan, since other than married girls' reproductive health outcomes (especially Syrian girls, given their higher rates of early motherhood), the health concerns of adolescents are often overshadowed by those of children under 5 years. Overall, the research suggests that adolescents are generally healthy, with the caveat that the poorest (especially Syrian refugees) continue to experience food insecurity and sanitation-related disease, and amid growing concern about obesity and substance use (Haddad et al., 2009; Ismayilova et al., 2013; Tiltnes and Zhang, 2013; Youthpolicy, 2014; Jaber et al., 2015; Abu Hamad et al., 2017; UNICEF, 2016; 2017; Nasreddine et al., 2018; Department of Statistics and ICF, 2019). Conservative gender norms have been found to amplify health concerns for both sexes, particularly in regard to substance abuse (for boys) and physical activity and the risk of pregnancy (for girls) (Abu Hamad et al., 2017).

3.1 General health

Our baseline research found that most adolescents (82%) reported that their health is (very) good, with Palestinian (90%) and Jordanian (88%) young people more likely to report good health than Syrians (80%). However, 80% also reported that they had experienced a common health symptom in the month prior to the survey. Echoing previous research, most of the illnesses that adolescents reported are the result of overcrowding and poor sanitation (Abu Hamad et al., 2017). Syrian refugee respondents explained that running water is only available one day a week in some neighbourhoods. In camps, where four or five families can share a single toilet, key informants noted that open defaecation is not uncommon, in part because toilets are occupied and also because toilets are not clean. '*We had many cases of children going outdoors instead of the toilets. There's sharing of the toilets … Some people feel the toilet is not clean, and outdoors is better*,' reported a site manager at Azraq.

For child labourers, especially in ITSs, work-related health symptoms were not uncommon. As an older Jordanian girl explained: '*There are girls who work over their ability. For example, in their work, they carry the cartons and they transfer them so that their backs and legs will pain them. Varicose veins in the legs. I mean, that's when she is standing all the day*.'

Some 14% of adolescents reported a serious illness or accident over the course of the past year, affecting far more boys than girls (17% and 11% respectively), probably due to restrictions that keep girls at home. Unsurprisingly, our qualitative work also found that boys are also more

> There are girls who work over their ability. For example, in their work, they carry the cartons and they transfer them so that their backs and legs will pain them. Varicose veins in the legs.
>
> (An older Jordanian girl)

13-year-old girl with a hearing disability in Gaza Camp, Jordan
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likely to have conflict-related disabilities. A Syrian father, whose 18-year-old son was seriously injured by gunfire before the family fled to Jordan, reflected that due to gender norms, boys' injuries are seen as more manageable than injuries to girls: '*When my son was shot, he was with 19 other people – his sisters-in-law, and their daughter, and other women and children. When he was shot, four machine guns were shooting them, and without God would have been either injured or dead. All of them. But he was the only one who was shot, I thanked God 100 times, 1,000 times that none of the women were shot. Because really, how difficult would that be. Because if we wanted to treat her, and she would need to come and go all the time, that would have been a big problem.*'

In line with previous research (Ismayilova et al. 2013; Tiltnes and Zhang, 2013; Youthpolicy.org, 2014; Jaber et al., 2015; Department of Statistics and ICF, 2019), substance use emerged in our work as a growing threat, especially for boys, and particularly Jordanian boys (who are less poor and therefore better able to afford substances). Among older adolescents, across nationalities, 5% of girls and 34% of boys had ever smoked cigarettes, and 20% of girls and 45% of boys had ever smoked a water pipe. Syrian refugee boys (33%) were less likely to smoke cigarettes than their Jordanian and Palestinian peers (45% and 44% respectively). Patterns in water pipe usage differed, with Palestinian young people the least at risk. Among boys, 33% of Palestinians, 45% of Syrians and 56% of Jordanians had smoked a water pipe. Among girls, rates were 12%, 20% and 26% respectively. Interestingly, of girls, married girls are most at risk. Looking only at older girls, those who are married are 63% more likely to have smoked cigarettes (8% versus 5%) and 35% more likely to have smoked a water pipe (25% versus 19%).

Our qualitative work also highlighted growing tobacco use among adolescents. '*More than half of the students in my class are smokers*', explained an older Syrian boy living in a host community. Some smoke cigarettes and some use hookah, with their fathers often funding their habit. Fathers in our research reported that they have few concerns about their children smoking. As one noted: '*One of my neighbours told me "your son smokes". I told him, "Let him smoke. What can I do?". He told me "smoking causes cancer". I told him "cucumber is more carcinogenic than smoking".*' While smoking is primarily a male phenomenon, some girls also admitted that they smoke, although never in front of their brothers. An older adolescent girl living in Azraq explained, '*My mum doesn't smoke hookah, but we*

> One of my neighbours told me "Your son smokes." I told him, "Let him smoke. What can I do?".
>
> (A father)

smoke hookah in front of her … We can't smoke in front of my brothers.' Drugs, ranging from marijuana to narcotic painkillers, are also plentiful. Adolescents reported that such drugs are easy to procure in the community and, at school, are sometimes sold mixed with milk or juice or in lollipops. '*They put joker in the lollipops*', explained an older Syrian boy in a host community.

While uptake of basic health services is good, barriers to quality care – especially for the poorest Syrians and those with disabilities (see Box 7) – remain high. While financial barriers are paramount, attitudes and norms also preclude care for some adolescents. Married girls reported that their husband and in-laws sometimes refuse to allocate scarce resources or allow them to see male health professionals. Syrian adolescents also complained that health workers do not always listen to their complaints. For example, a 16-year-old Syrian girl who was eventually hospitalised for severe fibrosis explained that it took months to get a diagnosis: '*My parents noticed that something was wrong but the doctors were telling them the opposite to what I told them … Dr Ahmed told my parents that I was mentally ill … that what I had was a mental illness, not physical.*'

> My parents noticed that something was wrong but the doctors were telling them the opposite to what I told them … Dr Ahmed told my parents that what I had was a mental illness, not physical.
>
> (A 16-year-old Syrian girl who was eventually hospitalised for severe fibrosis)

3.2 Nutrition

Although the World Food Programme (WFP) reports marked improvements in food security over time (WFP, 2018a,b), the average adolescent in our sample, regardless of nationality, lives in a moderately food-insecure household. This is indicated by a mean score of 4.6 (on a scale of 0-8) on the Food Insecurity Experiences Scale[13] (FIES) of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO). In line with WFP's (2018a) monitoring, those living in Zaatari (3.8/8) and Azraq (4.2/8) camps, which have school feeding and free distribution of bread, are markedly advantaged compared to those in host communities (4.8/8) and ITSs (4.9/8). Across all groups, 17% of adolescents reported being hungry at least

Box 7: Health and nutrition challenges facing adolescents with disabilities

Disability is not uncommon among adolescents living in Jordan. While Syrian adolescents are significantly more likely to have disabilities resulting from conflict-related trauma than Palestine refugees or Jordanians, both the Syrian and Palestinian populations have a relatively higher burden of congenital disability, due to high rates of consanguineous marriage (see Box 5). '*The husband is her cousin*', explained a 19-year-old Syrian girl living in a host community.

We found that adolescents with disabilities are in much poorer health than other adolescents. Only 64% report that their health is good, compared with 84% of adolescents without disabilities. Young people with disabilities are also 81% more likely to have had a serious illness or accident in the past year (23% versus 13% for adolescents without disabilities). In part, poorer health is because specialist services are rare, more expensive, and suffering from especially long backlogs. As a key informant (Mateen) from an ITS reported:

> *There was a child who is 13 years old. She was disabled and weak. She was fine when she was born. We contacted some NGOs and told them about her story. Her situation is very hard. They said they will visit her. And they did visit her after a month. And they met her, and they did nothing so far. I am depressed for her.*

However, accessing even basic services can be extremely difficult for adolescents with disabilities, given that transport and medical infrastructure are not accessible, and that some families are reluctant to seek care due to fears of stigma from the community and from service providers.

Adolescents with disabilities are also more likely to live in food-insecure households. Not only do they score higher on the Food and Agriculture Organization's (FAO) Food Insecurity Experiences Scale (FIES) (5.3 versus 4.5/8), they are 78% more likely to report being hungry in the past month (28% versus 16%). This is presumably due to the higher costs incurred by the families of children or adolescents with disabilities, which leaves less money to buy food.

13 The FIES is a measure of access to food. It consists of eight yes/no questions. The questions focus on self-reported, food-related behaviours and experiences associated with increasing difficulties in accessing food due to resource constraints. (http://www.fao.org/3/a-bl354e.pdf)/.

> If there is a coupon, there will be food. If the coupon is finished, there is no food at all. My children eat only boiled potatoes … We only taste the fruit from the coupon and also the meat.
>
> (A Syrian mother in an ITS)

once in the past four weeks, with no gender differences or differences between nationalities. Young people living in ITSs, however, are markedly more disadvantaged than those living in host communities and especially camps (with 22% reported having been hungry at least once in the past four weeks, compared to 19% and 12% in host communities and camps respectively).

Our qualitative research found that diets are often of poor quality. Despite food support provided by WFP and UNRWA (see 'Change Strategies' later in this section as well as Box 14 in Chapter 6, 'Economic empowerment'), many households, particularly Syrian and Palestinian refugees, are subsisting primarily on starches, with proteins and micronutrients (especially iron) quite limited. A Syrian mother in an ITS explained, '*I mean, if there is a coupon, there will be food. If the coupon is finished, there is no food at all. My children eat only boiled potatoes … We only taste the fruit from the coupon and also the meat.*' Poor diet quality is reflected, according to healthcare providers, in high rates of anaemia[14], especially among pregnant girls and women. A health worker in Zaatari reported, '*Most of them [young mothers] suffer from iron deficiency, because she has two challenges: the first that she is pregnant and the other that she is still developing*'.

> I used to play football… Then they started convincing my mum to change her mind, until she made me stop playing.
>
> (A 16-year-old Syrian girl living in Zaatari Camp)

For adolescents, household food insecurity is amplified by age-related food preferences that are enabled by the '*nutrition transformation*' that has left 70% of adult Jordanians overweight and 8% of adolescent boys and 3% of adolescent girls obese (Haddad et al., 2009; Mokdad et al., 2014; Nasreddine et al., 2018). Many adolescents in our study, especially in host communities, reported regularly spending their pocket money on crisps and biscuits (see also Haddad et al., 2009). Although their mothers prepared them traditional food, their fathers talked to them about the juice being unhealthy, and their teachers at school and Makani counselled them to eat brown bread and vegetables, adolescents admitted that they sometimes sold their sandwiches at school for extra money to spend in the canteen, where there seem to be few healthy options. Adult

14 The JPFHS distinguishes between mild, moderate and severe anaemia and reports that while 43% of girls 15-19 have any anaemia, only 4.5% have moderate or severe anaemia.

Traditional healer in Jordan
© Nathalie Bertrams / GAGE 2019

> I did not tell her about the period, this generation is taught by themselves, they teach each other. They know more than me.
>
> (A Syrian mother living in an ITS)

> When I have my period, I would have my daughter help me bring the pads and so on … I do that so she could get an idea about it.
>
> (A Palestinian mother of an adolescent girl)

respondents in our research reported that dietary shifts are resulting in rising rates of obesity, diabetes and tooth decay.

Gender norms that allow girls and women little control over how money is spent also shape nutritional behaviours. For example, an 18-year-old divorced Syrian woman living in a host community reported that her husband spent half his income on cigarettes, leaving them with nothing but bread to eat: '*Two liras for a pack of cigarettes, and two left … What can you do with two liras? Bread? What will we eat with the bread? I have nothing at home.*'

Exacerbating shifts in diet are adolescents' extremely low levels of healthy physical exercise, with girls often the least physically active (see also King Hussein Foundation, 2016). Although NGOs are providing some children with bicycles and others with gymnastics classes, and schools provide some physical education programmes, restrictive gender norms leave post-pubescent girls almost entirely excluded from opportunities to take exercise. As a 16-year-old Syrian girl living in Zaatari Camp explained, '*I used to play football …Then they started convincing my mum to change her mind. They'd tried before with my father but he didn't listen to them and said "it's her choice, this is what she wants". So they tried with my mother until she made me stop playing.*' Girls also reported that because their homes are small and crowded, exercise on their own is rarely practical. We found that many are obsessed with how much they weigh and are attempting to offset their lack of movement through very restrictive food intake or wearing a corset.

3.3 Puberty and menstruation

Because of cultural norms that consider sexuality in general and menstruation in particular to be a '*rude*' topic – both in Jordan and throughout the Arab world – GAGE was only permitted to ask older adolescents, who had already experienced puberty, questions that touched on physical maturation (DeJong and El-Khoury, 2006; Sanjakdar, 2009; Anwar, 2016; Al Omari et al., 2016). Of the older adolescents who completed the survey, a large majority (85%) had a source of information on puberty. Girls were advantaged over boys (92% and 79% respectively) and adolescents in host communities advantaged (88%) over those in formal camps (82%) and ITSs (76%). Differences by nationality were also striking: of Jordanian adolescents, 95% had a source of information about puberty, compared with 90% of Palestinian adolescents and 83% of Syrian adolescents.

Our qualitative work nuanced our quantitative findings. First, it highlighted that boys typically know nothing other than what they can glean on their own. Fathers typically refuse to discuss puberty with their sons and mothers are too shy to do so. '*I cannot talk to him until he gets engaged*', explained a Jordanian father when asked what he had told his son about his changing body. '*I can tell my daughter without shyness … I feel shy to tell him*,' added a Syrian mother living in Zaatari. Second, and in line with existent evidence, which has found that girls are rarely prepared for menstruation until after menarche (Jarrah and Abu-Kamel, 2012), interviews highlighted that while older girls have many current sources of information about their changing bodies (including classes at school and at Makani centres, their older sisters and aunts, and their mothers), quite a few lacked timely information and had experienced menarche with no advance warning. This left girls surprised, scared and confused when their periods started. '*I did not tell her about the period, this generation is taught by themselves, they teach each other, aren't they working together? They know more than me*', explained one Syrian mother living in an ITS. We also found that girls' menstrual hygiene is compromised by the same deficits that compromise other sanitary needs – namely the lack of water and privacy, and overcrowded and dirty toilets.

Palestinian adolescents, and their mothers, emerged in our qualitative work as having especially well-timed and frank conversations about menstruation. '*When I have my period, I would have my daughter help me bring the pads and so on … I do that so she could get an idea about it*,' explained one Palestinian mother of a young adolescent girl. Indeed, some mothers even detailed teaching their sons about menstruation. Another mother of a young adolescent described how: '*My son asked me one time, "why does my father bring maxi pads?" I told him, "Do you remember the lesson you learned about menstruation?"*

Street scene in Gaza Camp, Jordan
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He asked me, "What is it?" I explained to him that blood flows from a woman's body each month. He asked me, "Do girls have to wear maxi pads?" I told him that these pads are important to keep their clothes clean.'

3.4 Sexual and reproductive health

Because marriage and sexual activity are tightly linked in Jordan, and taboos about discussing sexual topics strong (DeJong and El-Khoury, 2006; Sanjakdar, 2009; Al Omari et al., 2016; Anwar, 2016), relatively few unmarried adolescents in our sample appear to have accurate information about pregnancy or contraception. Of the older adolescents in our sample, only 22% could identify at least one form of contraception when presented with a list of methods, with girls being significantly better informed than boys (30% versus 13%), Jordanians better informed than non-Jordanians (32% versus 20%), Syrians better informed than Palestinians (20% versus 12%), those in host communities better informed than those in camps and ITSs (26% versus 16% and 12% respectively), and those living in Zaatari better informed than those living in Azraq and Gaza Camp (19% versus 12% each for Azraq and Gaza). Unsurprisingly, married girls had the most information – with almost half (43%) able to identify a contraceptive method, compared with 27% of their unmarried peers. Although we attempted to reduce girls' embarrassment by not reading the list of methods aloud, and only asking them to circle those methods they recognised, it is likely that their embarrassment reduced their accuracy – especially given that the Jordan JPFHS found that nearly all married girls (98.5%) had heard of contraception (Department of Statistics and ICF, 2019).

> I worked with some children who were pregnant and they found that they're pregnant in their like sixth month, ninth month, because these children do not know that sexual relations make women pregnant.
>
> (A key informant in a host community)

Using an index that captured gendered attitudes towards sexual and reproductive health (SRH) issues, our survey also found that boys hold more traditional (gendered) beliefs than girls. On a scale of 0–3, boys had a mean score of 1.8, compared to 1.5 for girls. Gender differences were relatively stable across age groups and nationalities.

Our qualitative work with married girls, who were almost exclusively Syrian, found that not only is knowledge about contraception limited, but that knowledge about sex and reproduction can also be inadequate. Several girls reported that they had been shocked on their wedding night to discover what married life entails, and health

professionals noted that some young brides do not appear to understand how pregnancy happens. As one key informant in a host community explained: '*I worked with some children who were pregnant and they found that they're pregnant in their like sixth month, ninth month, because these children do not know that sexual relations make women pregnant*'. Although a few married girls reported using contraception, which is free to all regardless of nationality, the vast majority reported not doing so[15], largely because early pregnancy is necessary in order to demonstrate fertility and keep their husbands from taking another wife. A married 18-year-old Syrian girl living in a host community for example, explained that she was '*leaving it up to God*.' A 17-year-old married Syrian girl added, '*They told me that he would marry another one if I couldn't become pregnant*'.

3.5 Change strategies

Noting again that while programmes and services are constantly in flux, due to changes in funding space and priorities, various actors are working to provide health and nutrition services and programmes for adolescents in Jordan. As detailed in Box 14 in Chapter 6, which outlines the aims and scope of the many social protection programmes available in Jordan, nutrition support is broad, if fractured. Most Syrian refugees obtain support from WFP (487,000 in late 2018[16])[17]. Those living in camps also receive school meals and free bread distribution – albeit at the cost of slightly lower value vouchers. The most vulnerable Palestinian refugees have access to food vouchers through UNRWA, while highly vulnerable Jordanians receive cash transfers from the National Aid Fund. Respondents reported that in-school adolescents receive nutrition education as part of the school curriculum, and some parents and adolescents, across nationalities, have access to nutrition education through NGOs, especially at Makani centres.

Healthcare is also provided by an array of disparate actors and includes not only primary care but also specialist services such as caesarean sections for the youngest mothers (whose bodies are judged too immature to have safe natural deliveries). In host communities, Jordanians and Palestinians with a national identity (ID) document are permitted to access government facilities for free. Syrian refugees, who last year were required to pay foreigner rates at government facilities, have seen their out-of-pocket costs cut and as at 2019 were allowed to pay 80% of the non-insured Jordanian rates (UNHCR, 2019). In camps, the UN provides free basic services, including sexual and reproductive healthcare. Syrians are served by UNHCR, via mobile clinics in the case of ITSs. Palestinians are served by UNRWA, which has seen its funding decimated by the US administration under President Trump.[18] A shifting set of NGOs supplement care in all locations. Health education, including education about puberty, is provided via the same means as nutrition education, primarily schools – although a few adolescents mentioned classes at Makani centres. '*I took a course at the Makani centre, called The Woman and The Girl, and they got us a female doctor so we could ask her anything*,' explained a 14-year-old girl from Azraq.

> I took a course at the Makani centre, called The Woman and The Girl, and they got us a female doctor so we could ask her anything.
>
> (A 14-year-old girl from Azraq)

Our qualitative work, which echoes previous research (UNICEF, 2016; Abu Hamad et al., 2017), found that government healthcare facilities can be overcrowded, unclean, and lack vital medications. Many adolescents and parents reported seeking healthcare for even quite minor symptoms, such as headaches, and complained that they were not given diagnostic testing or the medications they believed they should have. A Palestinian father in Gaza Camp complained: '*The doctor treats the patient based on their own description of what they feel. The doctor does not make any medical tests for the patient*.'

15 This is in line with the JPFHS, which reported an uptake rate of under 10% for girls aged 15–19 years.

16 WFP, 2018a

17 The World Food Programme has seen considerable evolution in its programming. Modalities have moved are varied and include in-kind food, vouchers, and cash. In addition, assistance is tiered – by household vulnerability and residence location – and has shifted over time. At the time of the most recent evaluation, transfer amounts were a maximum of $32/month/person for the most vulnerable households living in host communities (WFP, 2018b).

18 Amr, 2018.

4 Psychosocial well-being

Key points

- Psychological distress is common among adolescents living in Jordan, with those in ITSs and older girls at highest risk, due to poverty, social isolation and the threat of child marriage.
- Adolescents feel able to discuss life choices with their parents to a moderate extent, although those living in ITSs and older adolescents are more likely to report generational distance.
- Although most adolescents report having a trusted friend, some groups – including married girls, those with disabilities, and Palestinian refugees – are less likely to do so.
- While NGO programming is diverse and widespread, we found limited evidence of sustained, at-scale change strategies, with the important exception of UNICEF's Makani integrated programme.

Psychosocial well-being is a broad and evolving concept that moves beyond narrow definitions of mental health and ill-health and encompasses adolescents' internal emotional capacity as well as their external social support from trusted adults and peers (Ungar and Liebenberg, 2011; Jose et al., 2012; Lamblin et al., 2017). Because the concept is multifaceted, the evidence base is fractured and somewhat contradictory. It suggests that most adolescents in Jordan are emotionally resilient (Panter-Brick et al., 2018) but also that incidence of anxiety and depression is extremely high (up to 42% and 74% respectively) (Malak and Khalifeh, 2018; see also Dardas et al., 2017; 2018). Refugee adolescents are often found at higher risk of psychosocial ill-being than their Jordanian peers, due to higher poverty rates, cultural norms, and violence and exclusion (UNICEF and International Medical Corps (IMC), 2014; IRC, 2015; Smetana et al., 2015; 2016; USAID, 2015; UNFPA, 2016; UNHCR, 2017). Gender differences are even more marked. Girls report having closer relationships with their parents, but are more socially isolated from their peers (due to restrictions on their physical mobility) and have higher rates of depression and anxiety, eating disorders, and suicide ideation – in part due to the threat of child marriage (Sami, 2014; UNFPA, 2014; UNICEF and IMC, 2014; IRC, 2015; Hassan et al., 2015; Dardas et al., 2017; 2018; Malak and Khalifeh, 2018). Boys are more likely to report being happy, despite their poorer relationships with adults, their greater loneliness, and their higher rates of externalising behaviour (such as conflicts with the law) (Haddad et al., 2009; UNICEF and IMC, 2014; UNHCR, 2017).

4.1 Resilience and emotional efficacy

Our survey included an array of measures such as the Child and Youth Resilience Measure 28 (CYRM-28)[19] and General Health Questionnaire 12 (GHQ-12)[20] aimed at capturing adolescents' emotional resilience and mental health. Our findings are mixed. On the one hand, mean resilience scores are high (mean CYRM-28 score of 74.2/84), the average adolescent in our sample does not report emotional distress (mean GHQ score of 1.99 on a 0–12 scale) and some young people express a high degree of confidence in their ability to '*always resolve my problems*' (16-year-old Syrian girl living in an ITS). On the other hand, and largely in line with recent research that has '*sounded an alarm*' about the poor psychosocial outcomes of adolescents living in Jordan (Dardas et al., 2017; 2018; Malak and Khalifeh, 2018), nearly one-third of respondents (32%) meet the threshold

19 The CYRM-28 measures the individual, relational, communal and cultural resources available to young people to bolster their resilience and has been adapted to the Arabic context and used with Jordanian and Syrian adolescents (Ungar and Liebenberg, 2011; Ungar, 2016; Panter-Brick et al., 2018).

20 The GHQ-12 is an internationally validated measure of psychological distress that has been found to work in non-clinical settings with adolescents and with populations in LMICs, including those in Jordan (Goldberg et al., 1997; Daradkeh et al., 2001; Tait et al., 2003; French and Tait, 2004; Montazeri et al., 2003; Abu-Ghazaleh et al., 2011; Baksheev et al., 2011; Ali et al., 2016).

for experiencing psychological distress on the GHQ-12, suggesting that they have minor psychiatric disorders and may need intervention.[21] Mothers agreed with this interpretation. Several reported that their children had '*a bad psychological status and bear more than they can handle*' (mother of a 12-year-old Syrian boy).

Differences in measured psychological distress (GHQ-12 >=3) between Jordanians and refugees were marginally significant (11% difference with Jordanians having better mental health), but muted compared to location differences. Of those living in host communities, young people living in Amman are more likely to exhibit distress (36%) than those living in other governorates, perhaps because of lower levels of social cohesion (see Box 8). Adolescents living in ITSs – where poverty is both more common and deeper and gender norms are more rigidly enforced – are especially likely to exhibit distress (40% versus 33% in host communities and 29% in camps). Many girls reported crying about near total social isolation and mothers observed that their sons are distressed by having to work. One explained that her son even refuses to eat on some days because he is so sad: '*He does not eat and remains psychologically complicated, he still says "You have sent me to work, so I am sad and won't eat, I don't want to work"*' (Syrian mother of an adolescent boy). A social worker in Gaza Camp

> Depression... comes from very severe poverty... It has a high effect on adolescents as all their needs aren't complete... Where can they go? They have no place... and we know of suicide attempts... her family may try to hide it but it's happening.
>
> (A social worker in Gaza Camp)

(where residents have not been granted citizenship and its associated rights) emphasised that adolescents in that camp face the same forces, and have for decades now, explaining that '*Depression … comes from very severe poverty … It has a high effect on adolescents as all their needs aren't complete … They spend their time in the street or the girls in the home in their room … Where can they go? They have no place … and we know of suicide attempts … her family may try to hide it but it's happening.*' CYRM-28 scores were similar across nationalities and locations.

Contrary to existent evidence (Dardas et al., 2017; 2018; Malak and Khalifeh, 2018), our survey did not find that adolescent girls were more likely to exhibit emotional distress (as measured by the GHQ-12) than their male peers. A gender gap did, however, emerge when we

Box 8: Social cohesion

Sociologists identify social cohesion as '*the willingness of members of a society to cooperate with each other in order to survive and prosper*' (Stanley, 2003). They note that at the theoretical level, the concept has both subjective dimensions (e.g. feelings of trust and reciprocity) and objective dimensions (e.g. manifested through participation in civil society) (Bottoni, 2018). In recent years, as conflict has become ever more protracted and the number of persons living in conflict-afflicted contexts has continued to rise, interest in social cohesion has become far more practical. Development and humanitarian actors have begun to focus on this '*glue that holds society together*' and how it might be restored – and even strengthened – to improve a range of development outcomes (World Bank, 2018).

Recognising that Jordan has struggled to absorb Syrian refugees, even as it has committed to capitalising on the development opportunity they represent, our survey included (for older adolescents only) an index designed to measure social cohesion. For the entire cohort, the mean was 2.5/4 (higher is positive), suggesting a medium level of social cohesion. While there were no differences by nationality, location differences were pronounced. Scores were significantly higher in ITSs (2.9) compared to camps (2.6) and host communities (2.4), reflecting the fact that ITSs are often comprised of a single extended family, such that interaction with outsiders can be minimal, whereas in host communities and camps there is more mixing between groups (between those from different regions of Syria in the latter). Perhaps because of their greater fear, or more stringent restrictions on their mobility, girls' scores were 5% lower than those of boys. Adolescents with disabilities scored 15% lower than those without disabilities.

21 A threshold of 3 out of 12 is suggested by Jackson (2007). That said, there is no consensus about what threshold should be used to indicate distress. Indeed, Montazeri et al. (2003), who used the tool with young adults in Iran, note that the threshold should vary depending on the mean of the population in question (which was 3.7/12 in this case). Baksheev et al. (2011), working with adolescents in Australia, suggested a threshold of 9–10/36 for boys and 10–11/36 for girls. Abu-Ghazaleh et al. (2011), working with young adults in Jordan, used the same threshold as we did: 3 out of 12.

> When the girl gets married... she does not have any more relationships with her friends.
>
> (A 15-year-old Syrian girl in Amman, speaking about her friend)

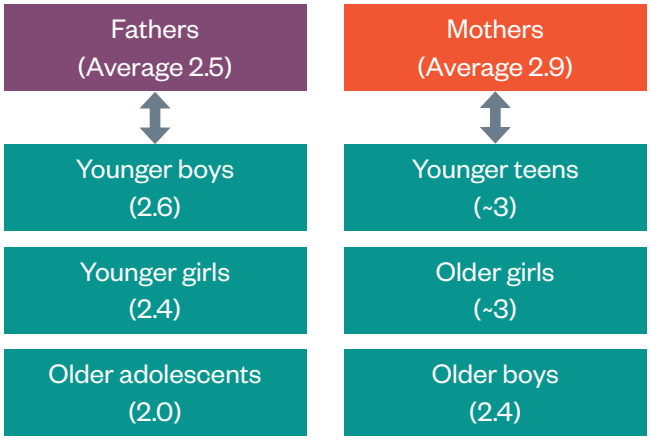
disaggregated by both gender and age. Compared to older boys, older girls are 11% more likely to exhibit emotional distress, which our qualitative work suggests is linked to their greater social isolation, their anxiety about being forced to marry as children, their experiences with child marriage, and their more limited access to psychosocial support. As an 18-year-old Palestinian girl explained, '*When the girl gets married … she does not have any more relationships with her friends*'. A 15-year-old Syrian girl in Amman – who had been married against her will and was experiencing high levels of distress – told this story about her friend, whose wishes were completely disregarded by her family: '*The girl is 13 years old and was pulled out of school … She ran away from home as she did not want to get married so young. She begged her family but they were not persuaded … She sheltered at my friend's house and told us she was thinking to commit suicide. I asked my family to interfere but they [her family] said please do not interfere – she is our daughter … Now she stands by the window and thinks of suicide. She does not leave the house … she has a psychological illness*.'

Adolescent girls highlighted that where their psychosocial distress is linked to questions of family honour, as is the case with child marriage, then stigma often precludes access to services. As the participants in a community exercise in Zaatari Camp emphasised: '*I would rather handle the problem on my own … Some girls would not be willing to expose themselves to everyone …*' '*Some girls will go but others will not …*' '*While social protection services can help and calm the parents down … so that they do not do anything to her … and follow up every week … after that, everyone is going to be gossiping about that ….*' CYRM-28 scores were similar between girls and boys.

4.2 Emotionally supported by adults

As noted earlier, the meagre evidence that exists suggests that girls living in Jordan are more likely than boys to feel more supported by – and able to talk to – their parents (Haddad et al., 2009; UNICEF and IMC, 2014; IRC, 2015; Smetana et al., 2015; 2016). Our survey, which included an index of issues that adolescent girls and boys might discuss with their parents (such as education, work, bullying and religion), found the story more complex than a simple gender dichotomy might suggest (see Figure 7). Scores varied not only between girls and boys, but also by age and with the sex of the parent. Overall, we found that most adolescents feel able to discuss several topics with their parents. Mean scores on the index (which ranged from 0–4) were 2.3 for discussions with fathers and 2.9 for discussions with mothers, suggesting that adolescents generally feel closer to their mothers than their fathers. Younger adolescents scored 24% higher in terms of discussions with their fathers than older adolescents (2.5 versus 2.0), suggesting that older adolescents feel more distance between themselves and their fathers – which is not surprising, given development trajectories. Younger boys are slightly (but significantly) advantaged

Figure 7: Adolescents' mean ability to talk to their parents about different topics, by gender of parent and age and gender of adolescent, scored from 0-4



Informal tented settlement in Jordan
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over younger girls in terms of closeness to their fathers (6%). There are no differences between older girls and older boys in terms of communication with their fathers. In terms of discussions with mothers, older girls scored 26% higher than older boys (3 versus 2.4) and there were no differences between younger girls and boys. Across nationalities, Syrians had less close relationships with both mothers and fathers than did Jordanians and Palestinians, with those living in ITSs having the lowest mean scores (2.0 for fathers and 2.4 for mothers).

Our qualitative work highlighted that the emotional disconnect between some Syrian adolescents and their parents (especially those living in ITSs) is complicated. Key informants emphasised Syrian parents' limited ability to help their children cope with trauma. As a social worker in Azraq Camp noted: '*We created a parental skills programme to help parents know how to deal with their children concerning basic challenges. For example, the parents used to punish the children for urinating at night. We had to explain to them that this causes further problems such as hate for the parents.*' Syrian parents observed that their own higher levels of trauma left them with fewer resources to help their children. Our survey suggests that this is particularly the case for mothers of older adolescents, who are 24% more likely to have trauma scores suggestive of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) than the mothers of younger children (48% versus 36%). As a father in a community focus group discussion in Zaatari camp explained: '*When we first came we were not seeking any services or any help … We were all suffering from the fear which was in Syria from the war and shelling at the time … We needed to calm down …. It was a stage of fear and depression.*' Adolescents, on the other hand, often suggested that cultural differences were largely to blame. This was highlighted by a 16-year-old out-of-school girl Syrian living in an ITS who explained why her relationship with her father is exceptional: '*My father trusts me, unlike other families … He advises me, but he has ever beaten me or prevented me from doing anything.*'

> When we first came we were not seeking any services or any help … We were all suffering from the fear which was in Syria from the war and shelling at the time … We needed to calm down …. It was a stage of fear and depression.
>
> (A father in a community focus group discussion in Zaatari Camp)

4.3 Socially supported by peers

While there is mounting evidence that the adolescent brain is uniquely wired for social experiences (Blakemore, 2008; 2012; Somerville, 2013; McNeely and Bose, 2014; Pate et al., 2017), our survey found that almost one-third of adolescents (29%) do not have a trusted friend. Some groups of young people stand out as particularly disadvantaged in terms of friendships. These include: married girls, who are 17% less likely than their unmarried peers to have a friend (61% versus 73%) due to their

confinement to home and high levels of surveillance by husbands and in-laws; Palestinians, who are 16% less likely to have a friend than Jordanians and Syrians (62% versus 72%); and adolescents with disabilities, who are 10% less likely to have a friend than those without disabilities (64% versus 72%) due to their exclusion from school and from child-focused programming (see Box 9). Fathers in a focus group discussion in Gaza Camp, where participants repeatedly highlighted the complete absence of recreational facilities, noted that adolescents are '*lonely … because of depression and frustration. All this leads to them thinking of something more serious like committing suicide or using drugs and cannabis*.'

Adolescents also have varying access to team sports, which build social connections as well as confidence and healthy bodies. Age and gender are the primary delimiters. Younger adolescents are 56% more likely to play a team sport than older adolescents (46% versus 29%), while girls are 45% less likely to play a team sport than boys (27% versus 49%). Reflecting girls' increasing physical

Box 9: Disability and psychosocial well-being

Our baseline research suggests that adolescents with disabilities, compared to their peers without disabilities, are markedly disadvantaged in terms of psychosocial well-being. Over half (51%) met our threshold score for emotional distress on the GHQ-12, compared to 30% of those without disabilities. Our qualitative research suggests that while the primary factor driving distress is the social isolation that many young people with disabilities experience, active exclusion due to stigma, and more limited parental support, both contribute to these feelings of distress.

At a national level, adolescents with disabilities are far more likely to be excluded from school than their peers without disabilities. UNESCO (2018) reports that as of 2013, 99.5% of young people aged 15–29 years without disabilities had ever attended school, versus only 89.2% of those with disabilities. In 2017, the International Labour Organization (ILO) reported a secondary school enrolment rate for those with disabilities of only 9%.

Our qualitative research nuances these figures and suggests that some adolescents with disabilities are profoundly isolated and confined to home for weeks and even months at a time. A 13-year-old Syrian refugee girl with a mobility impairment explained: '*My aspiration is to go to school but I scarcely leave the building … It is hard for my mother to carry me down the stairs … I can only look at the other children out the window*.' Access to child-focused programming is similarly limited, unless families are relatively well-off and can afford specialist services. Adolescents in our research emphasised that such opportunities, when available, were genuinely transformative. A 12-year-old out-of-school Syrian refugee girl with cerebral palsy reported: '*Typically I sit here in front of the TV screen and seldom leave this apartment … But last year for three months a centre affiliated with Doctors Without Borders used to come and take me once a week to play sport … There was everything: balls, movements, sport and such … I enjoyed it a lot! Even my mood got better!*'

Our research findings also underscored the high levels of bullying and stigma that adolescents with disabilities can experience. Adolescents with disabilities are 32% more likely to be have been bullied in the past year than those without disabilities (53% versus 40%). Mothers reported that constant taunting was often crushing for their children. For example, a Jordanian mother of an 11-year-old girl who is deaf, living in Amman, noted: '*Many times I heard some people called my daughter with terms like "deaf", she is not hearing, she is not understanding. All that hurts me and hurts my daughter.*'

We also found some evidence that adolescents with disabilities have access to more limited emotional support from their parents – and often experience more violence at home. Adolescents themselves were relatively silent in this regard. They reported similar levels of communication with their mothers and had index scores for paternal communication only 8% lower than their peers without disabilities. They also reported experiencing no more violent discipline at home. Mothers of adolescents with disabilities, on the other hand, were less circumspect. Across age groups and nationalities, they were 35% more likely to admit having used violent discipline in the past month (47% versus 35%). They were also 56% more likely to admit having beaten their adolescent child badly in that same timeframe (11% versus 7%). Higher rates of violent discipline appear related to higher maternal stress levels. Mothers of adolescents with disabilities were 53% more likely to have scores suggestive of PTSD than mothers of adolescents without disabilities, suggesting that mothers' own needs for social support cannot be overstated (61% versus 40%).

> Last year for three months a centre affiliated with Doctors Without Borders used to come and take me once a week to play sport … There was everything: balls, movements, sport and such … I enjoyed it a lot! Even my mood got better!
>
> (A 12-year-old out-of-school Syrian refugee girl with cerebral palsy)

> Many people thought that I was a big girl and shouldn't be learning Taekwondo… and that it's inappropriate. I didn't listen to them and told my parents that if I'll listen to what people have to say, I won't do anything. So, thanks to God, I ignored them and kept doing what I wanted.
>
> (A 17-year-old girl in Azraq Camp)

isolation after puberty (UNICEF and IMC, 2014; IRC, 2015; UNFPA, 2016; USAID, 2015), the gender gap grows with age. Younger girls are 33% less likely (and older girls 62% less likely) to play a sport compared to their male peers. The challenges of girls' involvement in sport are underscored by this testimony from a 17-year-old girl in Azraq Camp, who now competes in Taekwando championships: '*Many people thought that I was a big girl and shouldn't be learning Taekwondo. My relatives, especially my aunt, told me that I shouldn't be learning Taekwondo and that it's inappropriate. I didn't listen to them and told my parents that if I'll listen to what people have to say, I won't do anything. So, thanks to God, I ignored them and kept doing what I wanted*.'

Nationality and location also matter in terms of access to team sports. Jordanians, who are better off and can pay for private clubs, have more access than refugees (43% versus 37%). Young people living in camps (47%) have more access than those living in host communities (35%) and ITSs (24%), because of programming provided by UNICEF and NGOs. Syrian camps (50%) provide more opportunities than Gaza Camp (34%), because of UNRWA's especially limited funding, and Amman, which has more NGOs operating there, offers more opportunities (40%) than Irbid (31%).

While peer socialisation is central to adolescent well-being, our research also highlighted concerns about peer pressure. Overall, 81% of adolescents believe that peer pressure is a concern for boys and 75% believe that it is a concern for girls. Our qualitative research supported concerns about boys and peer pressure, finding links between peer pressure and smoking, bullying, sexual harassment, and school leaving – and finding that many parents feel helpless to intervene. A 14-year-old boy living in Zaatari Camp observed, '*My friends taught me how to smoke*'. A Palestinian mother added, '*You can't discipline a boy who is 14 or 15 years old … He would be angry.*' For girls, on the other hand, our qualitative work underscored that concerns about peer pressure are driven not by girls' actions, but by concerns about girls' potential actions and

Football club in Mafraq, Jordan
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how they might contravene the gender norms that would jeopardise family honour. As a Makani facilitator in a host community explained, '*We have the Syrians who have girls aged around 14 that say "if my child leaves the house I'd shoot her".*'

> Everyone in the centre is smiling … because they have the opportunity to leave home and see one another.
>
> (A 16-year-old girl from an ITS near Irbid)

4.4 Change strategies

While NGO programming is diverse and widespread, we found limited evidence of sustained, at-scale change strategies specifically aimed at enhancing adolescent psychosocial well-being, with the important exception of UNICEF's Makani programme (see Box 10)(see also discussion in Abu Hamad et al., 2017). Service provision – and uptake – varied by location and nationality. In host communities, the main psychosocial services that adolescents are using are in schools. There are school counsellors in many schools – albeit primarily to support young people's vocational rather than psychosocial needs – and Jordanian students in particular seem open to using their services. Also, a few parents reported making use of psychosocial services from medical professionals and NGOs (e.g. Islamic Relief, Latin Association, Ijar Al Salam). In Zaatari and Azraq Syrian refugee camps, psychosocial support is primarily provided through non-stigmatising games, sport and social activities. For example, the NGO Questscope is providing a '*friend programme*' to help provide adolescents with social support structures and to encourage interactions with peers, while the IMC is offering support services through its women's and girls' centre. Some families in camps also reported seeking the support of religious leaders and/or spiritual healers to support children experiencing serious psychosocial distress. In the case of Gaza Camp, access to psychosocial support services is extremely limited. While UNRWA schools provide guidance counsellors and some school-based activities, adolescents' reports suggest these are of limited quality and impact and that opportunities for meaningful social connections are rare. Indeed, Palestinian refugee parents highlighted that the camp entirely lacks safe spaces for their children to engage in spontaneous, unorganised play. An adult in a focus group discussion reported: '*There are no playgrounds here at all*'.

Box 10: UNICEF's Makani programme and psychosocial well-being

UNICEF's Makani programme is supporting adolescents' psychosocial well-being by providing them with access to trusted adults and safe spaces to interact with peers. While noting that differences between participants and non-participants are partly due to which families choose to enrol their children, our survey found a number of differences that suggest programme impacts. For example, compared with non-participants, older girl participants are 17% more likely to have a friend that they trust and more than twice as likely to play a sport (25% versus 12%). Older boy participants are similarly 34% more likely to play a sport (51% versus 38%) that non-participants. Younger participants are more likely to have a trusted friend than non-participants (15% more likely for girls and 9% more likely for boys).

The importance of Makani to adolescent lives emerged even more clearly in our qualitative work. A 15-year-old Palestinian refugee girl from Gaza Camp noted that the programme had helped her develop self-confidence. She explained, '*The Makani teachers, they act like counsellors. They listen to our problems and they can even solve our problems at home … They teach us how to be self-confident and how to deal with people.*' A younger girl in Zaatari Camp added that she can talk to her teachers about anything: '*You can talk to her if you have any problem and she helps you to solve it*'. For older girls, who rarely have the opportunity to leave home, Makani can be the one bright point in their week: as a 16-year-old girl from an ITS near Irbid reported, '*Everyone in the centre is smiling … because they have the opportunity to leave home and see one another*'.

Where Makani centres are able to bring disparate groups of young people together for collaborative and fun activities, they are not just facilitating peer interaction, but growing social cohesion. A 17-year-old Syrian girl living in Irbid explained: '*There was a course I participated in and it was like entertainment, we used to play, and they used to teach us things. We used to have fun. It was mixed between Syrian and Jordanian girls so that we no longer fight and get to know each other, and I started to have friends who are Jordanian. I used to have some prejudice but then it all turned out to be wrong.*'

5 Voice and agency

Key points

- Girls have less physical mobility than boys and the gender gap grows over the course of adolescence, as boys are steadily granted more freedom and girls see it taken away (especially upon marriage).
- Adolescents in Jordan are relatively well-connected digitally, though older boys are the most likely to have their own phones and to have been online.
- Adolescents have few opportunities to meaningfully participate at school or in the community and although they reported a medium level of decision-making in the household, we found that their assessment is shaped by cultural realities.
- Most adolescents are able to identify a role model who inspires them; older boys, however, struggle to do so.
- We found no evidence of sustained, at-scale change strategies outside of UNICEF's Makani programme and Social Innovation Labs.

As noted in the GAGE conceptual framework, adolescents' access to voice and agency is critical not only for their current well-being but also for the development of their eventual independence. This includes physical freedom of movement, access to age-appropriate information and technology, and the ability to meaningfully participate in the decisions that shape their own lives, their families, their classrooms, and their communities.

Existent evidence primarily highlights the constraints that young people face in terms of participation. Some of these constraints are age-related. Ahmad et al. (2015), for example, observe that Arab cultures emphasise generational hierarchies, with even adult children expected to accede to their parents' demands, and tend to see adolescents as immature and needing to be monitored and controlled. Parents stress traditional values, including obedience and interdependence (rather than independence), and adolescents are expected to conform to tradition and uphold their family's honour (Haddad et al., 2009; Smetana et al., 2015; 2016). Unsurprisingly, given this context, USAID's (2015) National Youth Assessment found that Jordanian and Syrian adolescents and young adults feel that adults do not listen to them and they are pessimistic about making change happen. For adolescent girls, age-related restrictions on voice and agency are amplified by gender norms – strictly enforced at the onset of puberty – that require even adult women to have the permission of their husbands or fathers to travel (Ahmad et al., 2015; IRC, 2015; USAID, 2015; King Hussein Foundation, 2016; UNFPA, 2016; OECD, 2019b).

5.1 Mobility and access to safe spaces

Echoing previous research, which found that puberty marks the onset of growing freedom for boys and restrictions for girls (IRC, 2015; USAID, 2015; King Hussein Foundation, 2016), our survey found that girls have more limited mobility than boys, and that gaps in mobility get wider over time. Whereas 76% of our entire sample leaves home on a daily basis, we found that younger girls are 8% less likely to leave home every day than younger boys (77% versus 84%) and older girls are 38% less likely to leave home on a daily basis than older boys (55% versus 88%). Girls (especially older girls) are also less likely than boys to leave their communities on a weekly basis. Only 10% of younger and older girls (versus 15% of younger and 22% of older boys) leave their communities weekly. The gender gap is especially pronounced for refugees. For example, while Jordanian girls are 11% less like likely to leave home every day than their male peers (71% versus 80%), Palestinian girls are 26% less likely to do so (67% versus 90%) and Syrian girls are 25% less likely to (66% versus 87%). Adolescents overwhelmingly agreed that expectations are simply different for girls and boys. Across age groups and

15-year-old Jordanian boy
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nationalities, approximately 90% of girls and boys agreed that families control girls' behaviour more than they control boys'. The same proportion agreed that communities expect families to control girls more than boys.

Our qualitative work nuanced our survey findings and highlighted how restrictions evolve until, for some girls (most often refugees), confinement is complete. A 17-year-old girl living in Zaatari Camp noted that she has slowly lost access to all of the clubs she used to belong to, because of pressure exerted on her mother. She reported: '*I used to play football … Then they start convincing my mum to change her mind …. They'd tried before with my father, but he didn't listen to them and said, "it's her choice, this is what she wants". So they'd tried with my mother until she made me stop playing … Then I took a photography course … They start telling her, "your daughter will appear on TV and you will find her pictures everywhere" … Then there was a painting exhibition in Amman. I was willing to participate, but she didn't let me. It's all inappropriate according to her.*' A Palestinian mother added that while young girls may go out, for older girls, even glimpses outside may become forbidden. '*I don't allow my daughters to get out of home. They may look from the door for 5 minutes and then I ask them to close it.*'

Married girlsface especially rigid restrictions on their mobility. Only 28% leave home daily – compared to 61% of their unmarried peers. As a 17-year-old married Jordanian girl living in Amman noted: '*The single life is better … Before marriage I was free. I made decisions on my own. What I wanted, happened. Now, it's different. I can make no decisions on my own. For example, buying clothes, going to my friends' … I can go to the market but not whenever I want and never alone. I have to be with my husband or my mother-in-law. And I have no phone – it is not allowed.*'

As well as varying by gender, mobility restrictions also vary by location and nationality. Across age cohorts and including both girls and boys, adolescents in camps, where

> I don't allow my daughters to get out of home. They may look from the door for 5 minutes and then I ask them to close it.
>
> (A Palestinian mother)

security is higher, are most likely to leave their homes daily (84%) whereas those in ITSs are least likely to do so (70%). In terms of nationality, Jordanians are more than twice as likely to leave their community on a weekly basis as refugees (25% versus 12%), probably reflecting their greater financial resources and better access to transport.

5.2 Access to age-appropriate information and digital technology

In line with previous research, which has found that most adolescents have mobile phones and that urban adolescents are online for hours a day (Darweesh and Mahmoud, 2014; Maitland and Xu, 2015), our survey found that young people are relatively well-connected. Overall, 35% of our sample reported having a mobile phone for their own use and 51% reported having ever used the internet. Also echoing existent evidence, which found that girls face more and tighter restrictions (Darweesh and Mahmoud, 2014; IRC, 2015; King Hussein Foundation, 2016), differential access was primarily shaped by age and by gender, though there were also smaller differences by location, nationality, and disability status – which appear to be primarily driven by household poverty (see Box 11).

> Once my husband's nephew was showing me some photos on his phone. I told [my husband] I was just looking at some family photos but he did not believe me. He thought I used the mobile phone to call guys. He was extremely paranoid. So he beat me.
>
> (A now divorced 18-year-old Syrian girl living in a host community in Mafraq)

Younger adolescents and girls are disadvantaged in terms of connectivity compared to older adolescents and boys. Younger adolescents are 69% less likely to have a phone (17% versus 56%) and 49% less likely to be online (35% versus 69%) compared to older adolescents. Across both age groups, girls are 43% less likely to have a phone (26% versus 46%) and 17% less likely to be online (47% versus 56%) compared to boys. Interestingly – and in stark contrast to access to physical mobility – our survey found that married girls are far more likely to have a phone for their own use than their unmarried peers (63% versus 35%).

Our qualitative work, however, highlighted that access does not mean unfettered access, even for adult women, and that phone ownership can be dangerous. A 16-year-

Box 11: Disability and access to voice and agency

Although our survey found that adolescents with disabilities, compared to their peers without disabilities, feel less safe moving about their communities during the day (10% difference) and at night (24% difference), and travelling to and from school (16% difference), it did not find that those with impairments face more restrictions on their freedom of movement. Adolescents with and without disabilities were equally likely to leave their homes every day and their communities every week. As noted earlier, however, our qualitative work found that some adolescents with disabilities – most often girls – are entirely homebound. A 19-year-old Syrian refugee girl in Irbid, who is blind, explained: '*We [she and her sister who is also blind] have never been to school in Jordan … Last year we went to a Qur'anic class and got the Qur'an in braille. We were so happy! But it's now been a year since we even left the apartment … The life for girls who are blind is unimaginably restrictive!*'

Our research also found that adolescents with disabilities face greater connectivity barriers. They are 17% less likely to have a phone for their own use than their peers without disabilities, and 16% less likely to have ever used the internet. This is probably due to deeper household poverty and their greater exclusion from school and community programming. Our qualitative findings highlighted that for those adolescents with disabilities who are able to access technology, it can be a game changer, reducing their social isolation and exposing them to new ideas. For example, as a 12-year-old Syrian refugee girl with muscular atrophy living in Amman explained of her forays online, '*I learn how to invent and make new creations … I even learn Zumba*.'

Although our survey results suggest that adolescents with disabilities have less say over household decision-making than their peers without disabilities – in part due to sample size – limits emerged more starkly in our qualitative work. A 12-year-old Syrian refugee girl with cerebral palsy living in a host community in Amman lamented: '*I rarely get to decide anything … I wish someone would ask me questions …*'

old Syrian girl in Zaatari Camp reported that her father, who refuses to let her spend her own money purchasing a phone, also restricts her mother's phone use. She explained: '*He only buys my mother these small phones [not a touch screen smartphone] … Once a problem took place here in the camp because of the mobile phones. A woman once took a picture of her mother-in-law without her permission and posted her picture on Facebook. She was not covering her hair as she was eating when she took a picture of her … A lot of similar disasters take place here …*' A now divorced 18-year-old Syrian girl living in a host community in Mafraq added, '*Once my husband's nephew was showing me some photos on his phone … He was incredulous when he caught me … I told him I was just looking at some family photos but he did not believe me. He thought I used the mobile phone to call guys. He was extremely paranoid. So he beat me*.'

In terms of variation by location, adolescents in ITSs have more limited access to phones than those in host communities and camps (24%, 36% and 37% respectively), which probably reflects differing levels of household poverty. They are also (unsurprisingly) especially unlikely to have ever been online (23%), reflecting not only household poverty, but more limited access to IT infrastructure and formal education. Adolescents in host communities are by far the most likely to have been online (60%) – even compared to those in camps (42%). In large part this reflects the greater access of Jordanian young people (69%) compared to refugees (48%). Palestinian adolescents are less likely to have a phone for their own use (25%) than both Jordanians and Syrians (37%), probably due to poverty and the fact that Syrian refugees place strong value on mobile phones, as they connect them with relatives displaced in different parts of Jordan and beyond.

5.3 Voice and decision-making within the family and community

Despite the region's broader generational hierarchies (Ahmad et al., 2015; USAID, 2015; Smetana et al., 2015; 2016), our survey found that adolescents perceive a medium level (rather than a small level) of decision-making within the family (a mean of 5 on an index scored 0–8). There were minor but statistically significant differences between age cohorts (younger adolescents' scores are 10% lower) and – surprisingly, given that previous work has found adolescent girls to feel infantilised (IRC, 2015; King Hussein Foundation, 2016) – between girls and boys (girls' scores are 7% lower). The gender gap doubles with age (a 5% gap in favour of boys for younger adolescents versus a 9% gap for older adolescents) and is larger for Palestinian adolescents (11% gap in favour of boys) compared to Jordanian and Syrian adolescents (7%). Scores indicated more adolescent decision-making in camps (5.2) compared to host communities (4.9) and ITSs (4.5). Our survey, like the Arab Barometer (2018b), also found that while boys can expect to eventually claim voice and agency within the household, girls cannot. Across nationalities, a large majority of older boys (88%) and older girls (77%) agreed that men are expected by the community to have the final word about household decisions.

> I only befriend people that my parents know.
>
> (A 15-year-old Syrian boy)

Our qualitative work explored the relatively minor differences in our survey results and highlighted the limits of adolescent decision-making. It suggests, as noted by Smetana et al. (2015; 2016), that adolescents simultaneously endorse parental control over their lives – and see it as bounded. First, even older boys, whom parents often report to be intractable, generally respected parental authority. A 15-year-old Syrian boy noted that he allows his parents to choose his friends: '*I only befriend people that my parents know*'. Second, some adolescents (albeit primarily Jordanian) emphasised the limits of parental control and reported finding ways around it. A participant in a focus group discussion in Mafraq explained that her friends '*have phones in secret*' because their families do not trust them. Critically, our qualitative work underscored that domains where adolescents – especially refugees – have the least say are often related not to day-to-day decisions (such as mobile phone use), but the more life-changing decisions that surround school-leaving for work (for boys) and child marriage (for girls). Indeed, parents reported that their authority over such decisions is absolute. A Palestinian refugee mother of an 11-year-old girl living in Gaza Camp explained that her husband will choose her daughter's husband entirely without input from anyone else: '*If he likes the person, he will agree to marry her … Even if she doesn't agree, he will not listen to her opinion*.'

Adolescents in our qualitative work emphasised that opportunities for participation at school, where classrooms are overcrowded and learning is most often rote, are

limited. On the one hand, a few young people spoke highly about school radio. A 12-year-old girl living in Azraq explained, '*My segment is about "did you know?" and I have another segment talking about Jordan. My friend talks about "hadith sharif"* (the record of the words, actions, and the silent approval of the Islamic prophet Muhammad), *and my other friend is the presenter*.' On the other hand, adolescents were fairly scathing of school parliaments as a venue for meaningful participation, concluding – as did the USAID's (2015) youth assessment – that they are not spaces that foster meaningful voice and agency but are merely a means to control other students. A young Palestinian girl living in Gaza Camp observed, '*I was in it [the school parliament] last year but not anymore. I feel it is silly. It drives me crazy. If you are part of the parliament you have to make sure the girls are behaving at school. You put them in line, make sure they are quiet. Like that*.'

5.4 Civic engagement

In line with previous research, which has found that adolescents (and even adults) living in Jordan are unlikely to be members of any civic group (Mercy Corps, 2012; Arab Barometer, 2018a), our baseline research found civic engagement to be minimal. Only 9% of adolescents in our sample had spoken to others in the community about a community problem and only 5% had taken action with others to solve a community problem. Unsurprisingly, Jordanians were far more likely than refugees to have spoken to someone about a community problem (16% versus 7%). In terms of taking action, while Jordanians again stood out for their engagement (10%), it also emerged that Syrians are more likely to engage than Palestinians (5% versus 2%). Given that Syrians are relative newcomers to the country, and that many Palestinian families have lived in Jordan for generations, this speaks strongly to the exclusion perceived by the latter. Gender differences, which were of similar magnitude to those reported by Mercy Corps (2012), were driven by married girls, who were significantly less likely than their unmarried peers to have either spoken up (5% versus 9%) or actively engaged (2.2% versus 5.6%).

5.5 Role models

Although research is clear that having a role model can help young people envisage new futures for themselves and avoid the risks that might jeopardise those new futures (e.g. Greenberger et al., 1998; Beaman et al., 2012; Harper et al., 2018), our survey findings show that only 70% of adolescents living in Jordan are able to identify a role model. Alarmingly, given that older adolescents are typically confronted with more life-defining choices than their younger peers, younger adolescents are more likely (8%) to have a role model than older adolescents (73% versus 67%). This age gap is primarily driven by older boys' lack of a role model. Older girls are 9% more likely to have a role model than older boys (70% versus 64%).

Our qualitative work explored who adolescents chose as role models and found both differences and similarities between boys' and girls' choices. On the one hand, the categories of role models were often quite different. Boys – especially younger boys – look up to men who are strong, such as police officers or occasionally footballers. Girls look up to their mothers and other female relatives and to Queen Rania. As a 16-year-old Syrian refugee girl from a host community in Mafraq noted: '*I follow Queen Rania on the internet and I have seen her work … She's very keen on fashion. Every time she appears with a new look, she tries to be the most beautiful, and at the same time she's also neat and polite*.' On the other hand, our work highlighted that both boys and girls are attracted to role models not only for their strength or beauty or social status, but because they are perceived as '*good*' people. For example, an 11-year-old Syrian refugee boy from Irbid aspires to be like his teacher because '*He teaches us well. And he respects us and we respect him*.' The 16-year-old Syrian girl enamoured of Queen Rania added that in addition to her beauty, the Queen is '*also very kind to people in need …*'

Notably, our qualitative work suggests that one reason that older girls are more likely to have a role model than older boys may be because they are more likely to identify their own relatives as those role models. In an environment in which the majority of girls grow up to become wives and mothers, this choice is both logical and concrete. Boys, who are expected to become providers in a context in which many fathers are unemployed, do not have the luxury of looking close to home for role models. Indeed, given the limited access that many refugee boys have to decent employment, identifying a realistic role model close to home is surely a difficult feat.

> [I aspire to be like my teacher because] he teaches us well. And he respects us and we respect him.
>
> (A 11-year-old Syrian refugee boy from Irbid)

Children in a Makani centre
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5.6 Change strategies

Partly due to generational hierarchies that often leave adults oblivious to adolescents' need for voice and agency, and partly due to fluctuating budgets that prioritise survival and hard skills, we found no evidence of sustained, at-scale efforts to support adolescents' access to voice and agency outside of UNICEF's Makani programme and Social Innovation Labs. We did, however, find compelling evidence that UNICEF programming is creating change (see Box 12).

Outside of school settings, we found a surprisingly small number of adolescent-focused NGO-led initiatives, including in urban areas, and there was a general sense that there had been more programming in the past, but that these initiatives had finished – possibly reflecting the increasing challenges after 2010 that NGOs had faced in Ethiopia as a result of the NGO registration law. The few opportunities for peer socialisation that did exist were primarily provided by church organisations and, to a lesser degree, mosques, and also by government youth centres and sports clubs. However, adolescents repeatedly complained that the youth centres were poorly resourced, and that sports clubs primarily catered for boys and not girls.

> We acted as role models to these kids … Yes, we made sure we didn't do anything wrong there so that the younger kids won't do the same … Yes, we felt like we were doing something good.
>
> (17-year-old Syrian boy participating in a Makani initiative)

Box 12: UNICEF's Makani programme and voice and agency

Although it is challenging to disentangle the genesis of differences between Makani participants and non-participants – given that the families who enrol their children are most likely quite different in many ways from the families that choose not to enrol their children – our research suggests that UNICEF's integrated child and adolescent programming is helping adolescents achieve greater voice and agency. We identify two main pathways through which changes are occurring. First, it provides adolescents with a safe space to be, which for older girls especially is critical to physical mobility; indeed, we found that older girls who participate are 31% more likely to leave home on a daily basis. Second, UNICEF programming is explicitly aimed at strengthening adolescents' self-confidence and communication skills. Our survey found that Makani participants are far more likely than non-participants to have talked with others about a community problem (44% for boys and 37% for girls) and to have taken action with others to solve a community problem (94% for boys and 58% for girls).

Our qualitative work explored these pathways further and found that the opportunity for young people to contribute to something larger than themselves is critical. Some young research participants, for example, spoke highly of the volunteer initiatives they had taken part in through Makani centres. These initiatives made them feel strong, and valued. An older girl in a host community explained, '*We go to the clinic and orphanages, we can help them, take things that might make them feel happy*'. A 17-year-old Syrian boy added, '*We acted as role models to these kids … Yes, we made sure we didn't do anything wrong there so that the younger kids won't do the same … Yes, we felt like we were doing something good …*'

Other respondents highlighted how UNICEF's Social Innovation Labs had enabled adolescents to work together to solve problems that had been bedevilling their community. An older boy living in Azraq Camp explained that he and his friends had worked together to improve access to light: '*I took a course about innovation. We propose a project and they implement it in the camp… We found a way to enable every bicycle owner to generate electricity to store electricity in a battery. The battery can be removed and used to power the light. We didn't have electricity in village 5, we spent 14 months without electricity …*' A key informant from Zaatari added that Social Innovation Labs are helping adolescents exercise voice in that camp as well. He explained: '*One of the projects created by the girls … was a distributor fan inside kitchens [to remove smells]. They made it from simple materials and presented their project in front of community members and leaders … They comfortably received and answered their questions*.'

Syrian girls with henna designs on their hands in an informal tented settlement in Jordan © Nathalie Bertrams / GAGE 2019

6 Economic empowerment

Key points

- Adolescents' occupational aspirations are high but poorly concretised; older refugee boys have the lowest – and most realistic – aspirations.
- Refugee adolescents report that skills training programmes are largely unavailable to them, but very much wanted.
- Most older boys, especially Syrians, work for pay, in jobs that are piecemeal and poorly paid.
- Few adolescents report having spent cash in the past year and almost none have their own savings.
- Social protection programmes generally focus on the household unit and are not tailored to adolescent needs, especially the needs of adolescents with disabilities; UNICEF's Hajati labelled cash-for-education programme is an exception, but coverage is limited.
- We found no evidence of effective, at-scale change strategies aimed specifically at economically empowering adolescents.

Adolescents' access to economic empowerment must be understood in context. As already noted, while the World Bank classifies Jordan as an upper middle-income country (World Bank, 2019a), Jordan is not a wealthy country. Its economic growth has been nearly flat (or even negative) since 2010 (ibid.) and its real unemployment rate is estimated to be double (CIA World Factbook, 2019) that of the officially reported rate of 15% (World Bank, 2019b).

This broader background has particular implications for adolescents, some of which are age-related. For example, adolescents are faced with constraints around how to fund their continued education and training and how to grow their own independent incomes – in a country with one of the world's highest youth unemployment rates (UNICEF Jordan, 2019; World Bank, 2019b). Other implications are gendered. With Jordan also known for having one of the world's lowest female labour force participation rates (World Bank, 2019b), girls are largely shut out of the labour market (USAID, 2015; Government of Jordan, 2017). Boys, on the other hand, who are seen as family providers, are simultaneously vulnerable to child labour (especially Syrian boys) and left lingering in a prolonged period of '*waithood*' – unable to find the decent employment that would facilitate independence (especially Palestinian boys) (Stave and Hillesund, 2015; USAID, 2015; ILO and Centre for Strategic Studies, 2016; Van Blerk et al., 2017).

6.1 Economic aspirations

Our baseline survey echoed previous work-- which has documented girls' high aspirations and boys' refusal to consider '*humble*' occupations-- and found that adolescents' occupational aspirations are extremely high (IRC, 2015; USAID, 2015). A full 73% of the girls and boys in our sample,[22] across age groups, nationalities, and locations, aspired to a professional career. Of the remainder, most wished to work in skilled labour (10%), become homemakers (8%) or have a retail job (4%). Agriculture and unskilled labour were mentioned by only a handful of adolescents.

Our qualitative work found more diversity and interesting patterns between boys and girls and across nationalities. Among girls, Jordanians, who are less poor, were aiming the highest – sometimes because they were aiming at gender equality itself. A 17-year-old Jordanian girl from Mafraq explained: '*I will go to university, graduate, and get a job and make money, of course. That's my idea. A woman must get a job. The uneducated girl who married early and has kids is not the same as the educated girl*

22 These figures are drawn from a subsample of 2,544 adolescents who are similar to the full sample in terms of age, gender, nationality, and location. Neither the full sample nor a detailed breakdown is available at the time of writing.

> I will go to university, graduate, and get a job and make money, of course. That's my idea. A woman must get a job. The uneducated girl who married early and has kids is not the same as the educated girl who works and makes money. The educated one has respect.
>
> (A 17-year-old Jordanian girl from Mafraq)

who works and makes money. The educated one has respect.' Some Syrian girls – all older – echoed their fiery Jordanian peers and stressed that they planned to pursue non-traditional professional careers specifically in order to address the injustices constraining the lives of adolescent girls. As a 16-year-old girl living in Irbid testified: '*I want to study to defend people who are facing injustice … Most of my friends have suffered injustice and I want to defend them … A lot of them suffered from early marriage. They were married by force.*' Other Syrian girls reported (albeit with little enthusiasm) that their imagined futures looked much like the lives of their mothers: marriage and motherhood. Still others could imagine challenging the gender norms that deny women work – but not those that shape what kind of work they could do. They wanted to become hairdressers or perhaps teachers or nurses. Palestinian girls were generally the most circumspect. Several noted that they wished to work but were afraid to even let their families know their dreams. For example, a 15-year-old out-of-school Palestinian refugee girl from Gaza Camp explained: '*In the future I would like to become a chef… If I told anyone at home about my dream they would laugh at me and think I'm not serious.*'

Boys' aspirations emerged in our qualitative work as noticeably more realistic than girls'– perhaps because they know that they must earn a living while girls can afford to dream. Some boys, generally Jordanians and the youngest refugee boys (who are less likely to understand the legal restrictions on employment), aspired to become teachers, doctors or engineers. '*If Allah is willing, I want to be doctor*,' explained a younger Jordanian boy. Other boys reported wanting more practical work, such as driving or becoming a mechanic. As a 15-year-old Syrian boy living in a host community in Amman explained: '*I have an ambition to have my own workshop and business – for car mechanics*'. In the case of older adolescent boys in

15-year-old Jordanian boy (of Palestinian origin) working in a juice shop in Amman, Jordan

> I have an ambition to have my own workshop and business – for car mechanics.
>
> (A 15-year-old Syrian boy living in a host community in Amman)

ITSs, who spend their days in gruelling agricultural work, aspirations were often simpler still: many wanted only to leave the fields. One 17-year-old boy from an ITS near Irbid noted: '*I do not want to work on farms. I want a better job, a relaxing one … a good and comforting job*'. In line with previous research (e.g. Van Blerk et al., 2017), we found that Palestinian refugee boys' aspirations stand out for not only their realism but also their fatalism (due to a combination of legal restrictions on what work they may undertake and financial restrictions on which of the remaining pathways they can realistically pursue). A 17-year-old out-of-school boy from Gaza Camp noted, '*I wanted to learn a certain profession but the financial situation does not allow me to learn it*'.

Adolescents aspirations are overall notable for how poorly they reflect reality. Only 54% of older adolescents in our sample are enrolled in formal education (generally a precursor for professional work), Jordan's female labour force participation rate is amongst the lowest in the world, and professional occupations are closed to sub-sets of refugees. Clear from listening to young people talk about the futures that they imagine for themselves is that few have any real understanding of what steps and supports would be required to achieve their goals. In part this appears related to age, given that the youngest adolescents often profess aspirations that they cannot fully explain. However, even older adolescents often report occupational aspirations that are all but unachievable. For example, an out-of-school married girl in an ITS in Amman governorate explained that she aspired to join the Jordanian armed forces: '*My dream was to finish my studies and then to join the Jordanian army … Yes, I would still like to!* [laughs]. *I can show you pictures on my phone … It's a nice job.*'

It is also vital to understand parental aspirations for children, as these often shape adolescents' own aspirations

> There is a huge number of unemployed guys, I wish they could use the potential of the youth.
>
> (A Palestinian father)

(Favara, 2017). Our findings highlight that parents from all nationalities would prefer that their children – though especially their sons – complete their studies and take up skilled professional jobs that will enable them to lead more prosperous lives. For example, the mother of a young adolescent in Mafraq explained that her aspiration for her children is '*To study hard, to finish their study, to have good jobs and to like a good life better than our life*'. Palestinian and Syrian refugee caregivers were, however, understandably more circumspect about the economic aspirations they hold for their adolescents, as they, even more so than their older sons, understand the legal and economic realities. A Palestinian father reported that he simply wished for his sons to find work – any work: '*There is a huge number of unemployed guys, I wish they could use the potential of the youth*'. A Syrian mother, living in Azraq, added that while she wished for her son to become a teacher, she knew that this was a difficult path and that her son was more likely to drop out of school: '*He says he prefers to drop school and start working … We reply that if he studies hard he will reach a stage when he can become a teacher and work and earn money … I dream of this. But this is hard to achieve in the camp. It is extremely difficult*.'

6.2 Market-appropriate skills

Our baseline research echoes a government survey, which found that technical and vocational education and training (TVET) is a pathway that few young people in Jordan pursue (Steer et al., 2014; Arab Barometer, 2017). Indeed, despite provision by the Ministry of Education (n.d.) and UNRWA (n.d.), we found only a few adolescents – almost exclusively refugee girls – who had ever participated in any form of skills training. All had taken relatively short-term classes, focused on beauty, provided by local and international NGOs and aimed at empowering refugees. One older Syrian girl, living in Mafraq, reported that she was attending beautician training at Jordan River Foundation: '*I'm getting training in cosmetics. They start with life skills in the first two weeks. And then it is make-up, hair*.' Another Syrian girl, only 13 years old, still in school, and living in a host community in Amman, explained that she too had trained in cosmetology. '*I learned hairdressing at a vocational training centre, Sanad, which is a project from Denmark. It was very good, I hope it will be repeated … We learned hair extensions, hair wrap, skin cleaning by thread … If I hadn't been in school I could have learned more … If I were to stay every day, I would have had a 100-*

> If you tell the young people in general that there will be training in carpentry or a craft, you will find more than half of people in the camp come to you because of that.
>
> (A Makani facilitator in an ITS)

hour certificate … If you want to work, even if at home, it is something sweet for you for yourself.'

One finding emerged most strongly in our qualitative work, though it directly contradicts earlier research – more focused on Jordanians – which found that adolescents were simply not interested in TVET (Steer et al., 2014; Arab Barometer, 2017), and that was that refugees have unmet demand for training programmes. This was particularly the case for Palestinians from Gaza Camp, who, as noted earlier, face the strongest legal restrictions on employment and live too far away to avail themselves of UNRWA's TVET centres. A father from Gaza Camp told us that training programmes are simply not available locally: '*What adolescents need in the camp is craft centres and vocational training. We don't have this here.*' Key informants noted that Syrian adolescents also have pent-up demand for TVET. A Makani facilitator in an ITS (Mateen) noted, '*If you tell the young people in general that there will be training in carpentry or a craft, you will find more than half of people in the camp come to you because of that*'.

6.3 Access to decent and age-appropriate employment

In line with government figures, which report that the employment rate of young women aged 15–24 years is less than a quarter than that of their male peers (8% versus 37%) (Government of Jordan, 2017), our research found that adolescents' access to decent and age-appropriate employment is deeply gendered (see also UN Women, 2013; World Bank, 2013; 2019a,b). Of the older adolescents who completed our survey, 64% of boys but only 11% of girls had worked for pay in the last year (see Box 13). Our qualitative work highlighted that this gender gap is the result of social norms that position boys as providers and girls as in need of protection. Parents explained that while their sons may have to endure being '*very thin from the exhaustion*' of work, it was inconceivable that they would '*torture*' their daughters with work (woman head of household living in a host community in Mafraq).

Echoing the 2016 National Child Labour Survey (ILO and Centre for Strategic Studies, 2016), which noted that the number of child labourers in Jordan doubled between 2007 and 2016 due to the influx of Syrian refugees who rely on child labour to make ends meet, we found that Syrian boys are more likely to work for pay than their Jordanian and Palestinian peers. In the past year, 66% of older Syrian boys, but only 54% of their Palestinian peers and 53% of their Jordanian peers reported having worked for pay. Our qualitative work found that in addition to being more likely to

Box 13: Girls' engagement with child labour

In the context of social norms that prioritise women's reproductive roles and men's productive roles, where girls do work for pay, genuine destitution is often the driver (UN Women, 2013; Arab Barometer, 2018b). While this is reflected in the differential employment rates of Syrian girls (12%) versus Jordanian and Palestinian girls (both 9%), it emerges most strongly focusing on Syrian girls by location. Of those living in camps, only 7% had worked for pay in the past year; of those living in host communities, the figure was 9%. However, of those living in ITSs, almost half (46%) had worked for pay in the past year. Our qualitative work highlighted that girls' higher rates of child labour in ITSs are driven by poverty – but allowed by the fact that girls can work in the fields alongside their parents, which protects their reputation. '*We need to have money every day*,' explained an 18-year-old girl living in an ITS. '*I worked with my mother … We should work to provide the home expenses*,' added a 17-year-old girl from the same community.

Interestingly, while girls are far less likely to work for pay than boys, where girls do work, they have worked a similar number of days over the past month (9 days for girls and 10.6 days for boys). Their hourly and daily wages are also roughly similar to those of boys: girls' hourly wages are a bit higher (1.9 JD versus 1.7 JD) and their daily wages a bit lower (6 JD versus 7.2 JD).

Girls' lower rates of engagement with paid work do not indicate that girls are not working – merely that they are not being paid for their work. Across nationalities, nearly three-quarters (73%) of older adolescents agree that household work is not distributed equally between girls and boys (76% of girls and 70% of boys).

work for pay, Syrian boys also tend to begin working for pay at younger ages, to work longer days, and in the most menial jobs. A mother living in Zaatari Camp explained: '*The young boys are working on the vegetables, the donkey cart, they sell the vegetables … They may be nine years … and boys clean restaurants, wash dishes … They pay them 3 JD per day – opening at 7 in the morning to 4 or 5 in the evening*.'

Key informants emphasised that Syrian boys are also more likely to be abused while they are working, because they are blamed for stealing jobs and driving up the unemployment rate, despite the fact that they primarily take only jobs shunned by Jordanians and Palestinians. A Makani facilitator explained, '*Sometimes, the people violate these working children in the middle of the street. They stopped them in the roads; they said to them that they don't have the right to work … that they are the sons of the country and they have the right to work more than them … They face all kinds of harassment, dogs, even sexual harassment*.'

In part reflecting national law, which prohibits those under the age of 16 from working for pay and limits those under 18 to no more than six hours of work per day – but also shaped by Jordan's high youth unemployment rate (officially 37% in 2018) (World Bank, 2019b) – our survey found that boys' work tends to be piecemeal and is extremely poorly paid. Boys who indicated that they had worked for pay in the last year reported that over the past 7 days, they had worked an average of 21 hours. Over the past month, they had worked an average of 10.6 days. Unsurprisingly, given greater levels of household poverty, Syrian boys had worked two days more than Jordanians and Palestinians (11 versus 9). Boys reported an average hourly wage of 1.7 JD ($2.40) and an average daily wage of 7.2 JD ($10.20).[23]

6.4 Access to assets and resources

Partly due to the economic fragility of their households and partly due to generational hierarchies that leave even young adults financially dependent on their parents (or parents-in-law, in the case of married girls) (Barcucci and Mryyan, 2014), adolescents who completed our survey reported limited access to cash. Only 24% reported any control over cash in the past year. There were no differences between age cohorts or locations, but unsurprisingly, given poverty rates, Jordanians were far more likely to have controlled cash than refugees (36% versus 22%). Indeed, Syrian adolescents repeatedly

> Saving is everything, knowing the difference between what is a necessity and what is not is important … I discuss this with my children. It's important they get used to the idea of saving.
>
> (A Syrian refugee father from a host community in Mafraq)

emphasised the need to economise. '*I used to always ask for things that are not too expensive for my family because I understand our situation*,' explained a 17-year-old Syrian refugee girl living in a host community in Mafraq. The gender gap in control over cash was significant and in the expected direction, given gender norms that position males as both providers and the ones who make family decisions. Girls were 18% less likely to have controlled cash than boys (22% versus 27%). The gender gap grows over time, with older girls 25% less likely to control cash than older boys (versus an 11% gap for the younger cohort).

Again reflecting household poverty – albeit also adolescent preferences – our survey found that only 5% of adolescents have any savings, despite some effort on the part of their parents to encourage the habit. A Syrian refugee father from a host community in Mafraq noted: '*Saving is everything, knowing the difference between what is a necessity and what is not is important … I discuss this with my children. It's important they get used to the idea of saving*.' Interestingly, married girls emerged in our research as by far the most likely to have savings. While 4% of older boys and 5% of older unmarried girls reported having savings, this figure was 15% for married girls, likely reflecting the gold they buy at the beginning of the marriage.

Our survey did not ask adolescents about their experiences with credit, given their age (the oldest cohort being only 15–17 years at baseline), and very little spontaneously emerged in our qualitative work. The single exception was married girls, whose husbands are almost universally adult men who can secure loans against their salaries. Girls reported that their husbands had often borrowed quite heavily in order to finance marriage, due to customs that require grooms to provide their fiancées with cash to purchase wedding clothes and jewellery (and in recent years mobile phones), and that payments could be crushing. A recently married 17-year-old Syrian girl from a host community in Mafraq explained: '*We have a*

23 Exchange rate as at 25 July 2019.

Box 14: Jordan's social protection programming at a glance

- **Ministry of Social Development's National Aid Fund (NAF)** – Conditional social assistance programme (immunisation; school attendance; no reports of domestic violence in the past year; no incidence of begging) for vulnerable Jordanians including those below the poverty line and families with members with disabilities. Reaching more than 90,000 households.
- **UNICEF's Hajati programme** – Labelled cash transfer to increase school enrolment and decrease dropout, with linkages to education services and behaviour change communications; targeting vulnerable children age 5–16 years regardless of nationality or registration status; for the school year 2017/18, covered more than 55,000 vulnerable children, reduced to 8,000 in 2018/19.
- **UNHCR winterization and cash assistance** – Monthly unconditional emergency cash assistance for vulnerable Syrians in host communities. Assessment based on home visits. Monthly cash assistance is distributed to more than 130,000 persons, and winter assistance to more than 350,000 people.
- **UNRWA's Social Safety Net Programme** – Food assistance and cash subsidies for the most vulnerable Palestinian refugees; distributed on a quarterly basis. Reaching 60,000 (3% of all registered refugees in Jordan).
- **World Food Programme** – Food vouchers (and now cash transfers) of various amounts (a maximum of $32/month/capita) for the nearly 500,000 most food-insecure Syrian refugees; school meals and nutrition education; Food Assistance for Assets (FFA) programme to encourage building or rehabilitation of assets and Food Assistance for Training (FFT) programme for vocational training.
- **Zakat Fund** – Islamic religious tithing system used to support vulnerable orphans and widows, and the poorest, regardless of nationality. Covers cash and in-kind assistance through individual programmes and is funded by donations.
- **NGO support (national and international)** – Various in-kind and cash transfers implemented on a project basis especially during height of the Syrian refugee crisis, but many have been discontinued in recent years.

tough financial situation. My husband took out loans before marriage … About 8,000 or 9,000 JD … He pays monthly – as it is deducted from his salary … His salary is just 300–400 JD. Half of his salary goes towards the loan. He took out the loan for my marriage payment.'

6.5 Access to age- and gender-responsive social protection

There is an array of social protection programmes in Jordan, for host and refugee populations, provided by a disparate set of actors (see Box 14). These programmes have shifted considerably in recent years, in response to changing needs and budgets. Our research echoes findings from other recent research (e.g. Abu Hamad et al., 2017; Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017; Röth et al., 2017) that these programmes are necessary but insufficient, and are almost entirely oblivious to adolescents' age- and gender-related needs.

> We were cut off from the cash … Now we just get aid from general charity associations, they give us food parcels and winter clothes and things like that, it is sporadic assistance not continuous.
>
> (A Syrian father living in a host community)

Beginning with WFP food vouchers (which are being replaced with cash since we collected our data), which reach the greatest proportion of households among the social assistance packages offered, our qualitative research findings highlight both importance and insufficiency. A 17-year-old Syrian girl living in an ITS near Amman, for example, emphasised that food vouchers are critical to her household's food security – as well as allowing occasional treats for children in the household. She explained, '*We get the food coupon each month … My mother buys rice, sugar, flour, margarine, and oil … and tea … But for me, nougat and juice are the most important.*' A Syrian father living in a host community in Irbid, on the other hand, noted that cash value of vouchers was inadequate: '*We have the card and buy food … But it's never enough.*'

In the case of cash assistance, our research confirms findings from previous studies but also captures recent budget-driven changes. Like Abu Hamad et al. (2017), GAGE baseline research found that cash is improving adolescents' food security and opportunities for socialisation, but is insufficient to offset the social norms that drive child

labour and school dropout. GAGE findings also, however, highlight refugees' concerns about discontinuation, which is becoming more common over time given narrowing fiscal space and changing priorities. A Syrian father living in a host community explained, '*We were cut off from the cash … Now we just get aid from general charity associations, they give us food parcels and winter clothes and things like that, it is sporadic assistance not continuous*.' Confusion and dismay about UNICEF's Hajati programme, which has suffered from particularly deep budget cuts despite being well-targeted (see Box 14), was particularly common. The GAGE survey, for which data was collected from the second half of 2018 to early 2019, found that while 35% of adolescents had ever received Hajati, only 5% were currently receiving it. As one Syrian refugee father of adolescent boys in a host community in Irbid emphasised, '*In the winter, UNICEF gave the boys (each) 20 JD in the school … Then, they stopped giving us in April. They sent a message that there was a shortage in aid … Now there is nothing*.' A Syrian mother living in a host community in Mafraq was aware that the programme had been discontinued and believed that it was because the assistance had been time-limited and linked to particular schools. She reported, '*It worked for about two years then stopped … But they probably stopped after that, because the programme might just have been for two years … They go to the schools, now each school had a UNICEF advisor. Every kid in that school who signed up got support. We do not have UNICEF at our school now*.'

Syrians living in UNHCR's Zaatari and Azraq Camps are not eligible for cash transfers but do receive a package of social protection support that many consider quite strong. A mother living in Azraq Camp, for example, explained, '*Things here are much better than outside. We have water … They also gave us heating oil against the cold. The commission [UNHCR] gives us coupons to get sugar, food, and the children get pencils and notebooks in school. We don't buy them anything*.' Respondents in particular emphasised that food security is often better in camps, due to free bread distribution and school feeding. That said, the lack of cash assistance also means that it can be hard for in-camp families to meet their adolescents' broader needs. As a health worker in an Azraq camp hospital explained: '*There are many things other than food, like clothes, shoes, special requirements – all these must be paid in cash*.' The lack of access to cash is especially acute for households in Azraq Camp, where opportunities for work outside the camp are more limited owing to a combination of its geographical isolation and greater difficulties in receiving work permits

> In the winter, UNICEF gave the boys (each) 20 JD in the school… Then, they stopped giving us in April. They sent a message that there was a shortage in aid… Now there is nothing.
>
> (A Syrian refugee father of adolescent boys in a host community in Irbid)

(especially for residents who originally resided in Village 5, which has high surveillance).

For Palestinian refugees, social assistance packages are far more limited. Respondents mentioned only '*Takiya Um Ali*', which provides households with food support. They noted that while packages used to be in-kind, and include legumes, oil, and sugar (but never fruits and vegetables), now they receive '*a card*' which enables them to buy '*the same supplies they give to the Syrians*' (older boys from Gaza Camp). Participants in focus group discussions agreed that the new distribution system is much better than the previous one, and that it is improving their lives considerably. Respondents also, however, highlighted the disparities between different groups of Palestinians, noting that those from Gaza – who do not have a national identification number because they have not been granted citizenship (Palestinian Return Centre, 2018) – are not eligible for bread subsidies and are required to pay higher co-payments for medical care.

In the case of Jordanian households, the National Aid Fund (see Box 14) is the main source of social assistance. The programme has been considerably strengthened in recent years, in part due to funding support from the international community, which acknowledges that the poorest Jordanians have paid the highest price for the influx of refugees. While few households in our sample are enrolled in the Fund, we found that those who are appreciate the support it provides, but find it insufficient to move their families out of poverty. As a Jordanian father from Mafraq noted, '*We have the income that comes from the National Aid and there is no income from anywhere else … We don't get that much money, only about 60 JD, and then groceries. But it does help*.'

6.6 Change strategies

We found no evidence of effective at-scale change strategies aimed specifically at economically empowering adolescents. Existing strategies appear to be either small scale, weak, or insufficiently adolescent-friendly. Efforts

Adolescent Syrian boy working in an informal tented settlement in Jordan
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to support adolescents' occupational aspirations appear to be almost completely non-existent, though UNICEF's Makani programme, as noted in Chapter 5 (Box 12), is helping young people to develop the soft skills necessary to their eventual employment. Skills training programmes that would help adolescents access decent employment are not reaching those who need them most. They are either small-scale, not easily accessible, or are insufficiently aligned with labour market needs and adolescents' interests. While we are aware that government schools ostensibly provide financial education, these classes were not mentioned by our respondents.

We found that change strategies directed at adolescents' economic empowerment are generally weak, which is deeply problematic given the size of the generation and already high youth unemployment and underemployment. Some TVET services are provided in urban centres, but most young people do not see them as a pathway to economic advancement, given that courses are poorly aligned with labour market demands. In addition, because courses require a 10th grade school leaving certificate – which is out of reach for many of the most vulnerable adolescents, given that only 54% of our older cohort is still enrolled in school – TVET programming offers little scope for altering the trajectories of the poorest. Access to credit, and especially the financial literacy classes that make credit '*safe*', appear similarly limited, which means that young people cannot afford to launch their own small businesses. Social protection programmes, while many and varied, are not only seeing swingeing cuts but rarely account for adolescents' specific needs and do not include linkages to complementary programmes that do. The needs of children and adolescents with disabilities are particularly ignored. Not only do programmes not account for the different needs and sometimes higher costs of those with disabilities (e.g. for healthcare, transport and disposables), but we found that even the National Aid Fund – which targets people with disabilities (among other vulnerable groups) – often fails to include young people who are clearly in need of benefits.

Policy and practice recommendations

The transition from adolescence to adulthood involves important opportunities as well as risks. Our research suggests that the international community, in cooperation with the Government of Jordan, could take advantage of these opportunities by investing in the following age- and gender-sensitive policies and programmes to support adolescent wellbeing now and in the future in Jordan's host and refugee communities alike.

Education and learning

Expand educational access

- **Maintain and expand access to formal education** by increasing the number of classrooms and trained teachers, adapting infrastructure and learning materials to meet the needs of adolescents with disabilities, providing transportation and evening schools/flexi-hour schools, and working with families on a one-to-one basis to help them negotiate barriers to school attendance.
- **Better publicise existing catch-up and non-formal education programmes** to support adolescents who have dropped out to continue to learn, and return to formal education where possible. Both the Ministry of Education and the UN (including UNICEF, UNHCR and UNRWA) could play a key role in this, raising awareness through parent–teacher associations, community programming (such as Makani centres), social media and information hotlines for refugee communities.
- **Expand and tailor education and training pathways for older adolescents for whom a return to formal education is no longer practical**, ensuring that curriculum options are tailored to labour market needs and adolescent interests and are sufficiently flexible to include the most vulnerable, including married and divorced girls and adolescents with disabilities.
- **Scale up awareness-raising efforts with parents on the importance education, including for adolescents with disabilities and especially at the secondary level.** This could be undertaken as part of broader parenting classes (e.g. through Makani centres) and should also include practical guidance on what parents can do to support their adolescent children to succeed in education.
- **Incentivise parents to invest in education** and reduce the opportunity costs of education by providing labelled cash transfers to highly vulnerable families.

Improve learning outcomes

- **Partner with schools, especially boys' schools, to help teachers adopt child-friendly pedagogies** to support retention, enhance learning outcomes, improve classroom discipline, reduce bullying, and foster the meaningful participation that allows young people to develop the soft skills they need for eventual employment.
- **Enforce zero-tolerance anti-bullying policies in schools and provide security outside school buildings as classes begin and end.** Parents and older adolescents could be engaged in implementing community security, coordinated by parent–teacher associations.
- **Over time, work to ensure that public schools are mixed in terms of student nationality**, so as to enhance young people's appreciation of diversity, foster social cohesion, and strengthen their sense of shared belonging.
- **Provide scholarships or loans for tertiary education for Syrian and Palestinian refugees** to maintain motivation in school.
- **Raise teacher salaries** to grow commitment to the profession.

Collect better evaluation data

- **Invest in robust impact evaluations of programmes to support education for refugee communities,** including the Hajati labelled cash transfer for education and the Makani integrated child and adolescent programme, to assess possible complementarities. Initiatives by GAGE and by Innocenti are examples of this type of

assessment, and findings should be shared more broadly to inform programming in other crisis contexts.

Bodily integrity and freedom from violence

Tackle age-based violence

- **Continue investing in and expand opportunities for teachers and schools to adopt child-friendly pedagogies and positive disciplinary approaches,** which will also improve learning outcomes and psychosocial well-being.
- **Establish initiatives to ensure safe and anonymous reporting of violence and timely follow-up and responses**, including case management support and disciplinary action by the Ministry of Education for recidivists. Take special note of Azraq Camp, where concerns about surveillance and deportation leave adolescents afraid to report violence.
- **Enforce zero-tolerance anti-bullying policies in schools and provide security on the streets** as children come to and from school.
- **Provide children with school- and community-based programming aimed at building social cohesion and respect for diversity** to reduce the bullying that refugee children experience.
- **Target boys for programming that fosters positive masculinities** and encourages them to demonstrate strength in non-violent ways.
- **Scale up parenting classes and parent support groups** to improve communication between parents and adolescents, shift gender norms, and relieve parent stress.
- **Work with Palestinians and Syrians living in refugee camps to identify high-priority concerns** and how these might be addressed in ways that meet both residents' needs for security and control and the Jordanian government's security-related policies.

Promote awareness around child marriage and how to combat it

- **Identify and collaborate with champions of change among religious and other community leaders to develop and disseminate messages about the risks and opportunity costs of child and consanguineous marriage** to communities and parents, making sure to target men, who are most often the decision-makers.
- **Target girls with empowerment programmes** so that they understand they have a right to refuse early or consanguineous marriage and know how to report (for themselves and others) if need be.
- **Pilot lump-sum cash transfer payments linked to continued schooling and delayed marriage.**

Invest in sexual and gender-based violence prevention and responses

- **Organise and scale up parent and adolescent volunteers to provide better security outside of girls' schools.**
- **Expand programming that supports empowerment for girls and positive masculinities for boys,** through synchronised and structured gender-transformative programming.
- **Invest in gender- synchronised programming for young married couples (whereby married adolescent boys or men and married adolescent girls learn the same content but in same sex groups)** with sessions aimed at addressing harmful gender norms (by promoting positive masculinities among other progressive norms) and improving communication to reduce intimate partner violence.
- **Invest in legal aid and psychosocial support services for adolescent girls and women** who have experienced sexual and gender-based violence and ensure that such services are publicised through advertisements online, at mosques, and in community centres.

Health, nutrition, and sexual and reproductive health

Strengthen health services for adolescents

- **Provide free healthcare to adolescents with disabilities,** subsidising transport costs for those from the poorest and most remote families.
- **Target adolescents and parents, especially fathers, with campaigns aimed at tackling substance use.** Pair with treatment options that address both the medical and psychosocial aspects of substance use.
- **Expand physical education in public schools** to ensure that regular physical activity becomes a habit that young people can take forward into adulthood.

19-year-old Palestinian girl who is blind in Gaza Camp, Jordan
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- **Develop and scale up community-based female-only sports/physical recreation opportunities,** targeting not only girls but also mothers in order to better shape sustained behaviours.
- **Provide age-tailored health classes** (at school and in the community) **and websites** (using the UK National Health Service website as a user-friendly model) that educate adolescents and parents on healthy life choices, basic self-care, and how to recognise when to seek medical care as a means to improve health and reduce overuse of medical services.

Enhance water, sanitation and hygiene facilities

- **Scale up water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) initiatives (including toilets and hand-washing facilities) in camps and ITSs to reduce infectious disease,** and pair with community-designed plans to keep facilities hygienic.

Improve access to nutritious food and nutritional education

- **Work with the ministries of Education, Health, and Youth to ensure that school canteens provide nutritious foods,** including fruit.
- **Provide nutrition classes** in community- and school-based venues for children and parents, emphasising the importance of diversity and balance.

Support measures to strengthen sexual and reproductive health and rights

- **Ensure that the topic of puberty, including menstruation, is covered in both school- and community-based venues** and pair classes for adolescents with classes for parents, to better prepare parents to support their adolescents as they mature.
- **Design awareness-raising messages framed around better child outcomes,** delivered by religious and community leaders where possible, highlighting

the risks of child and consanguineous marriage, the (health and economic) benefits of delayed pregnancy and appropriate child spacing, and the importance of good nutrition during pregnancy and breastfeeding.

- **Step up efforts to make sure that all young couples are tested,** before marriage, for genetic markers that make consanguineous marriages more likely to produce children with health challenges.
- **Provide all young couples with individual and joint counselling sessions that educate them about sexual and reproductive health,** including the advantages of well-timed pregnancies, the variety of contraceptive methods available, and the necessity of good maternal nutrition and exercise.

Psychosocial well-being

- **Expand opportunities for adolescents to spend time with one another in safe spaces that are run by caring adults.** Ensure that programming is inclusive – of married and divorced girls, those with disabilities, and those who work – and that it is age-tailored to reflect the changing needs of younger versus older adolescents.
- **Scale up school- and community-based programming, including through participatory classroom activities,** which helps adolescents develop confidence, express their thoughts and feelings, and collaborate with one another to solve problems.
- **Scale up parenting classes and parent support groups, including for fathers, to develop parents' capacities for supporting their adolescents.** Content should address non-violent disciplinary approaches, communication techniques, all aspects of adolescent development, and the gender norms that leave girls at risk of social isolation and child marriage.
- **Provide tailored continuing education classes to teachers and other adolescent service providers** that highlight the opportunities of adolescence, as well as recent advances and best practices in understanding, communicating with, and supporting adolescents.
- **Promote national efforts to expand psychosocial support services,** including though case management services, hotlines, the provision of school counsellors, and psychosocial first aid classes for adolescents, focusing first on those who have experienced age- and gender-based violence.

Voice and agency

- **Support adolescent aspirations by exposing young people to role models and providing them with mentors.** Programming should include the most vulnerable adolescents (particularly married and divorced girls, those with disabilities, and those living in ITSs, and should highlight not only what opportunities are available but also what concrete steps are required to operationalise their aspirations.
- **Expand investments in community-based safe spaces where adolescents can develop confidence and practise decision-making**. Use these safe spaces to provide volunteer opportunities that create connections between young people and their communities, as well as to foster social cohesion across groups.
- **Move towards more child-friendly pedagogies that encourage classroom participation** and build adolescents' soft skills through revised teacher training curricula, updated classroom guidance, and monitoring of teacher practice.
- **Work with the Ministry of Education to expand opportunities within the school environment** for adolescents to gain experience in voicing their opinions and exercising meaningful leadership.
- **Scale up parenting classes and parent support groups** that teach adolescent-friendly communication techniques, encourage adults to allow more adolescent decision-making, and address the gender norms that leave girls with no voice.
- **Promote opportunities for adolescents vulnerable to social isolation, including girls and those with disabilities, to have greater access to internet connectivity** so as to connect with peers and access information. Adolescent programmes that provide access to computer laboratories with guidance on safe internet usage could be encouraged.

12-year-old Palestinian boy in Gaza Camp who attends school and works
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Economic empowerment and social protection

- **Provide adolescents (and parents), at schools and though community-based venues, with clear guidance** that helps them understand the steps required to operationalise educational and occupational aspirations.
- **Expand opportunities for adolescents to develop and put into practice the soft skills** that are necessary to their eventual employment.
- **Expand and tailor skills training programmes for older adolescents**, ensuring that curriculum are matched to labour market needs and adolescent interests, and are accessible and flexible enough to include the most vulnerable (such as married and divorced girls and adolescents with disabilities).
- **Improve adolescents' access to financial education and savings opportunities,** through both school and community programming.
- **Assist out-of-school adolescents to obtain work permits.**
- **Tailor social protection programmes to better meet the needs of adolescents with disabilities,** given their often different needs and the higher costs incurred by their families in caring for them.
- **Design social protection programmes to take account of adolescents' age-related needs,** including linkages to loans for tertiary education and complementary skills-building courses.
- **Incentivise parents to eschew child labour (and child marriage)** by providing labelled cash transfers for education.

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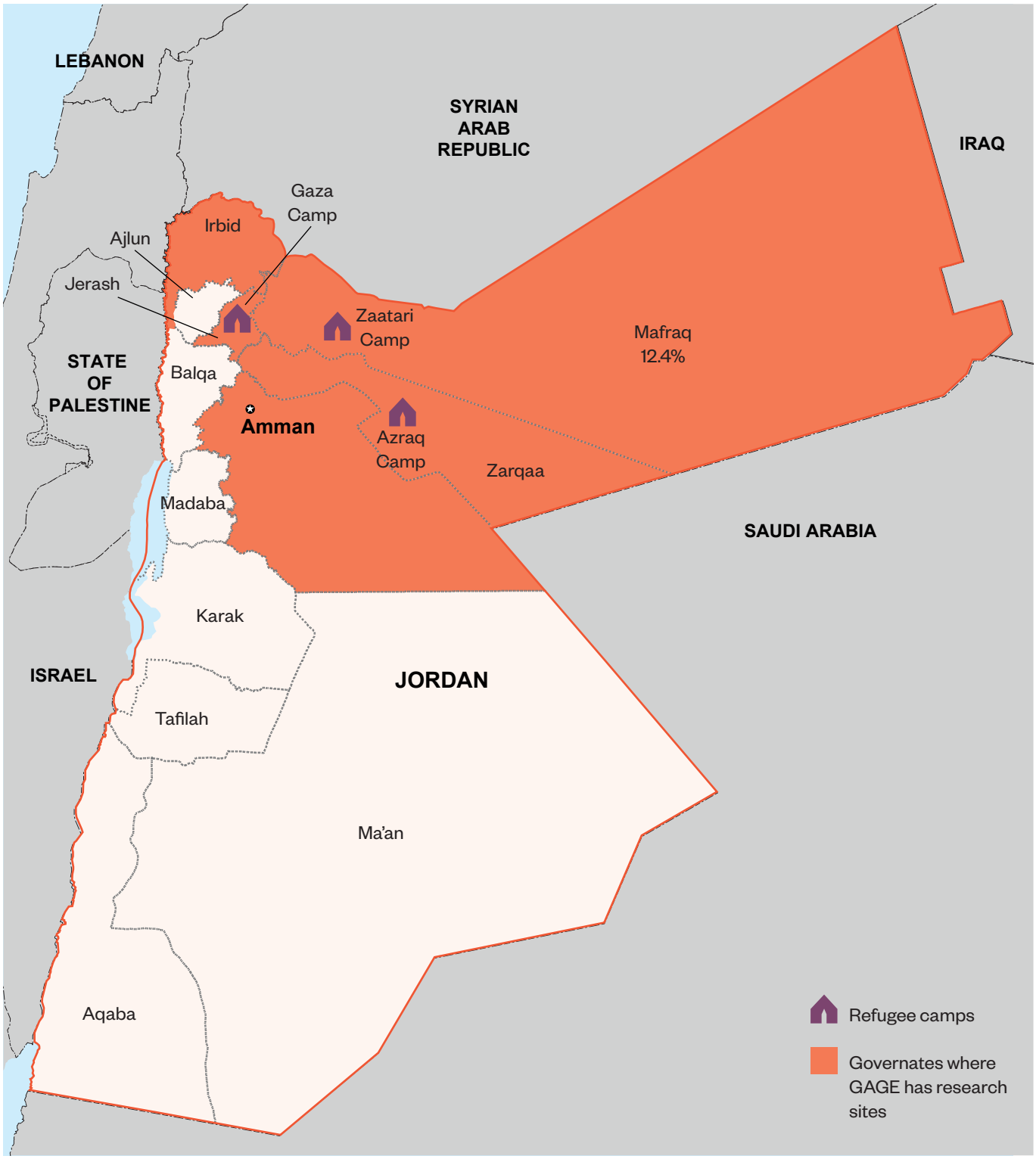
Annex 1: Map of GAGE research sites in Jordan



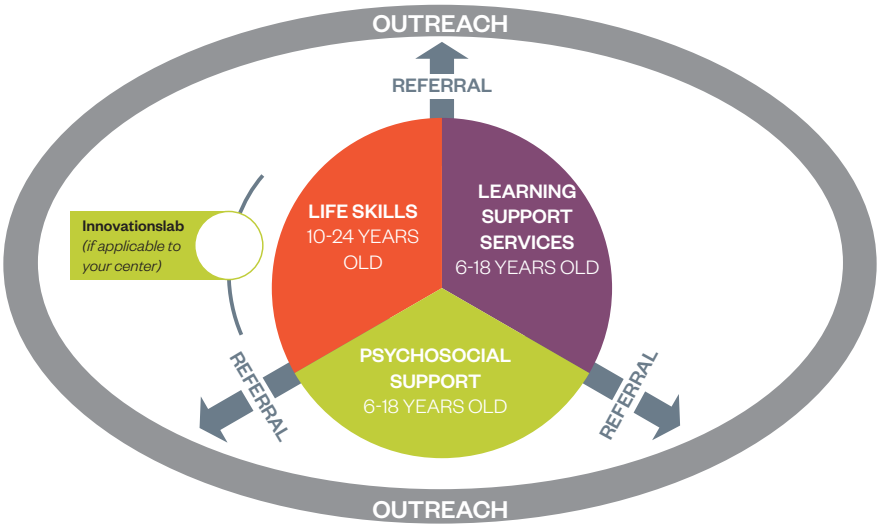
Source: Based on the UNHCR Jordan situational map of Jordan as of 2018 and modified to show GAGE research sites

Annex 2: The Makani programme

The motto of UNICEF Jordan's flagship integrated child, adolescent and youth Makani programme is: '*I am safe, I learn, I connect*.' However, while the fundamental goals of the programme have not shifted, programme components have seen considerable evolution since its 2015 launch. Makani programming was originally delivered by more than a dozen non-governmental and community-based partners and combined alternative education with life-skills training, child protection and psychosocial support. It aimed to support refugee children (primarily Syrian) by connecting them with peers and trusted adults in safe spaces and to facilitate the development of their voices and confidence as they learned. It also aimed to provide services for parents, to strengthen communities and to ensure that children in need of specialist services were identified and referred. In recent years, as Jordan's double-shift school system has expanded (with UNICEF's support) and more Syrian children have gained access to formal education, the Makani programme has adjusted its approach (see Figure 8 below).

One notable difference in more recent programming – which is now delivered directly by UNICEF in UNHCR camps – is that in host communities it now specifically targets groups of children beyond Syrians, including both vulnerable Jordanians and Palestinians. This is partly to ensure that other groups of young people have equitable access to services, and partly to foster social cohesion between different groups. Another key difference is that in most locations, Makani centres are now actively working to ensure that children are enrolled in formal education and are providing after- (or before-) school learning support rather than stand-alone informal education. Life-skills sessions, which continue to focus on confidence and communication, are available to young people aged 10–24 and are now also sometimes accompanied by Social Innovation Labs, which aim to attract and retain older adolescents (those aged 14–18) by providing them with enhanced opportunities to learn the skills (hard and soft) that could improve their own futures and those of their communities. Psychosocial support has been effectively rebranded child protection and, as well as helping children process the conflict-related violence they may have experienced or witnessed, is offering formal sessions that help children understand – and access – their right to live a life free from all types of violence. Finally, Makani's stepped-up outreach approach includes an increasing number of community committees and sessions for parents, as well as (in some centres) early childhood education. In 2018, the Makani programme reached more than 200,000 people, including more than 160,000 children, through 150 centres.[1]

Figure 1: Makani programme components



Frontline staff should report all these Makani activities through the real time monitoring system

Source: UNICEF, n.d.

1 The Jordan Times (2019) 'Programme launched to support Makani centres'. *The Jordan Times*, 16 January, (www.jordantimes.com/news/local/programme-launched-support-makani-centres).

Annex 3: Quantitative data baseline results

Table A1: Jordan baseline results: education

	Overall				Gender				Age				Disability Status			
					Male	Female	% Diff		Old	Young	% Diff		No Disability	Disability	% Diff	
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Mean		(F-M)	Sig Dif?	Mean		(D-NoD)	Sig Dif?	Mean		(D-NoD)	Sig Dif?
=1 if currently enrolled in school	4101	0.752	0	1	0.746	0.757	1%		0.544	0.937	72%	X	0.750	0.755	1%	
=1 if CR currently enrolled in non-formal education	4098	0.078	0	1	0.088	0.068	-2%	X	0.071	0.083	17%		0.078	0.078	0%	
=1 if CR has a non-formal education certificate	4124	0.047	0	1	0.049	0.044	0%		0.042	0.051	22%		0.047	0.051	9%	
=1 if CR currently enrolled in informal education	4100	0.148	0	1	0.159	0.138	-2%	O	0.105	0.186	77%	X	0.147	0.131	-11%	
ASER Reading score, (0-4, higher is better)	3952	2.772	0	4	2.584	2.947	36%	X	2.986	2.589	-13%	X	2.824	2.364	-16%	X
=1 if Maximum ASER Reading Score	3952	0.461	0	1	0.392	0.525	13%	X	0.548	0.387	-29%	X	0.477	0.333	-30%	X
ASER Math score, (0-4, higher is better)	3959	3.032	0	4	2.942	3.115	17%	X	3.027	3.036	0%		3.060	2.798	-9%	X
=1 if Maximum ASER Math Score	3959	0.398	0	1	0.353	0.441	9%	X	0.390	0.405	4%		0.407	0.327	-20%	X
Age of enrollment in Grade 1 (among those who ever enrolled in Gr 1)	3551	6.586	3	9	6.592	6.581	-1%		6.492	6.670	3%	X	6.580	6.629	1%	
CR Highest grade attended, scale 0-16	4001	6.83	0	16	6.769	6.887	12%		8.524	5.328	-37%	X	6.888	6.466	-6%	X
Share of days CR missed school in the last two weeks school was in session	3044	0.13	0	1	0.147	0.114	-3%	X	0.137	0.126	-8%		0.129	0.139	8%	
=1 if ever out of school for more than 3 months since starting Grade 1 (among those who ever enrolled in Gr 1)	3978	0.159	0	1	0.168	0.150	-2%		0.256	0.072	-72%	X	0.156	0.184	18%	
=1 if CR feels comfortable speaking up in class, among enrolled	3081	0.894	0	1	0.904	0.885	-2%	O	0.905	0.888	-2%		0.901	0.839	-7%	X
=1 if CR holds a leadership position at school, among enrolled	3082	0.376	0	1	0.373	0.378	1%		0.238	0.447	88%	X	0.385	0.296	-23%	X
=1 if school has facilities/resources girls can use during menstruation, among enrolled older females	581	0.594	0	1		0.594			0.607	0.405	-33%	X	0.587	0.660	12%	
=1 if CR aspires to attain at least some secondary school (or higher)	4101	0.822	0	1	0.798	0.844	5%	X	0.836	0.809	-3%	X	0.827	0.772	-7%	X
=1 if CR aspires to attain at least some university education	4101	0.703	0	1	0.662	0.742	8%	X	0.698	0.708	1%		0.709	0.658	-7%	X
=1 if AF aspires for CR to attain at least some secondary school (or higher) (young cohort)	1942	0.96	0	1	0.970	0.950	-2%	X		0.960			0.965	0.918	-5%	X
=1 if AF aspires for CR to attain at least some university education (young cohort)	1942	0.876	0	1	0.888	0.864	-2%			0.876			0.885	0.804	-9%	X
Gendered Education Attitudes	4031	2.091	0	6	2.334	1.862	-47%	X	2.059	2.119	3%		2.083	2.208	6%	O
Gendered Education Norms (old cohort)	1859	1.966	0	4	2.026	1.911	-12%	X	1.966				1.961	2.012	3%	
Our culture makes it harder for girls to achieve their goals than boys (old cohort)	1914	0.65	0	1	0.641	0.658	2%		0.650				0.650	0.651	0%	
Adol girls in my com are more likely to be out of school than adol boys (old cohort)	1887	0.614	0	1	0.589	0.636	5%	X	0.614				0.611	0.643	5%	
Girls in my com are sent to school only if they are not needed to help at home (old cohort)	1913	0.316	0	1	0.377	0.261	-12%	X	0.316				0.317	0.305	-4%	
Most peop in my com expect girls to be sent to sch only if not needed at home (old cohort)	1914	0.38	0	1	0.413	0.350	-6%	X	0.380				0.377	0.410	9%	
=1 if Agrees: Within the double shift system, Jordanian and Syrian students are are treated equally (skipped for camps)	2630	0.592	0	1	0.576	0.608	6%	O	0.573	0.609	6%	O	0.601	0.531	-12%	X

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X ($p<0.05$) or an O ($p<0.10$). Disability is defined using questions from the Washington Group and includes difficulty in six core functional domains (seeing, hearing, walking, self-care, cognition, and communication). The attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms.

Table A2: Jordan baseline results by age and gender

	Overall				Gender							
					Old Males	Old Females			Young Males	Young Females		
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Mean		% Diff (OF-OM)	Sig Dif?	Mean		% Diff (YF-YM)	Sig Dif?
=1 if currently enrolled in school	4101	0.752	0	1	0.5423	0.5447	0%		0.923	0.9495	3%	X
=1 if CR currently enrolled in non-formal education	4098	0.078	0	1	0.075	0.0676	-10%		0.100	0.068	-32%	X
=1 if CR has a non-formal education certificate	4124	0.047	0	1	0.036	0.047	28%		0.060	0.042	-29%	O
=1 if CR currently enrolled in informal education	4100	0.148	0	1	0.109	0.102	-6%		0.202	0.171	-15%	O
ASER Reading score, (0-4, higher is better)	3952	2.772	0	4	2.797	3.154	13%	X	2.409	2.763	15%	X
=1 if Maximum ASER Reading Score	3952	0.461	0	1	0.476	0.611	29%	X	0.323	0.449	39%	X
ASER Math score, (0-4, higher is better)	3959	3.032	0	4	2.957	3.089	4%	X	2.930	3.138	7%	X
=1 if Maximum ASER Math Score	3959	0.398	0	1	0.350	0.426	22%	X	0.355	0.454	28%	X
Age of enrollment in Grade 1 (among those who ever enrolled in Gr 1)	3551	6.586	3	9	6.512	6.475	-1%		6.660	6.678	0%	
CR Highest grade attended, scale 0-16	4001	6.83	0	16	8.450	8.591	2%		5.307	5.348	1%	
Share of days CR missed school in the last two weeks school was in session	3044	0.13	0	1	0.154	0.121	-21%	X	0.144	0.110	-24%	X
=1 if ever out of school for more than 3 months since starting Grade 1 (among those who ever enrolled in Gr 1)	3978	0.159	0	1	0.264	0.249	-6%		0.084	0.061	-27%	X
=1 if CR feels comfortable speaking up in class, among enrolled	3081	0.894	0	1	0.916	0.896	-2%		0.898	0.879	-2%	
=1 if CR holds a leadership position at school, among enrolled	3082	0.376	0	1	0.208	0.265	27%	X	0.457	0.437	-4%	
=1 if school has facilities/resources girls can use during menstruation, among enrolled older females	581	0.594	0	1		0.607				0.405		
=1 if CR aspires to attain at least some secondary school (or higher)	4101	0.822	0	1	0.824	0.846	3%		0.775	0.842	9%	X
=1 if CR aspires to attain at least some university education	4101	0.703	0	1	0.666	0.728	9%	X	0.659	0.755	15%	X
=1 if AF aspires for CR to attain at least some secondary school (or higher) (young cohort)	1942	0.96	0	1					0.970	0.950	-2%	X
=1 if AF aspires for CR to attain at least some university education (young cohort)	1942	0.876	0	1					0.888	0.864	-3%	
Gendered Education Attitudes	4031	2.091	0	6	2.339	1.802	-23%	X	2.331	1.917	-18%	X
Gendered Education Norms (old cohort)	1859	1.966	0	4	2.026	1.911	-6%	X				
Our culture makes it harder for girls to achieve their goals than boys (old cohort)	1914	0.65	0	1	0.641	0.658	3%					
Adol girls in my com are more likely to be out of school than adol boys (old cohort)	1887	0.614	0	1	0.589	0.636	8%	X				
Girls in my com are sent to school only if they are not needed to help at home (old cohort)	1913	0.316	0	1	0.377	0.261	-31%	X				
Most peop in my com expect girls to be sent to sch only if not needed at home (old cohort)	1914	0.38	0	1	0.413	0.350	-15%	X				
=1 if Agrees: Within the double shift system, Jordanian and Syrian students are are treated equally (skipped for camps)	2630	0.592	0	1	0.586	0.562	-4%		0.567	0.651	15%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). DThe attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms.

Table A3: Jordan baseline results by location

	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Host	ITS	Camp	Sig Dif?	Azraq	Zaatari	Gaza	Sig Dif?	Amman	Mafraq/ Irbid/ Zarqa	Jerash	Sig Dif?	Mafraq/ Irbid	Amman	% Diff (Am-MI)	Sig Dif?
						Mean				Mean				Mean						
=1 if currently enrolled in school	4101	0.752	0	1	0.778	0.435	0.777	X	0.721	0.776	0.876	X	0.813	0.726	0.892	X	0.412	0.485	18%	
=1 if CR currently enrolled in non-formal education	4098	0.078	0	1	0.070	0.124	0.082	X	0.105	0.084	0.035	X	0.065	0.077	0.048		0.149	0.071	-52%	X
=1 if CR has a non-formal education certificate	4124	0.047	0	1	0.046	0.023	0.052	X	0.060	0.068	0.010	X	0.039	0.057	0.024		0.024	0.020	-15%	
=1 if CR currently enrolled in informal education	4100	0.148	0	1	0.070	0.052	0.312	X	0.304	0.369	0.221	X	0.088	0.054	0.076	X	0.072	0.010	-86%	X
ASER Reading score, (0-4, higher is better)	3952	2.772	0	4	3.017	2.074	2.474	X	2.162	2.674	2.640	X	3.023	2.997	3.089	X	2.218	1.796	-19%	X
=1 if Maximum ASER Reading Score	3952	0.461	0	1	0.547	0.210	0.357	X	0.254	0.446	0.370	X	0.560	0.531	0.575	X	0.235	0.161	-31%	
ASER Math score, (0-4, higher is better)	3959	3.032	0	4	3.142	2.474	2.948	X	2.779	3.059	3.042	X	3.114	3.132	3.301	X	2.569	2.286	-11%	X
=1 if Maximum ASER Math Score	3959	0.398	0	1	0.451	0.202	0.344	X	0.277	0.391	0.376	X	0.427	0.452	0.541	X	0.221	0.165	-25%	
Age of enrollment in Grade 1 (among those who ever enrolled in Gr 1)	3551	6.586	3	9	6.531	6.915	6.621	X	6.809	6.649	6.234	X	6.480	6.550	6.644	X	6.877	6.988	2%	
CR Highest grade attended, scale 0-16	4001	6.83	0	16	7.191	4.416	6.670	X	5.943	7.107	7.121	X	7.155	7.340	6.608	X	4.403	4.441	1%	
Share of days CR missed school in the last two weeks school was in session	3044	0.13	0	1	0.130	0.161	0.125		0.145	0.094	0.149	X	0.128	0.129	0.142	X	0.153	0.177	16%	
=1 if ever out of school for more than 3 months since starting Grade 1 (among those who ever enrolled in Gr 1)	3978	0.159	0	1	0.156	0.184	0.159		0.248	0.144	0.031	X	0.139	0.173	0.139	X	0.206	0.141	-31%	
=1 if CR feels comfortable speaking up in class, among enrolled	3081	0.894	0	1	0.889	0.910	0.902		0.895	0.896	0.921		0.870	0.909	0.874		0.919	0.896	-2%	
=1 if CR holds a leadership position at school, among enrolled	3082	0.376	0	1	0.374	0.381	0.378		0.349	0.362	0.449	X	0.409	0.332	0.417	O	0.395	0.354	-10%	
=1 if school has facilities/resources girls can use during menstruation, among enrolled older females	581	0.594	0	1	0.610	0.400	0.567		0.540	0.520	0.705	O	0.680	0.561	0.583	X	0.400			
=1 if CR aspires to attain at least some secondary school (or higher)	4101	0.822	0	1	0.863	0.597	0.798	X	0.758	0.857	0.755	X	0.864	0.865	0.848	X	0.622	0.546	-12%	
=1 if CR aspires to attain at least some university education	4101	0.703	0	1	0.749	0.481	0.671	X	0.610	0.756	0.621	X	0.755	0.745	0.752	X	0.498	0.444	-11%	
=1 if AF aspires for CR to attain at least some secondary school (or higher) (young cohort)	1942	0.96	0	1	0.965	0.856	0.974	X	0.970	0.986	0.963		0.961	0.968	0.970	X	0.838	0.902	8%	
=1 if AF aspires for CR to attain at least some university education (young cohort)	1942	0.876	0	1	0.892	0.733	0.880	X	0.903	0.907	0.809	X	0.871	0.909	0.903	X	0.714	0.781	9%	
Gendered Education Attitudes	4031	2.091	0	6	1.999	2.957	2.060	X	2.195	2.041	1.850	X	2.031	2.007	1.836	X	2.927	3.020	3%	
Gendered Education Norms (old cohort)	1859	1.966	0	4	1.882	2.650	1.963	X	2.047	1.898	1.961		1.979	1.835	1.697	X	2.600	2.740	5%	
Our culture makes it harder for girls to achieve their goals than boys (old cohort)	1914	0.65	0	1	0.652	0.739	0.625	X	0.636	0.602	0.660		0.681	0.638	0.603		0.681	0.843	24%	X
Adol girls in my com are more likely to be out of school than adol boys (old cohort)	1887	0.614	0	1	0.607	0.683	0.610		0.619	0.620	0.566		0.621	0.597	0.612		0.674	0.700	4%	
Girls in my com are sent to school only if they are not needed to help at home (old cohort)	1913	0.316	0	1	0.269	0.604	0.339	X	0.351	0.319	0.369		0.298	0.257	0.194	X	0.591	0.628	6%	
Most peop in my com expect girls to be sent to sch only if not needed at home (old cohort)	1914	0.38	0	1	0.348	0.611	0.387	X	0.432	0.356	0.375		0.383	0.331	0.288	X	0.634	0.569	-10%	
=1 if Agrees: Within the double shift system, Jordanian and Syrian students are are treated equally (skipped for camps)	2630	0.592	0	1	0.590	0.611							0.607	0.565	0.650		0.630	0.571	-9%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). DThe attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms.

Table A4: Jordan baseline results by nationality

	Overall				Nationality				Location of Origin for non-Jordanians			
					Non-Jordanian	Jordanian	% Diff (Jod-nonJod)		Palestinian	Syrian	% Diff (Syr-Pal)	
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Mean			Sig Dif?	Mean			Sig Dif?
=1 if currently enrolled in school	4101	0.752	0	1	0.727	0.886	22%	X	0.859	0.711	-17%	X
=1 if CR currently enrolled in non-formal education	4098	0.078	0	1	0.077	0.081	5%		0.040	0.080	103%	X
=1 if CR has a non-formal education certificate	4124	0.047	0	1	0.046	0.053	16%		0.016	0.049	196%	X
=1 if CR currently enrolled in informal education	4100	0.148	0	1	0.160	0.086	-46%	X	0.204	0.157	-23%	O
ASER Reading score, (0-4, higher is better)	3952	2.772	0	4	2.725	3.022	11%	X	2.692	2.723	1%	
=1 if Maximum ASER Reading Score	3952	0.461	0	1	0.444	0.550	24%	X	0.391	0.447	14%	O
ASER Math score, (0-4, higher is better)	3959	3.032	0	4	2.995	3.230	8%	X	3.073	2.982	-3%	
=1 if Maximum ASER Math Score	3959	0.398	0	1	0.376	0.517	37%	X	0.393	0.372	-5%	
Age of enrollment in Grade 1 (among those who ever enrolled in Gr 1)	3551	6.586	3	9	6.648	6.269	-6%	X	6.249	6.692	7%	X
CR Highest grade attended, scale 0-16	4001	6.83	0	16	6.631	7.879	19%	X	7.112	6.553	-8%	X
Share of days CR missed school in the last two weeks school was in session	3044	0.13	0	1	0.135	0.107	-20%	X	0.140	0.135	-4%	
=1 if ever out of school for more than 3 months since starting Grade 1 (among those who ever enrolled in Gr 1)	3978	0.159	0	1	0.182	0.036	-80%	X	0.040	0.197	397%	X
=1 if CR feels comfortable speaking up in class, among enrolled	3081	0.894	0	1	0.893	0.900	1%		0.912	0.893	-2%	
=1 if CR holds a leadership position at school, among enrolled	3082	0.376	0	1	0.369	0.408	11%	O	0.456	0.359	-21%	X
=1 if school has facilities/resources girls can use during menstruation, among enrolled older females	581	0.594	0	1	0.568	0.674	19%	X	0.667	0.553	-17%	
=1 if CR aspires to attain at least some secondary school (or higher)	4101	0.822	0	1	0.802	0.925	15%	X	0.760	0.805	6%	O
=1 if CR aspires to attain at least some university education	4101	0.703	0	1	0.685	0.802	17%	X	0.625	0.688	10%	X
=1 if AF aspires for CR to attain at least some secondary school (or higher) (young cohort)	1942	0.96	0	1	0.953	0.994	4%	X	0.964	0.952	-1%	
=1 if AF aspires for CR to attain at least some university education (young cohort)	1942	0.876	0	1	0.870	0.908	4%	X	0.818	0.875	7%	O
Gendered Education Attitudes	4031	2.091	0	6	2.143	1.810	-16%	X	1.857	2.176	17%	X
Gendered Education Norms (old cohort)	1859	1.966	0	4	2.015	1.685	-16%	X	1.964	2.029	3%	
Our culture makes it harder for girls to achieve their goals than boys (old cohort)	1914	0.65	0	1	0.657	0.612	-7%		0.670	0.657	-2%	
Adol girls in my com are more likely to be out of school than adol boys (old cohort)	1887	0.614	0	1	0.620	0.578	-7%		0.600	0.624	4%	
Girls in my com are sent to school only if they are not needed to help at home (old cohort)	1913	0.316	0	1	0.332	0.227	-32%	X	0.330	0.335	2%	
Most peop in my com expect girls to be sent to sch only if not needed at home (old cohort)	1914	0.38	0	1	0.401	0.260	-35%	X	0.372	0.405	9%	
=1 if Agrees: Within the double shift system, Jordanian and Syrian students are are treated equally (skipped for camps)	2630	0.592	0	1	0.572	0.662	16%		0.633	0.570	-10%	X

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). DThe attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms.

Table A5: Jordan Baseline results by gender (within nationality)

	Overall				Jordanian				Syrian				Palestinian			
					Male	Female			Male	Female			Male	Female		
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Mean		% Diff (M-F)	Sig Dif?			% Diff (M-F)	Sig Dif?	Mean		% Diff (M-F)	Sig Dif?
=1 if currently enrolled in school	4101	0.752	0	1	0.915	0.869	-5%	O	0.706	0.716	1%		0.872	0.848	-3%	
=1 if CR currently enrolled in non-formal education	4098	0.078	0	1	0.114	0.061	-47%	X	0.091	0.069	-24%	X	0.008	0.064	757%	X
=1 if CR has a non-formal education certificate	4124	0.047	0	1	0.061	0.048	-21%		0.051	0.046	-9%		0.008	0.023	212%	
=1 if CR currently enrolled in informal education	4100	0.148	0	1	0.081	0.088	9%		0.166	0.148	-11%		0.241	0.175	-27%	
ASER Reading score, (0-4, higher is better)	3952	2.772	0	4	2.725	3.203	18%	X	2.576	2.872	12%	X	2.356	2.953	25%	X
=1 if Maximum ASER Reading Score	3952	0.461	0	1	0.420	0.628	50%	X	0.400	0.495	24%	X	0.220	0.524	138%	X
ASER Math score, (0-4, higher is better)	3959	3.032	0	4	3.038	3.346	10%	X	2.937	3.028	3%	X	2.777	3.300	19%	X
=1 if Maximum ASER Math Score	3959	0.398	0	1	0.435	0.567	30%	X	0.344	0.401	17%	X	0.277	0.482	74%	X
Age of enrollment in Grade 1 (among those who ever enrolled in Gr 1)	3551	6.586	3	9	6.285	6.259	0%		6.671	6.714	1%		6.246	6.252	0%	
CR Highest grade attended, scale 0-16	4001	6.83	0	16	7.564	8.074	7%	X	6.594	6.511	-1%		7.068	7.147	1%	
Share of days CR missed school in the last two weeks school was in session	3044	0.13	0	1	0.109	0.106	-2%		0.156	0.113	-28%	X	0.150	0.132	-12%	
=1 if ever out of school for more than 3 months since starting Grade 1 (among those who ever enrolled in Gr 1)	3978	0.159	0	1	0.025	0.043	74%		0.200	0.195	-2%		0.060	0.024	-61%	
=1 if CR feels comfortable speaking up in class, among enrolled	3081	0.894	0	1	0.911	0.892	-2%		0.907	0.879	-3%	X	0.897	0.924	3%	
=1 if CR holds a leadership position at school, among enrolled	3082	0.376	0	1	0.436	0.390	-11%		0.352	0.367	4%		0.474	0.441	-7%	
=1 if school has facilities/resources girls can use during menstruation, among enrolled older females	581	0.594	0	1		0.674				0.553				0.667		
=1 if CR aspires to attain at least some secondary school (or higher)	4101	0.822	0	1	0.911	0.934	3%		0.789	0.822	4%	X	0.669	0.830	24%	X
=1 if CR aspires to attain at least some university education	4101	0.703	0	1	0.756	0.831	10%	X	0.659	0.718	9%	X	0.481	0.737	53%	X
=1 if AF aspires for CR to attain at least some secondary school (or higher) (young cohort)	1942	0.96	0	1	0.986	1.000	1%		0.967	0.937	-3%	X	0.960	0.967	1%	
=1 if AF aspires for CR to attain at least some university education (young cohort)	1942	0.876	0	1	0.897	0.916	2%		0.890	0.860	-3%	O	0.840	0.800	-5%	
Gendered Education Attitudes	4031	2.091	0	6	2.017	1.681	-17%	X	2.399	1.945	-19%	X	2.171	1.610	-26%	X
Gendered Education Norms (old cohort)	1859	1.966	0	4	1.667	1.694	2%		2.077	1.979	-5%		2.087	1.879	-10%	
Our culture makes it harder for girls to achieve their goals than boys (old cohort)	1914	0.65	0	1	0.593	0.621	5%		0.650	0.664	2%		0.646	0.687	6%	
Adol girls in my com are more likely to be out of school than adol boys (old cohort)	1887	0.614	0	1	0.489	0.620	27%	X	0.601	0.648	8%	O	0.625	0.582	-7%	
Girls in my com are sent to school only if they are not needed to help at home (old cohort)	1913	0.316	0	1	0.308	0.189	-39%	X	0.386	0.282	-27%	X	0.413	0.273	-34%	
Most peop in my com expect girls to be sent to sch only if not needed at home (old cohort)	1914	0.38	0	1	0.278	0.251	-10%		0.430	0.379	-12%	X	0.404	0.349	-14%	
=1 if Agrees: Within the double shift system, Jordanian and Syrian students are are treated equally (skipped for camps)	2630	0.592	0	1	0.649	0.670	3%		0.557	0.582	4%		0.500	0.700	40%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). DThe attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms.

Table A6: Jordan baseline results by gender (within nationality)

	Overall				Females				Old Females				Old Adolescents				Syrian old Females			
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Never married	Ever married	% Diff (M-NM)	Sig Dif?	Never Married Female	Ever married Female	Male	Sig Dif?	Never Married Female	Ever married Female	Male	Sig Dif?	Never Married	Ever Married	% Diff (M-NM)	Sig Dif?
					Mean								Mean							
=1 if currently enrolled in school	4101	0.752	0	1	0.822	0.086	-90%	X	0.646	0.088	-86%	X	0.646	0.088	0.542	X	0.589	0.091	-85%	X
=1 if CR currently enrolled in non-formal education	4098	0.078	0	1	0.072	0.027	-62%	X	0.077	0.028	-64%	X	0.077	0.028	0.075	X	0.078	0.033	-58%	X
=1 if CR has a non-formal education certificate	4124	0.047	0	1	0.046	0.032	-30%		0.050	0.033	-34%		0.050	0.033	0.036		0.043	0.039	-10%	
=1 if CR currently enrolled in informal education	4100	0.148	0	1	0.147	0.043	-71%	X	0.115	0.044	-62%	X	0.115	0.044	0.109	X	0.127	0.052	-59%	X
ASER Reading score, (0-4, higher is better)	3952	2.772	0	4	2.953	2.885	-2%		3.208	2.906	-9%	X	3.208	2.906	2.797	X	3.146	2.804	-11%	X
=1 if Maximum ASER Reading Score	3952	0.461	0	1	0.528	0.494	-6%		0.637	0.494	-22%	X	0.637	0.494	0.476	X	0.611	0.462	-24%	X
ASER Math score, (0-4, higher is better)	3959	3.032	0	4	3.143	2.800	-11%	X	3.148	2.807	-11%	X	3.148	2.807	2.957	X	3.077	2.761	-10%	X
=1 if Maximum ASER Math Score	3959	0.398	0	1	0.457	0.259	-43%	X	0.459	0.265	-42%	X	0.459	0.265	0.350	X	0.431	0.239	-45%	X
Age of enrollment in Grade 1 (among those who ever enrolled in Gr 1)	3551	6.586	3	9	6.594	6.446	-2%	X	6.479	6.452	0%		6.479	6.452	6.512		6.551	6.481	-1%	
CR Highest grade attended, scale 0-16	4001	6.83	0	16	6.859	7.169	5%	O	8.910	7.177	-19%	X	8.910	7.177	8.450	X	8.389	6.961	-17%	X
Share of days CR missed school in the last two weeks school was in session	3044	0.13	0	1	0.113	0.170	50%		0.120	0.170	42%		0.120	0.170	0.154	X	0.116	0.195	68%	
=1 if ever out of school for more than 3 months since starting Grade 1 (among those who ever enrolled in Gr 1)	3978	0.159	0	1	0.135	0.308	128%	X	0.235	0.313	33%	X	0.235	0.313	0.264	O	0.311	0.325	4%	
=1 if CR feels comfortable speaking up in class, among enrolled	3081	0.894	0	1	0.884	1.000	13%	X	0.893	1.000	12%	X	0.893	1.000	0.916	X	0.879	1.000	14%	X
=1 if CR holds a leadership position at school, among enrolled	3082	0.376	0	1	0.381	0.125	-67%	X	0.269	0.125	-53%	O	0.269	0.125	0.208	X	0.241	0.071	-70%	X
=1 if school has facilities/resources girls can use during menstruation, among enrolled older females	581	0.594	0	1	0.588	0.813	38%	X	0.600	0.813	35%	X	0.600	0.813	.	X	0.559	0.786	41%	X
=1 if CR aspires to attain at least some secondary school (or higher)	4101	0.822	0	1	0.856	0.715	-16%	X	0.876	0.709	-19%	X	0.876	0.709	0.824	X	0.861	0.701	-19%	X
=1 if CR aspires to attain at least some university education	4101	0.703	0	1	0.766	0.495	-35%	X	0.778	0.500	-36%	X	0.778	0.500	0.666	X	0.764	0.500	-35%	X
=1 if AF aspires for CR to attain at least some secondary school (or higher) (young cohort)	1942	0.96	0	1	0.950															
=1 if AF aspires for CR to attain at least some university education (young cohort)	1942	0.876	0	1	0.864															
Gendered Education Attitudes	4031	2.091	0	6	1.857	1.923	4%		1.775	1.927	9%		1.775	1.927	2.339	X	1.855	1.993	7%	
Gendered Education Norms (old cohort)	1859	1.966	0	4	1.888	2.017	7%		1.888	2.017	7%		1.888	2.017	2.026	X	1.956	2.069	6%	
Our culture makes it harder for girls to achieve their goals than boys (old cohort)	1914	0.65	0	1	0.663	0.637	-4%		0.663	0.637	-4%		0.663	0.637	0.641		0.667	0.656	-2%	
Adol girls in my com are more likely to be out of school than adol boys (old cohort)	1887	0.614	0	1	0.627	0.680	8%		0.627	0.680	8%		0.627	0.680	0.589	X	0.642	0.673	5%	
Girls in my com are sent to school only if they are not needed to help at home (old cohort)	1913	0.316	0	1	0.252	0.304	21%		0.252	0.304	21%		0.252	0.304	0.377	X	0.274	0.314	14%	
Most peop in my com expect girls to be sent to sch only if not needed at home (old cohort)	1914	0.38	0	1	0.346	0.370	7%		0.346	0.370	7%		0.346	0.370	0.413	X	0.376	0.392	4%	
=1 if Agrees: Within the double shift system, Jordanian and Syrian students are are treated equally (skipped for camps)	2630	0.592	0	1	0.613	0.563	-8%		0.562	0.564	0%		0.562	0.564	0.586		0.524	0.535	2%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). DThe attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms.

Table A7: Jordan baseline results: bodily integrity

	Overall				Gender				Age				Disability Status			
					Male	Female	% Diff	Sig	Old	Young	% Diff	Sig	No Disability	Disability	% Diff	Sig
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Mean		(F-M)	Dif?	Mean		(D-NoD)	Dif?	Mean		(D-NoD)	Dif?
=1 if CR ever experienced corporal punishment in school (among enrolled)	3083	0.409	0	1	0.579	0.251	-57%	X	0.352	0.438	24%	X	0.405	0.457	13%	O
CR peer violence experience scale (last 12 months), 0-6	4077	0.816	0	6	0.972	0.669	-31%	X	0.576	1.028	79%	X	0.773	1.147	48%	X
=1 if CR has experienced peer violence (last 12 months)	4077	0.415	0	1	0.456	0.376	-18%	X	0.334	0.487	46%	X	0.401	0.527	32%	X
=1 if talked to someone about peer violence (among victims)	1701	0.382	0	1	0.354	0.414	17%	X	0.309	0.427	38%	X	0.376	0.423	13%	
=1 if CR experienced violence at home (last 12 months)	4101	0.492	0	1	0.518	0.467	-10%	X	0.470	0.511	9%	X	0.488	0.524	8%	
=1 if CR witnessed violence at home (last 12 months)	4101	0.043	0	1	0.037	0.049	33%	O	0.045	0.041	-7%		0.041	0.068	68%	X
=1 if CR has talked to someone about home violence (among victims)	2051	0.137	0	1	0.078	0.198	154%	X	0.183	0.100	-45%	X	0.137	0.153	12%	
=1 if CR knows where to seek support after being hit	4100	0.476	0	1	0.492	0.461	-6%	X	0.545	0.415	-24%	X	0.478	0.461	-3%	
=1 if AF belives that a child needs to be physically punished to be brought up properly (young cohort)	1974	0.07	0	1	0.062	0.078	25%			0.070			0.073	0.050	-32%	
=1 if AF punished CR by taking away priveleges or forbidding something or did not allow him/her to leave the house in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.524	0	1	0.603	0.447	-26%	X		0.524			0.512	0.617	20%	X
=1 if AF punished CR by explaining why CR's behavior was wrong in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1974	0.906	0	1	0.932	0.880	-6%	X		0.906			0.901	0.941	4%	X
=1 if AF punished CR by shaking or spanking or hitting or slapping the CR in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1973	0.365	0	1	0.418	0.313	-25%	X		0.365			0.351	0.473	35%	X
=1 if AF punished CR by shouting or yelling or screaming at the CR or calling them names in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.661	0	1	0.705	0.617	-12%	X		0.661			0.652	0.730	12%	X
=1 if AF punished CR by giving the CR something else to do in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.402	0	1	0.370	0.433	17%	X		0.402			0.402	0.396	-1%	
=1 if AF punished CR by beating the CR badly in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.077	0	1	0.095	0.059	-38%	X		0.077			0.072	0.113	56%	O
=1 if AF was married before the age of 18	3775	0.421	0	1	0.443	0.399	-10%	X	0.452	0.395	-13%	X	0.421	0.415	-2%	
=1 if CR was married before the age of 18	4126	0.046	0	1	0.002	0.088	5780%	X	0.096	0.002	-98%	X	0.048	0.029	-40%	X
Marriage Attitudes	4059	1.097	0	2	1.099	1.096	0%		1.098	1.097	0%		1.096	1.101	0%	
Marriage Norms (old cohort)	1872	1.333	0	2	1.217	1.439	18%	X	1.333				1.332	1.343	1%	
Most adolescent girls in my community marry before the age of [legal age] (old cohort)	1904	0.703	0	1	0.629	0.771	23%	X	0.703				0.706	0.680	-4%	
Adults in my community expect adolescent girls to get married before the age of [legal age] (old cohort)	1888	0.628	0	1	0.587	0.665	13%	X	0.628				0.626	0.651	4%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). Disability is defined using questions from the Washington Group and includes difficulty in six core functional domains (seeing, hearing, walking, self-care, cognition, and communication). The attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms. The Indicator for Experience of Corporal Punishment at School is an indicator for has ever experienced corporal punishment at school, including being beaten, hit, whipped, caned, forced to run/stand/kneel, or physically punished in some other way, among those enrolled in school at the time of survey. The Peer Violence Scale is constructed as the sum of indicators for has experienced (at least once in the 12 months preceeding survey), either in person or digitally, violence from peers, including: hurtful words, exclusion, theft/damage of personal property, physical violence, being forced to do something, or threats to the adolescent or someone close to them. This scale ranges from 0-6, and was not asked if the adolescent was aged >=13 and married. The Indicator for Experienced Peer Violence indicates values of the Peer Violence Scale that are greater than or equal to zero. The Indicator for Experienced/Witnessed Violence at Home includes experience (at least once in the 12 months preceeding the survey) of physical, verbal, or other violence at home, and/or witnessing physical violence against female guardian. The Indicator for Has Talked to Someone About Peer/Home Violence is constructed among those who have experienced peer violence or experienced or witnessed violence at home.

Table A8: Jordan baseline results by location

	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Host	ITS	Camp	Sig Dif?	Azraq	Zaatari	Gaza	Sig Dif?	Amman	Mafraq/ Irbid/Zarqa	Jerash	Sig Dif?	Mafraq/ Irbid	Amman	% Diff (Am-MI)	Sig Dif?
					Mean				Mean				Mean							
=1 if CR ever experienced corporal punishment in school (among enrolled)	3083	0.409	0	1	0.426	0.276	0.395	X	0.311	0.426	0.465	X	0.483	0.395	0.345	X	0.244	0.333	36%	
CR peer violence experience scale (last 12 months), 0-6	4077	0.816	0	6	0.912	0.559	0.699	X	0.634	0.767	0.685		1.105	0.750	0.944	X	0.471	0.745	58%	O
=1 if CR has experienced peer violence (last 12 months)	4077	0.415	0	1	0.454	0.299	0.369	X	0.358	0.379	0.370		0.493	0.412	0.508	X	0.257	0.388	51%	X
=1 if talked to someone about peer violence (among victims)	1701	0.382	0	1	0.412	0.258	0.339	X	0.310	0.401	0.269	X	0.427	0.378	0.492	X	0.241	0.282	17%	
=1 if CR experienced violence at home (last 12 months)	4101	0.492	0	1	0.539	0.377	0.433	X	0.335	0.475	0.524	X	0.544	0.528	0.572		0.392	0.343	-12%	
=1 if CR witnessed violence at home (last 12 months)	4101	0.043	0	1	0.045	0.052	0.036		0.029	0.028	0.066	O	0.050	0.046	0.024	O	0.057	0.040	-30%	
=1 if CR has talked to someone about home violence (among victims)	2051	0.137	0	1	0.147	0.116	0.121		0.131	0.141	0.077	O	0.156	0.147	0.111		0.082	0.194	136%	
=1 if CR knows where to seek support after being hit	4100	0.476	0	1	0.490	0.349	0.481	X	0.480	0.536	0.379	X	0.556	0.462	0.364	X	0.284	0.485	71%	X
=1 if AF belives that a child needs to be physically punished to be brought up properly (young cohort)	1974	0.07	0	1	0.073	0.124	0.053	X	0.050	0.045	0.067		0.073	0.077	0.060		0.119	0.136	14%	
=1 if AF punished CR by taking away priveleges or forbidding something or did not allow him/her to leave the house in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.524	0	1	0.586	0.399	0.436	X	0.410	0.371	0.561	X	0.590	0.572	0.617		0.385	0.432	12%	
=1 if AF punished CR by explaining why CR's behavior was wrong in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1974	0.906	0	1	0.927	0.882	0.870	X	0.866	0.851	0.902		0.952	0.908	0.910	X	0.872	0.909	4%	
=1 if AF punished CR by shaking or spanking or hitting or slapping the CR in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1973	0.365	0	1	0.414	0.360	0.272	X	0.188	0.258	0.415	X	0.440	0.398	0.383		0.312	0.477	53%	O
=1 if AF punished CR by shouting or yelling or screaming at the CR or calling them names in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.661	0	1	0.697	0.608	0.604	X	0.498	0.588	0.781	X	0.692	0.705	0.689		0.596	0.636	7%	
=1 if AF punished CR by giving the CR something else to do in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.402	0	1	0.419	0.386	0.372		0.377	0.312	0.445	X	0.460	0.405	0.335	X	0.367	0.432	18%	
=1 if AF punished CR by beating the CR badly in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.077	0	1	0.082	0.092	0.064		0.042	0.027	0.146	X	0.079	0.090	0.066		0.083	0.114	38%	
=1 if AF was married before the age of 18	3775	0.421	0	1	0.428	0.404	0.411		0.403	0.483	0.296	X	0.414	0.436	0.450		0.409	0.393	-4%	
=1 if CR was married before the age of 18	4126	0.046	0	1	0.053	0.036	0.035	X	0.041	0.049	0.000	X	0.018	0.091	0.008	X	0.024	0.061	154%	
Marriage Attitudes	4059	1.097	0	2	1.114	1.062	1.074	X	1.041	1.077	1.129	X	1.115	1.113	1.117		1.077	1.030	-4%	
Marriage Norms (old cohort)	1872	1.333	0	2	1.320	1.151	1.401	X	1.407	1.478	1.183	X	1.355	1.308	1.212		1.100	1.245	13%	
Most adolescent girls in my community marry before the age of [legal age] (old cohort)	1904	0.703	0	1	0.694	0.582	0.748	O	0.729	0.787	0.686	O	0.706	0.692	0.642		0.565	0.612	8%	
Adults in my community expect adolescent girls to get married before the age of [legal age] (old cohort)	1888	0.628	0	1	0.624	0.575	0.648	O	0.676	0.685	0.495	O	0.647	0.616	0.561		0.539	0.640	19%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). The attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms. The Indicator for Experience of Corporal Punishment at School is an indicator for has ever experienced corporal punishment at school, including being beaten, hit, whipped, caned, forced to run/stand/kneel, or physically punished in some other way, among those enrolled in school at the time of survey. The Peer Violence Scale is constructed as the sum of indicators for has experienced (at least once in the 12 months preceeding survey), either in person or digitally, violence from peers, including: hurtful words, exclusion, theft/damage of personal property, physical violence, being forced to do something, or threats to the adolescent or someone close to them. This scale ranges from 0-6, and was not asked if the adolescent was aged >=13 and married. The Indicator for Experienced Peer Violence indicates values of the Peer Violence Scale that are greater than or equal to zero. The Indicator for Experienced/Witnessed Violence at Home includes experience (at least once in the 12 months preceeding the survey) of physical, verbal, or other violence at home, and/or witnessing physical violence against female guardian. The Indicator for Has Talked to Someone About Peer/Home Violence is constructed among those who have experienced peer violence or experienced or witnessed violence at home.

Table A9: Jordan baseline results by age and gender

	Overall				Gender							
					Old Males	Old Females	% Diff (OF-OM)	Sig Dif?	Young Males	Young Females	% Diff (YF-YM)	Sig Dif?
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Mean				Mean			
=1 if CR ever experienced corporal punishment in school (among enrolled)	3083	0.409	0	1	0.472	0.2427	-49%	X	0.6338	0.2548	-60%	X
CR peer violence experience scale (last 12 months), 0-6	4077	0.816	0	6	0.7074	0.4544	-36%	X	1.2013	0.8626	-28%	X
=1 if CR has experienced peer violence (last 12 months)	4077	0.415	0	1	0.377	0.294	-22%	X	0.526	0.449	-14%	X
=1 if talked to someone about peer violence (among victims)	1701	0.382	0	1	0.259	0.368	42%	X	0.413	0.442	7%	
=1 if CR experienced violence at home (last 12 months)	4101	0.492	0	1	0.472	0.468	-1%		0.559	0.466	-17%	X
=1 if CR witnessed violence at home (last 12 months)	4101	0.043	0	1	0.037	0.052	40%		0.037	0.046	26%	
=1 if CR has talked to someone about home violence (among victims)	2051	0.137	0	1	0.096	0.262	174%	X	0.065	0.140	115%	X
=1 if CR knows where to seek support after being hit	4100	0.476	0	1	0.539	0.551	2%		0.452	0.379	-16%	X
=1 if AF belives that a child needs to be physically punished to be brought up properly (young cohort)	1974	0.07	0	1					0.062	0.078	25%	
=1 if AF punished CR by taking away priveleges or forbidding something or did not allow him/her to leave the house in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.524	0	1					0.603	0.447	-26%	X
=1 if AF punished CR by explaining why CR's behavior was wrong in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1974	0.906	0	1					0.932	0.880	-6%	X
=1 if AF punished CR by shaking or spanking or hitting or slapping the CR in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1973	0.365	0	1					0.418	0.313	-25%	X
=1 if AF punished CR by shouting or yelling or screaming at the CR or calling them names in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.661	0	1					0.705	0.617	-12%	X
=1 if AF punished CR by giving the CR something else to do in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.402	0	1					0.370	0.433	17%	X
=1 if AF punished CR by beating the CR badly in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.077	0	1					0.095	0.059	-38%	X
=1 if AF was married before the age of 18	3775	0.421	0	1	0.460	0.444	-4%		0.428	0.364	-15%	X
=1 if CR was married before the age of 18	4126	0.046	0	1	0.003	0.181	5563%	X	0.000	0.004		X
Marriage Attitudes	4059	1.097	0	2	1.127	1.072	-5%	X	1.075	1.117	4%	X
Marriage Norms (old cohort)	1872	1.333	0	2	1.217	1.439	18%	X				
Most adolescent girls in my community marry before the age of [legal age] (old cohort)	1904	0.703	0	1	0.629	0.771	23%	X				
Adults in my community expect adolescent girls to get married before the age of [legal age] (old cohort)	1888	0.628	0	1	0.587	0.665	13%	X				

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). The attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms. The Indicator for Experience of Corporal Punishment at School is an indicator for has ever experienced corporal punishment at school, including being beaten, hit, whipped, caned, forced to run/stand/kneel, or physically punished in some other way, among those enrolled in school at the time of survey. The Peer Violence Scale is constructed as the sum of indicators for has experienced (at least once in the 12 months preceeding survey), either in person or digitally, violence from peers, including: hurtful words, exclusion, theft/damage of personal property, physical violence, being forced to do something, or threats to the adolescent or someone close to them. This scale ranges from 0-6, and was not asked if the adolescent was aged >=13 and married. The Indicator for Experienced Peer Violence indicates values of the Peer Violence Scale that are greater than or equal to zero. The Indicator for Experienced/Witnessed Violence at Home includes experience (at least once in the 12 months preceeding the survey) of physical, verbal, or other violence at home, and/or witnessing physical violence against female guardian. The Indicator for Has Talked to Someone About Peer/Home Violence is constructed among those who have experienced peer violence or experienced or witnessed violence at home.

Table A10: Jordan baseline results by nationality

	Overall				Nationality				Location of Origin for non-Jordanians			
					Non-Jordanian	Jordanian	% Diff (Jod-nonJod)		Palestinian	Syrian	% Diff (Syr-Pal)	
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Mean			Sig Dif?	Mean			Sig Dif?
=1 if CR ever experienced corporal punishment in school (among enrolled)	3083	0.409	0	1	0.399	0.453	14%	X	0.464	0.389	-16%	X
CR peer violence experience scale (last 12 months), 0-6	4077	0.816	0	6	0.757	1.135	50%	X	0.693	0.764	10%	
=1 if CR has experienced peer violence (last 12 months)	4077	0.415	0	1	0.394	0.526	33%	X	0.393	0.395	1%	
=1 if talked to someone about peer violence (among victims)	1701	0.382	0	1	0.374	0.417	12%		0.317	0.377	19%	
=1 if CR experienced violence at home (last 12 months)	4101	0.492	0	1	0.469	0.615	31%	X	0.536	0.461	-14%	X
=1 if CR witnessed violence at home (last 12 months)	4101	0.043	0	1	0.041	0.056	39%		0.069	0.038	-46%	X
=1 if CR has talked to someone about home violence (among victims)	2051	0.137	0	1	0.131	0.165	26%	O	0.078	0.137	75%	X
=1 if CR knows where to seek support after being hit	4100	0.476	0	1	0.461	0.559	21%	X	0.401	0.466	16%	X
=1 if AF belives that a child needs to be physically punished to be brought up properly (young cohort)	1974	0.07	0	1	0.066	0.089	34%		0.066	0.065	-1%	
=1 if AF punished CR by taking away priveleges or forbidding something or did not allow him/her to leave the house in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.524	0	1	0.504	0.620	23%	X	0.569	0.497	-13%	O
=1 if AF punished CR by explaining why CR's behavior was wrong in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1974	0.906	0	1	0.898	0.941	5%	X	0.910	0.896	-2%	
=1 if AF punished CR by shaking or spanking or hitting or slapping the CR in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1973	0.365	0	1	0.332	0.519	56%	X	0.419	0.322	-23%	X
=1 if AF punished CR by shouting or yelling or screaming at the CR or calling them names in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.661	0	1	0.638	0.772	21%	X	0.784	0.622	-21%	X
=1 if AF punished CR by giving the CR something else to do in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.402	0	1	0.385	0.478	24%	X	0.437	0.379	-13%	
=1 if AF punished CR by beating the CR badly in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.077	0	1	0.068	0.116	70%	X	0.120	0.062	-49%	X
=1 if AF was married before the age of 18	3775	0.421	0	1	0.451	0.266	-41%	X	0.292	0.470	61%	X
=1 if CR was married before the age of 18	4126	0.046	0	1	0.047	0.042	-10%		0.003	0.052	1479%	X
Marriage Attitudes	4059	1.097	0	2	1.095	1.108	1%		1.133	1.090	-4%	
Marriage Norms (old cohort)	1872	1.333	0	2	1.351	1.230	-9%	X	1.196	1.373	15%	X
Most adolescent girls in my community marry before the age of [legal age] (old cohort)	1904	0.703	0	1	0.708	0.677	-4%		0.684	0.715	5%	
Adults in my community expect adolescent girls to get married before the age of [legal age] (old cohort)	1888	0.628	0	1	0.641	0.551	-14%	X	0.504	0.656	30%	X

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). DThe attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms.

Table A11: Jordan baseline results by gender (within nationality)

	Overall				Jordanian				Syrian				Palestinian			
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Male Mean	Female Mean	% Diff (M-F)	Sig Dif?	Male	Female	% Diff (M-F)	Sig Dif?	Male Mean	Female Mean	% Diff (M-F)	Sig Dif?
=1 if CR ever experienced corporal punishment in school (among enrolled)	3083	0.409	0	1	0.640	0.331	-48%	X	0.557	0.217	-61%	X	0.638	0.324	-49%	X
CR peer violence experience scale (last 12 months), 0-6	4077	0.816	0	6	1.527	0.891	-42%	X	0.913	0.609	-33%	X	0.669	0.712	6%	
=1 if CR has experienced peer violence (last 12 months)	4077	0.415	0	1	0.612	0.472	-23%	X	0.444	0.344	-22%	X	0.338	0.435	29%	O
=1 if talked to someone about peer violence (among victims)	1701	0.382	0	1	0.387	0.441	14%		0.347	0.417	20%	X	0.333	0.307	-8%	
=1 if CR experienced violence at home (last 12 months)	4101	0.492	0	1	0.646	0.596	-8%		0.492	0.428	-13%	X	0.571	0.509	-11%	
=1 if CR witnessed violence at home (last 12 months)	4101	0.043	0	1	0.049	0.061	24%		0.031	0.044	41%	O	0.075	0.064	-14%	
=1 if CR has talked to someone about home violence (among victims)	2051	0.137	0	1	0.094	0.212	124%	X	0.080	0.205	157%	X	0.039	0.114	195%	O
=1 if CR knows where to seek support after being hit	4100	0.476	0	1	0.549	0.566	3%		0.493	0.438	-11%	X	0.391	0.409	5%	
=1 if AF belives that a child needs to be physically punished to be brought up properly (young cohort)	1974	0.07	0	1	0.082	0.095	16%		0.056	0.074	31%		0.066	0.066	0%	
=1 if AF punished CR by taking away priveleges or forbidding something or did not allow him/her to leave the house in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.524	0	1	0.735	0.532	-28%	X	0.578	0.413	-29%	X	0.592	0.550	-7%	
=1 if AF punished CR by explaining why CR's behavior was wrong in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1974	0.906	0	1	0.973	0.915	-6%	X	0.922	0.870	-6%	X	0.947	0.879	-7%	
=1 if AF punished CR by shaking or spanking or hitting or slapping the CR in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1973	0.365	0	1	0.585	0.468	-20%	X	0.379	0.263	-31%	X	0.447	0.396	-12%	
=1 if AF punished CR by shouting or yelling or screaming at the CR or calling them names in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.661	0	1	0.816	0.737	-10%	O	0.675	0.567	-16%	X	0.816	0.758	-7%	
=1 if AF punished CR by giving the CR something else to do in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.402	0	1	0.476	0.479	1%		0.341	0.418	23%	X	0.368	0.495	34%	
=1 if AF punished CR by beating the CR badly in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.077	0	1	0.143	0.095	-34%		0.080	0.043	-47%	X	0.132	0.110	-16%	
=1 if AF was married before the age of 18	3775	0.421	0	1	0.285	0.254	-11%		0.488	0.451	-7%	O	0.242	0.329	36%	
=1 if CR was married before the age of 18	4126	0.046	0	1	0.000	0.068		X	0.002	0.104	5374%	X	0.000	0.006		
Marriage Attitudes	4059	1.097	0	2	1.081	1.124	4%		1.098	1.083	-1%		1.130	1.136	1%	
Marriage Norms (old cohort)	1872	1.333	0	2	0.943	1.366	45%	X	1.269	1.480	17%	X	1.146	1.234	8%	
Most adolescent girls in my community marry before the age of [legal age] (old cohort)	1904	0.703	0	1	0.506	0.758	50%	X	0.650	0.782	20%	X	0.646	0.712	10%	
Adults in my community expect adolescent girls to get married before the age of [legal age] (old cohort)	1888	0.628	0	1	0.427	0.610	43%	X	0.619	0.695	12%	X	0.500	0.508	2%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). DThe attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms.

Table A12: Jordan baseline results by gender (within nationality)

	Overall				Females				Old Females				Old Adolescents				Syrian old Females			
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Never married	Ever married	% Diff (M-NM)	Sig Dif?	Never Married Female	Ever married Female	Male	Sig Dif?	Never Married Female	Ever married Female	Male	Sig Dif?	Never Married	Ever Married	% Diff (M-NM)	Sig Dif?
					Mean				Mean											
=1 if CR ever experienced corporal punishment in school (among enrolled)	3083	0.409	0	1	0.252	0.125	-50%		0.246	0.125	-49%		0.246	0.125	0.472	X	0.188	0.143	-24%	
CR peer violence experience scale (last 12 months), 0-6	4077	0.816	0	6	0.713	0.208	-71%	X	0.512	0.190	-63%	X	0.512	0.190	0.707	X	0.436	0.179	-59%	X
=1 if CR has experienced peer violence (last 12 months)	4077	0.415	0	1	0.396	0.164	-59%	X	0.326	0.145	-55%	X	0.326	0.145	0.377	X	0.281	0.133	-53%	X
=1 if talked to someone about peer violence (among victims)	1701	0.382	0	1	0.420	0.267	-37%	O	0.382	0.231	-40%	O	0.382	0.231	0.259	X	0.362	0.200	-45%	O
=1 if CR experienced violence at home (last 12 months)	4101	0.492	0	1	0.488	0.247	-49%	X	0.517	0.247	-52%	X	0.517	0.247	0.472	X	0.466	0.247	-47%	X
=1 if CR witnessed violence at home (last 12 months)	4101	0.043	0	1	0.047	0.065	37%		0.049	0.066	36%		0.049	0.066	0.037		0.043	0.065	50%	
=1 if CR has talked to someone about home violence (among victims)	2051	0.137	0	1	0.190	0.353	86%	X	0.251	0.360	44%		0.251	0.360	0.096	X	0.254	0.381	50%	
=1 if CR knows where to seek support after being hit	4100	0.476	0	1	0.457	0.500	9%		0.564	0.495	-12%	O	0.564	0.495	0.539		0.516	0.513	-1%	
=1 if AF belives that a child needs to be physically punished to be brought up properly (young cohort)	1974	0.07	0	1	0.078															
=1 if AF punished CR by taking away priveleges or forbidding something or did not allow him/her to leave the house in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.524	0	1	0.447															
=1 if AF punished CR by explaining why CR's behavior was wrong in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1974	0.906	0	1	0.880															
=1 if AF punished CR by shaking or spanking or hitting or slapping the CR in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1973	0.365	0	1	0.313															
=1 if AF punished CR by shouting or yelling or screaming at the CR or calling them names in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.661	0	1	0.617															
=1 if AF punished CR by giving the CR something else to do in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.402	0	1	0.433															
=1 if AF punished CR by beating the CR badly in the last 30 days (young cohort)	1975	0.077	0	1	0.059															
=1 if AF was married before the age of 18	3775	0.421	0	1	0.394	0.622	58%	X	0.433	0.622	44%	X	0.433	0.622	0.460	X	0.495	0.718	45%	X
=1 if CR was married before the age of 18	4126	0.046	0	1									0.000	1.000	0.003	X				
Marriage Attitudes	4059	1.097	0	2	1.104	1.011	-8%	X	1.087	1.006	-7%	O	1.087	1.006	1.127	X	1.077	0.994	-8%	O
Marriage Norms (old cohort)	1872	1.333	0	2	1.402	1.606	15%	X	1.402	1.606	15%	X	1.402	1.606	1.217	X	1.443	1.618	12%	X
Most adolescent girls in my community marry before the age of [legal age] (old cohort)	1904	0.703	0	1	0.757	0.834	10%	X	0.757	0.834	10%	X	0.757	0.834	0.629	X	0.768	0.837	9%	X
Adults in my community expect adolescent girls to get married before the age of [legal age] (old cohort)	1888	0.628	0	1	0.642	0.768	20%	X	0.642	0.768	20%	X	0.642	0.768	0.587	X	0.673	0.778	16%	X

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). DThe attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms.

Table A13: Jordan baseline results: health, nutrition, and sexual and reproductive health

	Overall				Gender				Age				Disability Status			
					Male	Female	% Diff		Old	Young	% Diff		No Disability	Disability	% Diff	
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Mean		(F-M)	Sig Dif?	Mean		(D-NoD)	Sig Dif?	Mean		(D-NoD)	Sig Dif?
=1 if Self-Reported Health (Very) Good	4100	0.82	0	1	0.814	0.825	1%		0.818	0.822	0%		0.839	0.642	-23%	X
=1 if Has Had One of 16 Common Health Symptoms in Past Four Weeks	4101	0.798	0	1	0.778	0.817	5%	X	0.784	0.811	3%	X	0.789	0.893	13%	X
Total of 16 Common Health Symptoms in Past Four Weeks	4101	2.973	0	16	2.778	3.156	14%	X	2.872	3.062	7%	X	2.832	4.294	52%	X
=1 if Injury in Past Four Weeks	4101	0.077	0	1	0.104	0.051	-51%	X	0.058	0.093	60%	X	0.072	0.114	58%	X
=1 if Had a Serious Illness or Injury or health condition in Past 12 Months	4101	0.139	0	1	0.166	0.113	-32%	X	0.150	0.128	-15%	X	0.129	0.233	81%	X
=1 if Sought Treatment in Past 4 Weeks (for symptom or injury) or 12 Months (for illness/injury/ health condition)	3373	0.654	0	1	0.666	0.643	-3%		0.638	0.668	5%	O	0.651	0.687	5%	
Household Food Insecurity Scale (FAO), past 12 months	4036	4.615	0	8	4.628	4.603	-1%		4.725	4.516	-4%	X	4.538	5.256	16%	X
Fanta Food Insecurity Access Module, past 4 weeks	4040	1.551	0	9	1.504	1.596	6%		1.541	1.560	1%		1.480	2.153	45%	X
=1 if CR Hungry in the Past Four Weeks	4096	0.17	0	1	0.168	0.172	3%		0.150	0.188	25%	X	0.157	0.280	78%	X
=1 if HH cut back on quantities of food for boys in last 12 months (for households with at least one boy <=19)	3812	0.519	0	1	0.536	0.502	-6%	X	0.552	0.491	-11%	X	0.508	0.608	20%	X
=1 if HH cut back on quantities of food for girls in last 12 months (for households with at least one girl<=19)	3710	0.499	0	1	0.507	0.492	-3%		0.536	0.466	-13%	X	0.486	0.603	24%	X
=1 for Had a Source of Information About Puberty (old cohort)	1928	0.853	0	1	0.785	0.915	16%	X	0.853				0.860	0.782	-9%	X
=1 if CR can correctly name a method of birth control (old cohort)	1928	0.217	0	1	0.128	0.298	133%	X	0.217				0.216	0.224	4%	
=1 if CR Ever Smoked Cigarettes (old cohort)	1925	0.192	0	1	0.343	0.053	-85%	X	0.192				0.189	0.224	19%	
=1 if CR Ever Smoked Shisha (old cohort)	1926	0.319	0	1	0.450	0.200	-56%	X	0.319				0.312	0.391	25%	X
Gendered SRH Attitudes	3991	1.678	0	3	1.846	1.525	-17%	X	1.713	1.648	-4%	X	1.673	1.739	4%	O
Gendered SRH Norms (old cohort)	1906	1.799	0	2	1.828	1.773	-3%	X	1.799				1.796	1.829	2%	
Most families in my community control their daughters' behaviors more than their sons'. (old cohort)	1910	0.9	0	1	0.898	0.902	0%		0.900				0.897	0.936	4%	O
Most people in my community expect families to control their daughter's behavior more than their sons'. (old cohort)	1919	0.897	0	1	0.927	0.870	-6%	X	0.897				0.898	0.895	0%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). Disability is defined using questions from the Washington Group and includes difficulty in six core functional domains (seeing, hearing, walking, self-care, cognition, and communication). The attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms.The common health symptoms asked about include: fever, persistent headaches, persistent cough, runny nose, difficulty breathing, difficulty swallowing / throat pain, difficulty seeing or other eye complaint, stomach pain / nausea / vomiting, diarrhea at least 3 times in one day, blood in stool, skin complaint such as rash / irritation / open sores, always feeling tired, constipation, and convulsions / seizures. The indicator for sought treatment for a symptom or illness is calculated only among those who reported a sympom or illness in the appropriate time period. The indicator for cutting back on quantities of food served to boys (girls) in the household is compared to usual quantities served, and is only available for households with at least one boy (girl) under age 20.

Table A14: Jordan baseline results by location

	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Host	ITS	Camp	Sig Dif?	Azraq	Zaatari	Gaza	Sig Dif?	Amman	Mafraq/ Irbid/Zarqa	Jerash	Sig Dif?	Mafraq/ Irbid	Amman	% Diff (Am-MI)	Sig Dif?
					Mean				Mean				Mean							
=1 if Self-Reported Health (Very) Good	4100	0.82	0	1	0.812	0.783	0.843	X	0.815	0.840	0.897	X	0.806	0.823	0.784		0.775	0.798	3%	
=1 if Has Had One of 16 Common Health Symptoms in Past Four Weeks	4101	0.798	0	1	0.829	0.808	0.740	X	0.723	0.760	0.735		0.864	0.807	0.796	X	0.775	0.879	13%	X
Total of 16 Common Health Symptoms in Past Four Weeks	4101	2.973	0	16	3.185	2.747	2.639	X	2.702	2.624	2.555		3.496	2.988	2.932	X	2.522	3.222	28%	X
=1 if Injury in Past Four Weeks	4101	0.077	0	1	0.080	0.058	0.074		0.060	0.079	0.090		0.090	0.063	0.124	X	0.057	0.061	6%	
=1 if Had a Serious Illness or Injury or health condition in Past 12 Months	4101	0.139	0	1	0.141	0.091	0.145	X	0.150	0.145	0.138		0.150	0.126	0.176	O	0.096	0.081	-16%	
=1 if Sought Treatment in Past 4 Weeks (for symptom or injury) or 12 Months (for illness/injury/health condition)	3373	0.654	0	1	0.644	0.617	0.684	X	0.647	0.700	0.718		0.628	0.658	0.638		0.689	0.483	-30%	X
Household Food Insecurity Scale (FAO), past 12 months	4036	4.615	0	8	4.842	4.940	4.117	X	4.186	3.828	4.519	X	5.108	4.661	4.686	X	4.858	5.112	5%	
Fanta Food Insecurity Access Module, past 4 weeks	4040	1.551	0	9	1.699	1.665	1.249	X	1.262	0.985	1.703	X	1.866	1.586	1.595	X	1.649	1.697	3%	
=1 if CR Hungry in the Past Four Weeks	4096	0.17	0	1	0.190	0.224	0.122	X	0.131	0.095	0.156	X	0.204	0.180	0.185		0.230	0.212	-8%	
=1 if HH cut back on quantities of food for boys in last 12 months (for households with at least one boy <=19)	3812	0.519	0	1	0.540	0.574	0.471	X	0.508	0.400	0.538	X	0.573	0.527	0.472	X	0.589	0.543	-8%	
=1 if HH cut back on quantities of food for girls in last 12 months (for households with at least one girl<=19)	3710	0.499	0	1	0.517	0.564	0.451	X	0.485	0.371	0.535	X	0.534	0.513	0.469		0.580	0.533	-8%	
=1 for Had a Source of Information About Puberty (old cohort)	1928	0.853	0	1	0.880	0.757	0.822	X	0.794	0.820	0.887	O	0.902	0.870	0.838		0.774	0.726	-6%	
=1 if CR can correctly name a method of birth control (old cohort)	1928	0.217	0	1	0.261	0.118	0.155	X	0.121	0.194	0.123	O	0.211	0.287	0.338	X	0.140	0.078	-44%	
=1 if CR Ever Smoked Cigarettes (old cohort)	1925	0.192	0	1	0.185	0.146	0.216	O	0.206	0.226	0.208		0.189	0.179	0.221		0.140	0.157	12%	
=1 if CR Ever Smoked Shisha (old cohort)	1926	0.319	0	1	0.339	0.222	0.305	X	0.354	0.299	0.217	X	0.361	0.328	0.294		0.237	0.196	-17%	
Gendered SRH Attitudes	3991	1.678	0	3	1.622	1.856	1.739	X	1.741	1.819	1.584	X	1.631	1.635	1.523		1.861	1.845	-1%	
Gendered SRH Norms (old cohort)	1906	1.799	0	2	1.776	1.838	1.835	X	1.818	1.875	1.762	O	1.799	1.756	1.818		1.848	1.820	-2%	
Most families in my community control their daughters' behaviors more than their sons'. (old cohort)	1910	0.9	0	1	0.885	0.937	0.919	X	0.896	0.943	0.905		0.904	0.869	0.924	O	0.936	0.940	0%	
Most people in my community expect families to control their daughter's behavior more than their sons'. (old cohort)	1919	0.897	0	1	0.890	0.895	0.912		0.919	0.929	0.849		0.895	0.886	0.897		0.902	0.882	-2%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). The attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms. The common health symptoms asked about include: fever, persistent headaches, persistent cough, runny nose, difficulty breathing, difficulty swallowing / throat pain, difficulty seeing or other eye complaint, stomach pain / nausea / vomiting, diarrhea at least 3 times in one day, blood in stool, skin complaint such as rash / irritation / open sores, always feeling tired, constipation, and convulsions / seizures. The indicator for sought treatment for a symptom or illness is calculated only among those who reported a sympom or illness in the appropriate time period. The indicator for cutting back on quantities of food served to boys (girls) in the household is compared to usual quantities served, and is only available for households with at least one boy (girl) under age 20.

Table A15: Jordan baseline results by age and gender

	Overall				Gender							
					Old Males	Old Females	% Diff (OF-OM)	Sig Dif?	Young Males	Young Females	% Diff (YF-YM)	Sig Dif?
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Mean				Mean			
=1 if Self-Reported Health (Very) Good	4100	0.82	0	1	0.812	0.823	1%		0.816	0.828	1%	
=1 if Has Had One of 16 Common Health Symptoms in Past Four Weeks	4101	0.798	0	1	0.739	0.825	12%	X	0.811	0.811	0%	
Total of 16 Common Health Symptoms in Past Four Weeks	4101	2.973	0	16	2.415	3.291	36%	X	3.091	3.033	-2%	
=1 if Injury in Past Four Weeks	4101	0.077	0	1	0.089	0.030	-66%	X	0.116	0.070	-40%	X
=1 if Had a Serious Illness or Injury or health condition in Past 12 Months	4101	0.139	0	1	0.176	0.127	-28%	X	0.157	0.100	-36%	X
=1 if Sought Treatment in Past 4 Weeks (for symptom or injury) or 12 Months (for illness/injury/health condition)	3373	0.654	0	1	0.630	0.645	2%		0.694	0.642	-8%	X
Household Food Insecurity Scale (FAO), past 12 months	4036	4.615	0	8	4.669	4.777	2%		4.592	4.443	-3%	
Fanta Food Insecurity Access Module, past 4 weeks	4040	1.551	0	9	1.387	1.684	21%	X	1.605	1.516	-6%	
=1 if CR Hungry in the Past Four Weeks	4096	0.17	0	1	0.137	0.162	19%		0.195	0.181	-7%	
=1 if HH cut back on quantities of food for boys in last 12 months (for households with at least one boy <=19)	3812	0.519	0	1	0.561	0.543	-3%		0.514	0.466	-9%	X
=1 if HH cut back on quantities of food for girls in last 12 months (for households with at least one girl<=19)	3710	0.499	0	1	0.543	0.530	-2%		0.476	0.458	-4%	
=1 for Had a Source of Information About Puberty (old cohort)	1928	0.853	0	1	0.785	0.915	16%	X				
=1 if CR can correctly name a method of birth control (old cohort)	1928	0.217	0	1	0.128	0.298	133%	X				
=1 if CR Ever Smoked Cigarettes (old cohort)	1925	0.192	0	1	0.343	0.053	-85%	X				
=1 if CR Ever Smoked Shisha (old cohort)	1926	0.319	0	1	0.450	0.200	-56%	X				
Gendered SRH Attitudes	3991	1.678	0	3	1.929	1.522	-21%	X	1.774	1.528	-14%	X
Gendered SRH Norms (old cohort)	1906	1.799	0	2	1.828	1.773	-3%	X				
Most families in my community control their daughters' behaviors more than their sons'. (old cohort)	1910	0.9	0	1	0.898	0.902	0%					
Most people in my community expect families to control their daughter's behavior more than their sons'. (old cohort)	1919	0.897	0	1	0.927	0.870	-6%	X				

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). The attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms. The common health symptoms asked about include: fever, persistent headaches, persistent cough, runny nose, difficulty breathing, difficulty swallowing / throat pain, difficulty seeing or other eye complaint, stomach pain / nausea / vomiting, diarrhea at least 3 times in one day, blood in stool, skin complaint such as rash / irritation / open sores, always feeling tired, constipation, and convulsions / seizures. The indicator for sought treatment for a symptom or illness is calculated only among those who reported a sympom or illness in the appropriate time period. The indicator for cutting back on quantities of food served to boys (girls) in the household is compared to usual quantities served, and is only available for households with at least one boy (girl) under age 20.

Table A16: Jordan baseline results by nationality

	Overall				Nationality				Location of Origin for non-Jordanians			
					Non-Jordanian	Jordanian	% Diff (Jod-nonJod)		Palestinian	Syrian	% Diff (Syr-Pal)	
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Mean			Sig Dif?	Mean			Sig Dif?
=1 if Self-Reported Health (Very) Good	4100	0.82	0	1	0.809	0.877	8%	X	0.895	0.802	-10%	X
=1 if Has Had One of 16 Common Health Symptoms in Past Four Weeks	4101	0.798	0	1	0.797	0.807	1%		0.766	0.798	4%	
Total of 16 Common Health Symptoms in Past Four Weeks	4101	2.973	0	16	2.972	2.977	0%		2.753	2.980	8%	
=1 if Injury in Past Four Weeks	4101	0.077	0	1	0.075	0.087	17%		0.089	0.073	-18%	
=1 if Had a Serious Illness or Injury or health condition in Past 12 Months	4101	0.139	0	1	0.139	0.134	-4%		0.138	0.138	-1%	
=1 if Sought Treatment in Past 4 Weeks (for symptom or injury) or 12 Months (for illness/injury/health condition)	3373	0.654	0	1	0.650	0.675	4%		0.708	0.643	-9%	X
Household Food Insecurity Scale (FAO), past 12 months (0-8), higher is more food insecure	4036	4.615	0	8	4.635	4.482	-3%		4.570	4.608	1%	
Fanta Food Insecurity Access Module, past 4 weeks (0-9), higher is more food insecure	4040	1.551	0	9	1.517	1.703	12%	O	1.689	1.470	-13%	O
=1 if CR Hungry in the Past Four Weeks	4096	0.17	0	1	0.171	0.167	-2%		0.165	0.169	2%	
=1 if HH cut back on quantities of food for boys in last 12 months (for households with at least one boy <=19)	3812	0.519	0	1	0.523	0.499	-5%		0.514	0.519	1%	
=1 if HH cut back on quantities of food for girls in last 12 months (for households with at least one girl<=19)	3710	0.499	0	1	0.502	0.486	-3%		0.514	0.496	-4%	
=1 for Had a Source of Information About Puberty (old cohort)	1928	0.853	0	1	0.837	0.947	13%	X	0.896	0.829	-7%	X
=1 if CR can correctly name a method of birth control (old cohort)	1928	0.217	0	1	0.199	0.323	62%	X	0.130	0.204	56%	X
=1 if CR Ever Smoked Cigarettes (old cohort)	1925	0.192	0	1	0.192	0.189	-2%		0.209	0.195	-7%	
=1 if CR Ever Smoked Shisha (old cohort)	1926	0.319	0	1	0.313	0.356	14%		0.209	0.326	56%	X
Gendered SRH Attitudes	3991	1.678	0	3	1.715	1.486	-13%	X	1.565	1.731	11%	X
Gendered SRH Norms (old cohort)	1906	1.799	0	2	1.804	1.772	-2%		1.797	1.806	1%	
Most families in my community control their daughters' behaviors more than their sons'. (old cohort)	1910	0.9	0	1	0.899	0.904	1%		0.920	0.897	-3%	
Most people in my community expect families to control their daughter's behavior more than their sons'. (old cohort)	1919	0.897	0	1	0.902	0.869	-4%		0.870	0.907	4%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). The attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms. The common health symptoms asked about include: fever, persistent headaches, persistent cough, runny nose, difficulty breathing, difficulty swallowing / throat pain, difficulty seeing or other eye complaint, stomach pain / nausea / vomiting, diarrhea at least 3 times in one day, blood in stool, skin complaint such as rash / irritation / open sores, always feeling tired, constipation, and convulsions / seizures. The indicator for sought treatment for a symptom or illness is calculated only among those who reported a sympom or illness in the appropriate time period. The indicator for cutting back on quantities of food served to boys (girls) in the household is compared to usual quantities served, and is only available for households with at least one boy (girl) under age 20.

Table A17: Jordan baseline results by gender (within nationality)

	Overall				Jordanian				Syrian				Palestinian			
					Male	Female			Male	Female			Male	Female		
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Mean		% Diff (M-F)	Sig Dif?			% Diff (M-F)	Sig Dif?	Mean		% Diff (M-F)	Sig Dif?
=1 if Self-Reported Health (Very) Good	4100	0.82	0	1	0.866	0.884	2%		0.800	0.804	1%		0.910	0.883	-3%	
=1 if Has Had One of 16 Common Health Symptoms in Past Four Weeks	4101	0.798	0	1	0.801	0.811	1%		0.776	0.822	6%	X	0.752	0.778	3%	
Total of 16 Common Health Symptoms in Past Four Weeks	4101	2.973	0	16	2.939	3.000	2%		2.749	3.220	17%	X	2.669	2.819	6%	
=1 if Injury in Past Four Weeks	4101	0.077	0	1	0.118	0.068	-42%	X	0.098	0.047	-52%	X	0.150	0.041	-73%	X
=1 if Had a Serious Illness or Injury or health condition in Past 12 Months	4101	0.139	0	1	0.175	0.109	-38%	X	0.160	0.114	-29%	X	0.181	0.105	-42%	O
=1 if Sought Treatment in Past 4 Weeks (for symptom or injury) or 12 Months (for illness/injury/health condition)	3373	0.654	0	1	0.710	0.654	-8%		0.652	0.634	-3%		0.726	0.694	-4%	
Household Food Insecurity Scale (FAO), past 12 months (0-8), higher is more food insecure	4036	4.615	0	8	4.444	4.505	1%		4.640	4.575	-1%		4.353	4.740	9%	
Fanta Food Insecurity Access Module, past 4 weeks (0-9), higher is more food insecure	4040	1.551	0	9	1.579	1.780	13%		1.462	1.478	1%		1.451	1.880	30%	O
=1 if CR Hungry in the Past Four Weeks	4096	0.17	0	1	0.180	0.160	-11%		0.166	0.171	3%		0.144	0.181	26%	
=1 if HH cut back on quantities of food for boys in last 12 months (for households with at least one boy <=19)	3812	0.519	0	1	0.498	0.500	0%		0.541	0.495	-8%	X	0.489	0.535	9%	
=1 if HH cut back on quantities of food for girls in last 12 months (for households with at least one girl<=19)	3710	0.499	0	1	0.485	0.486	0%		0.509	0.484	-5%		0.482	0.535	11%	
=1 for Had a Source of Information About Puberty (old cohort)	1928	0.853	0	1	0.868	0.984	13%	X	0.766	0.895	17%	X	0.875	0.910	4%	
=1 if CR can correctly name a method of birth control (old cohort)	1928	0.217	0	1	0.220	0.372	69%	X	0.123	0.289	135%	X	0.063	0.179	187%	O
=1 if CR Ever Smoked Cigarettes (old cohort)	1925	0.192	0	1	0.451	0.063	-86%	X	0.331	0.052	-84%	X	0.438	0.045	-90%	X
=1 if CR Ever Smoked Shisha (old cohort)	1926	0.319	0	1	0.560	0.258	-54%	X	0.450	0.196	-57%	X	0.333	0.119	-64%	X
Gendered SRH Attitudes	3991	1.678	0	3	1.658	1.380	-17%	X	1.884	1.578	-16%	X	1.739	1.427	-18%	X
Gendered SRH Norms (old cohort)	1906	1.799	0	2	1.769	1.774	0%		1.832	1.778	-3%	X	1.851	1.758	-5%	
Most families in my community control their daughters' behaviors more than their sons'. (old cohort)	1910	0.9	0	1	0.890	0.911	2%		0.893	0.900	1%		0.957	0.894	-7%	
Most people in my community expect families to control their daughter's behavior more than their sons'. (old cohort)	1919	0.897	0	1	0.879	0.864	-2%		0.937	0.876	-6%	X	0.875	0.866	-1%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). DThe attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms.

Table A18: Jordan baseline results by gender (within nationality)

	Overall				Females				Old Females				Old Adolescents				Syrian old Females			
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Never married	Ever married	% Diff (M-NM)	Sig Dif?	Never Married Female	Ever married Female	Male	Sig Dif?	Never Married Female	Ever married Female	Male	Sig Dif?	Never Married	Ever Married	% Diff (M-NM)	Sig Dif?
					Mean				Mean				Mean							
=1 if Self-Reported Health (Very) Good	4100	0.82	0	1	0.826	0.823	0%		0.822	0.830	1%		0.822	0.830	0.812		0.808	0.805	0%	
=1 if Has Had One of 16 Common Health Symptoms in Past Four Weeks	4101	0.798	0	1	0.819	0.807	-1%		0.830	0.802	-3%		0.830	0.802	0.739	X	0.835	0.831	-1%	
Total of 16 Common Health Symptoms in Past Four Weeks	4101	2.973	0	16	3.126	3.473	11%	O	3.259	3.440	6%		3.259	3.440	2.415	X	3.244	3.617	11%	
=1 if Injury in Past Four Weeks	4101	0.077	0	1	0.055	0.011	-80%	X	0.034	0.011	-68%	X	0.034	0.011	0.089	X	0.030	0.013	-56%	
=1 if Had a Serious Illness or Injury or health condition in Past 12 Months	4101	0.139	0	1	0.116	0.086	-26%		0.137	0.082	-40%	X	0.137	0.082	0.176	X	0.135	0.084	-38%	O
=1 if Sought Treatment in Past 4 Weeks (for symptom or injury) or 12 Months (for illness/injury/health condition)	3373	0.654	0	1	0.643	0.649	1%		0.645	0.646	0%		0.645	0.646	0.630		0.620	0.651	5%	
Household Food Insecurity Scale (FAO), past 12 months (0-8), higher is more food insecure	4036	4.615	0	8	4.625	4.377	-5%		4.868	4.367	-10%	X	4.868	4.367	4.669	O	4.727	4.270	-10%	O
Fanta Food Insecurity Access Module, past 4 weeks (0-9), higher is more food insecure	4040	1.551	0	9	1.600	1.550	-3%		1.718	1.531	-11%		1.718	1.531	1.387	X	1.491	1.480	-1%	
=1 if CR Hungry in the Past Four Weeks	4096	0.17	0	1	0.171	0.183	7%		0.159	0.176	10%		0.159	0.176	0.137		0.153	0.188	23%	
=1 if HH cut back on quantities of food for boys in last 12 months (for households with at least one boy <=19)	3812	0.519	0	1	0.501	0.511	2%		0.548	0.515	-6%		0.548	0.515	0.561		0.524	0.483	-8%	
=1 if HH cut back on quantities of food for girls in last 12 months (for households with at least one girl<=19)	3710	0.499	0	1	0.497	0.448	-10%		0.548	0.449	-18%	X	0.548	0.449	0.543	O	0.528	0.430	-19%	X
=1 for Had a Source of Information About Puberty (old cohort)	1928	0.853	0	1	0.920	0.890	-3%		0.920	0.890	-3%		0.920	0.890	0.785	X	0.900	0.877	-3%	
=1 if CR can correctly name a method of birth control (old cohort)	1928	0.217	0	1	0.268	0.434	62%	X	0.268	0.434	62%	X	0.268	0.434	0.128	X	0.244	0.455	86%	X
=1 if CR Ever Smoked Cigarettes (old cohort)	1925	0.192	0	1	0.047	0.077	63%		0.047	0.077	63%		0.047	0.077	0.343	X	0.047	0.071	52%	
=1 if CR Ever Smoked Shisha (old cohort)	1926	0.319	0	1	0.188	0.254	35%	O	0.188	0.254	35%	O	0.188	0.254	0.450	X	0.184	0.240	31%	
Gendered SRH Attitudes	3991	1.678	0	3	1.512	1.658	10%	X	1.493	1.650	10%	X	1.493	1.650	1.929	X	1.551	1.693	9%	X
Gendered SRH Norms (old cohort)	1906	1.799	0	2	1.776	1.761	-1%		1.776	1.761	-1%		1.776	1.761	1.828	X	1.781	1.770	-1%	
Most families in my community control their daughters' behaviors more than their sons'. (old cohort)	1910	0.9	0	1	0.902	0.900	0%		0.902	0.900	0%		0.902	0.900	0.898		0.902	0.895	-1%	
Most people in my community expect families to control their daughter's behavior more than their sons'. (old cohort)	1919	0.897	0	1	0.873	0.857	-2%		0.873	0.857	-2%		0.873	0.857	0.927	X	0.878	0.870	-1%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). DThe attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms.

Table A19: Jordan baseline results: psychosocial well-being

	Overall				Gender				Age				Disability Status			
					Male	Female	% Diff		Old	Young	% Diff		No Disability	Disability	% Diff	
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Mean		(F-M)	Sig Dif?	Mean		(D-NoD)	Sig Dif?	Mean		(D-NoD)	Sig Dif?
CR score on GHQ-12, 0-12 scale (higher means distress)	4057	1.991	0	12	1.942	2.038	5%		2.115	1.882	-11%	X	1.886	2.933	56%	X
=1 if Suffers from pscycological disgress (GHQ-12>=3)	4057	0.32	0	1	0.311	0.328	5%		0.335	0.306	-9%	X	0.299	0.510	71%	X
Child and Youth Resilience Measure Total Score (higher scores=more resilience)	3861	74.198	31	84	74.479	73.932	-1%	X	73.391	74.905	2%	X	74.401	72.188	-3%	X
Self Efficacy Score (old cohort)	1898	32.271	10	40	32.553	32.010	-2%	X	32.271				32.413	30.804	-5%	X
=1 if CR has friends that they trust	4101	0.709	0	1	0.724	0.694	-4%	X	0.730	0.689	-6%	X	0.715	0.641	-10%	X
=1 if CR participates in a physical sport	4099	0.379	0	1	0.494	0.270	-45%	X	0.292	0.455	56%	X	0.376	0.381	1%	
Index for talked to male guardian about education- work- bullying- religion	4005	2.29	0	4	2.346	2.238	-5%	X	2.031	2.518	24%	X	2.303	2.145	-7%	X
=1 if talked to male guardian about your education	4098	0.67	0	1	0.677	0.663	-2%		0.586	0.744	27%	X	0.670	0.651	-3%	
=1 if CR talked to male guardian about future work	4099	0.578	0	1	0.569	0.587	3%		0.511	0.638	25%	X	0.585	0.515	-12%	X
=1 if talked to male guardian about when you will get married	2107	0.097	0	1		0.097			0.139	0.059	-58%	X	0.097	0.101	4%	
=1 if talked to male guardian about bullying/ harrasment at school	4007	0.349	0	1	0.394	0.307	-22%	X	0.275	0.414	51%	X	0.345	0.372	8%	
=1 if talked to male guardian about religion	4097	0.687	0	1	0.696	0.680	-2%		0.649	0.721	11%	X	0.698	0.585	-16%	X
Index for talked to female about education- work- bullying- religion	3997	2.918	0	4	2.742	3.082	12%	X	2.706	3.106	15%	X	2.912	2.930	1%	
=1 if talked to female guardian about your education	4101	0.836	0	1	0.803	0.868	8%	X	0.772	0.894	16%	X	0.837	0.820	-2%	
=1 if CR talked to female guardian about future work	4100	0.738	0	1	0.701	0.773	10%	X	0.692	0.779	12%	X	0.738	0.731	-1%	
=1 if talked to female guardian about when you will get married	2108	0.235	0	1		0.235			0.352	0.128	-64%	X	0.236	0.240	2%	
=1 if talked to female guardian about bullying/ harrasment at school	3999	0.54	0	1	0.460	0.615	34%	X	0.471	0.602	28%	X	0.531	0.608	14%	X
=1 if talked to female guardian about religion	4100	0.792	0	1	0.761	0.820	8%	X	0.758	0.821	8%	X	0.795	0.760	-4%	
=1 if thinks peer pressure is concern in general for males (old cohort)	1899	0.809	0	1	0.769	0.846	10%	X	0.809				0.810	0.798	-2%	
=1 if thinks peer pressure is concern in general for females (old cohort)	1863	0.754	0	1	0.755	0.752	0%		0.754				0.754	0.755	0%	
Adult Female Trauma Scale score, 1-4	3747	2.33	1	4	2.339	2.321	-1%		2.440	2.230	-9%	X	2.289	2.677	17%	X
=1 if Trauma symptoms suggest PTSD	3680	0.418	0	1	0.424	0.413	-2%		0.480	0.363	-24%	X	0.396	0.605	53%	X

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). Disability is defined using questions from the Washington Group and includes difficulty in six core functional domains (seeing, hearing, walking, self-care, cognition, and communication). Index of things talked to male/female guardian about includes: education, bullying/harrasment at school, and religion.The Adult Female Trauma score comes from the Harvard Trauma Scale, scores represents the average response across 18 items where higher scores mean greater trauma.

Table A20: Jordan baseline results by location

	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Host	ITS	Camp	Sig Dif?	Azraq	Zaatari	Gaza	Sig Dif?	Amman	Mafraq/ Irbid/Zarqa	Jerash	Sig Dif?	Mafraq/ Irbid	Amman	% Diff (Am-MI)	Sig Dif?
					Mean				Mean				Mean							
CR score on GHQ-12, 0-12 scale (higher means distress)	4057	1.991	0	12	2.041	2.355	1.818	X	1.873	1.831	1.696		2.241	1.901	1.939	X	2.249	2.576	15%	
=1 if Suffers from pscycological disgress (GHQ-12>=3)	4057	0.32	0	1	0.329	0.395	0.286	X	0.292	0.279	0.290		0.359	0.310	0.300	X	0.390	0.404	4%	
Child and Youth Resilience Measure Total Score (higher scores=more resilience)	3861	74.198	31	84	73.866	73.278	75.009	X	75.044	74.814	75.324		74.354	73.537	73.548	X	72.299	75.298	4%	X
Self Efficacy Score (old cohort)	1898	32.271	10	40	32.052	30.957	32.989	X	33.068	32.864	33.151		32.352	31.921	31.349		30.811	31.216	1%	
=1 if CR has friends that they trust	4101	0.709	0	1	0.703	0.766	0.706	X	0.694	0.765	0.617	X	0.688	0.722	0.664	O	0.737	0.828	12%	O
=1 if CR participates in a physical sport	4099	0.379	0	1	0.349	0.244	0.464	X	0.506	0.494	0.335	X	0.400	0.310	0.336	X	0.260	0.212	-18%	
Index for talked to male guardian about education- work- bullying- religion	4005	2.29	0	4	2.265	1.974	2.398	X	2.312	2.436	2.476		2.296	2.204	2.441	X	1.939	2.044	5%	
=1 if talked to male guardian about your education	4098	0.67	0	1	0.660	0.569	0.711	X	0.692	0.719	0.728		0.665	0.649	0.692		0.558	0.592	6%	
=1 if CR talked to male guardian about future work	4099	0.578	0	1	0.582	0.459	0.599	X	0.560	0.618	0.635	O	0.601	0.556	0.632	X	0.440	0.500	14%	
=1 if talked to male guardian about when you will get married	2107	0.097	0	1	0.105	0.060	0.089	O	0.087	0.120	0.044	X	0.099	0.115	0.078		0.068	0.043	-37%	
=1 if talked to male guardian about bullying/ harrasment at school	4007	0.349	0	1	0.350	0.282	0.360	X	0.354	0.347	0.397		0.355	0.338	0.392		0.287	0.272	-5%	
=1 if talked to male guardian about religion	4097	0.687	0	1	0.673	0.634	0.725	X	0.702	0.751	0.717		0.676	0.663	0.716		0.630	0.643	2%	
Index for talked to female about education- work- bullying- religion	3997	2.918	0	4	2.989	2.356	2.905	X	2.856	2.930	2.941		3.014	2.951	3.074		2.333	2.398	3%	
=1 if talked to female guardian about your education	4101	0.836	0	1	0.852	0.688	0.843	X	0.823	0.850	0.866		0.854	0.843	0.884		0.679	0.707	4%	
=1 if CR talked to female guardian about future work	4100	0.738	0	1	0.764	0.575	0.728	X	0.708	0.734	0.752		0.774	0.755	0.772		0.569	0.586	3%	
=1 if talked to female guardian about when you will get married	2108	0.235	0	1	0.252	0.152	0.222	X	0.212	0.271	0.157	X	0.237	0.264	0.240		0.165	0.125	-24%	
=1 if talked to female guardian about bullying/ harrasment at school	3999	0.54	0	1	0.557	0.370	0.544	X	0.531	0.548	0.562		0.562	0.546	0.589		0.356	0.398	12%	
=1 if talked to female guardian about religion	4100	0.792	0	1	0.806	0.692	0.789	X	0.795	0.798	0.762		0.812	0.800	0.812		0.689	0.697	1%	
=1 if thinks peer pressure is concern in general for males (old cohort)	1899	0.809	0	1	0.818	0.691	0.818	X	0.791	0.817	0.876		0.790	0.832	0.866		0.716	0.647	-10%	
=1 if thinks peer pressure is concern in general for females (old cohort)	1863	0.754	0	1	0.775	0.625	0.743	X	0.722	0.735	0.808		0.734	0.794	0.849	X	0.706	0.490	-31%	X
Adult Female Trauma Scale score, 1-4	3747	2.33	1	4	2.434	2.321	2.148	X	2.095	2.135	2.256	X	2.473	2.418	2.358	O	2.291	2.384	4%	
=1 if Trauma symptoms suggest PTSD	3680	0.418	0	1	0.475	0.427	0.315	X	0.276	0.322	0.370	X	0.485	0.474	0.447		0.405	0.472	16%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). Index of things talked to male/female guardian about includes: education, bullying/harrasment at school, and religion.The Adult Female Trauma score comes from the Harvard Trauma Scale, scores represents the average response across 18 items where higher scores mean greater trauma.

Table A21: Jordan baseline results by age and gender

	Overall				Gender							
					Old Males	Old Females	% Diff (OF-OM)	Sig Dif?	Young Males	Young Females	% Diff (YF-YM)	Sig Dif?
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Mean				Mean			
CR score on GHQ-12, 0-12 scale (higher means distress)	4057	1.991	0	12	1.927	2.287	19%	X	1.955	1.811	-7%	O
=1 if Suffers from pscycological disgress (GHQ-12>=3)	4057	0.32	0	1	0.317	0.352	11%		0.306	0.306	0%	
Child and Youth Resilience Measure Total Score (higher scores=more resilience)	3861	74.198	31	84	73.771	73.039	-1%	X	75.084	74.732	0%	
Self Efficacy Score (old cohort)	1898	32.271	10	40	32.553	32.010	-2%	X				
=1 if CR has friends that they trust	4101	0.709	0	1	0.752	0.711	-5%	X	0.700	0.680	-3%	
=1 if CR participates in a physical sport	4099	0.379	0	1	0.431	0.165	-62%	X	0.548	0.366	-33%	X
Index for talked to male guardian about education- work- bullying- religion	4005	2.29	0	4	2.047	2.016	-1%		2.604	2.437	-6%	X
=1 if talked to male guardian about your education	4098	0.67	0	1	0.586	0.585	0%		0.755	0.734	-3%	
=1 if CR talked to male guardian about future work	4099	0.578	0	1	0.494	0.526	7%		0.634	0.643	1%	
=1 if talked to male guardian about when you will get married	2107	0.097	0	1		0.139				0.059		
=1 if talked to male guardian about bullying/ harrasment at school	4007	0.349	0	1	0.298	0.254	-15%	X	0.476	0.355	-25%	X
=1 if talked to male guardian about religion	4097	0.687	0	1	0.653	0.646	-1%		0.732	0.710	-3%	
Index for talked to female about education- work- bullying- religion	3997	2.918	0	4	2.377	3.006	26%	X	3.060	3.150	3%	O
=1 if talked to female guardian about your education	4101	0.836	0	1	0.726	0.814	12%	X	0.870	0.916	5%	X
=1 if CR talked to female guardian about future work	4100	0.738	0	1	0.630	0.750	19%	X	0.763	0.793	4%	O
=1 if talked to female guardian about when you will get married	2108	0.235	0	1		0.352				0.128		
=1 if talked to female guardian about bullying/ harrasment at school	3999	0.54	0	1	0.310	0.617	99%	X	0.591	0.613	4%	
=1 if talked to female guardian about religion	4100	0.792	0	1	0.696	0.815	17%	X	0.818	0.825	1%	
=1 if thinks peer pressure is concern in general for males (old cohort)	1899	0.809	0	1	0.769	0.846	10%	X				
=1 if thinks peer pressure is concern in general for females (old cohort)	1863	0.754	0	1	0.755	0.752	0%					
Adult Female Trauma Scale score, 1-4	3747	2.33	1	4	2.423	2.456	1%		2.264	2.198	-3%	O
=1 if Trauma symptoms suggest PTSD	3680	0.418	0	1	0.469	0.491	5%		0.383	0.343	-10%	O

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). Index of things talked to male/female guardian about includes: education, bullying/harrasment at school, and religion.The Adult Female Trauma score comes from the Harvard Trauma Scale, scores represents the average response across 18 items where higher scores mean greater trauma.

Table A22: Jordan baseline results by nationality

	Overall				Nationality				Location of Origin for non-Jordanians			
					Non-Jordanian	Jordanian	% Diff (Jod-nonJod)		Palestinian	Syrian	% Diff (Syr-Pal)	
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Mean			Sig Dif?	Mean			Sig Dif?
CR score on GHQ-12, 0-12 scale (higher means distress)	4057	1.991	0	12	2.031	1.779	-12%	X	1.749	2.047	17%	X
=1 if Suffers from pscycological disgress (GHQ-12>=3)	4057	0.32	0	1	0.325	0.290	-11%	O	0.304	0.325	7%	
Child and Youth Resilience Measure Total Score (higher scores=more resilience)	3861	74.198	31	84	74.040	75.048	1%	X	75.182	73.943	-2%	X
Self Efficacy Score (old cohort)	1898	32.271	10	40	32.192	32.741	2%		33.009	32.164	-3%	O
=1 if CR has friends that they trust	4101	0.709	0	1	0.705	0.727	3%		0.618	0.716	16%	X
=1 if CR participates in a physical sport	4099	0.379	0	1	0.370	0.425	15%	X	0.349	0.371	6%	
Index for talked to male guardian about education- work- bullying- religion	4005	2.29	0	4	2.242	2.543	13%	X	2.465	2.217	-10%	X
=1 if talked to male guardian about your education	4098	0.67	0	1	0.658	0.735	12%	X	0.720	0.651	-10%	X
=1 if CR talked to male guardian about future work	4099	0.578	0	1	0.561	0.674	20%	X	0.618	0.554	-10%	X
=1 if talked to male guardian about when you will get married	2107	0.097	0	1	0.091	0.124	37%	O	0.047	0.096	103%	X
=1 if talked to male guardian about bullying/ harrasment at school	4007	0.349	0	1	0.341	0.393	15%	X	0.403	0.333	-17%	X
=1 if talked to male guardian about religion	4097	0.687	0	1	0.680	0.729	7%	X	0.727	0.675	-7%	O
Index for talked to female about education- work- bullying- religion	3997	2.918	0	4	2.866	3.193	11%	X	2.977	2.850	-4%	O
=1 if talked to female guardian about your education	4101	0.836	0	1	0.827	0.886	7%	X	0.872	0.822	-6%	X
=1 if CR talked to female guardian about future work	4100	0.738	0	1	0.720	0.835	16%	X	0.743	0.716	-4%	
=1 if talked to female guardian about when you will get married	2108	0.235	0	1	0.229	0.258	13%		0.177	0.235	33%	O
=1 if talked to female guardian about bullying/ harrasment at school	3999	0.54	0	1	0.526	0.617	17%	X	0.581	0.519	-11%	X
=1 if talked to female guardian about religion	4100	0.792	0	1	0.782	0.842	8%	X	0.783	0.782	0%	
=1 if thinks peer pressure is concern in general for males (old cohort)	1899	0.809	0	1	0.808	0.813	1%		0.876	0.804	-8%	X
=1 if thinks peer pressure is concern in general for females (old cohort)	1863	0.754	0	1	0.751	0.766	2%		0.830	0.743	-11%	X
Adult Female Trauma Scale score, 1-4	3747	2.33	1	4	2.327	2.339	1%		2.241	2.331	4%	O
=1 if Trauma symptoms suggest PTSD	3680	0.418	0	1	0.418	0.417	0%		0.362	0.422	17%	X

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). Index of things talked to male/female guardian about includes: education, bullying/harrasment at school, and religion.The Adult Female Trauma score comes from the Harvard Trauma Scale, scores represents the average response across 18 items where higher scores mean greater trauma.

Table A23: Jordan baseline results by gender (within nationality)

	Overall				Jordanian				Syrian				Palestinian			
					Male	Female	% Diff		Male	Female	% Diff		Male	Female	% Diff	
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Mean		(M-F)	Sig Dif?			(M-F)	Sig Dif?	Mean		(M-F)	Sig Dif?
CR score on GHQ-12, 0-12 scale (higher means distress)	4057	2.0	0	12	1.71	1.82	6%		1.99	2.10	6%		1.64	1.83	12%	
=1 if Suffers from pscycological disgress (GHQ-12>=3)	4057	0.3	0	1	0.29	0.29	2%		0.31	0.34	7%		0.29	0.32	9%	
Child and Youth Resilience Measure Total Score (higher scores=more resilience)	3861	74.2	31	84	75.21	74.94	0%		74.33	73.54	-1%	X	75.35	75.05	0%	
Self Efficacy Score (old cohort)	1898	32.3	10	40	32.07	33.07	3%		32.56	31.75	-2%	X	33.92	32.36	-5%	
=1 if CR has friends that they trust	4101	0.7	0	1	0.73	0.72	-1%		0.73	0.70	-4%	O	0.65	0.59	-10%	
=1 if CR participates in a physical sport	4099	0.4	0	1	0.55	0.35	-37%	X	0.48	0.25	-48%	X	0.48	0.25	-49%	X
Index for talked to male guardian about education- work- bullying- religion	4005	2.3	0	4	2.72	2.43	-11%	X	2.25	2.18	-3%		2.67	2.31	-14%	X
=1 if talked to male guardian about your education	4098	0.7	0	1	0.78	0.71	-9%	X	0.65	0.65	-1%		0.76	0.69	-9%	
=1 if CR talked to male guardian about future work	4099	0.6	0	1	0.67	0.67	0%		0.54	0.57	5%		0.70	0.56	-21%	X
=1 if talked to male guardian about when you will get married	2107	0.1	0	1		0.12				0.10				0.05		
=1 if talked to male guardian about bullying/ harrasment at school	4007	0.3	0	1	0.48	0.34	-29%	X	0.37	0.29	-21%	X	0.47	0.35	-24%	X
=1 if talked to male guardian about religion	4097	0.7	0	1	0.77	0.70	-8%	O	0.68	0.67	-1%		0.74	0.71	-4%	
Index for talked to female about education- work- bullying- religion	3997	2.9	0	4	3.02	3.30	9%	X	2.69	3.01	12%	X	2.80	3.12	11%	X
=1 if talked to female guardian about your education	4101	0.8	0	1	0.87	0.89	2%		0.79	0.86	8%	X	0.81	0.92	13%	X
=1 if CR talked to female guardian about future work	4100	0.7	0	1	0.79	0.86	10%	X	0.68	0.75	11%	X	0.77	0.73	-5%	
=1 if talked to female guardian about when you will get married	2108	0.2	0	1		0.26				0.24				0.18		
=1 if talked to female guardian about bullying/ harrasment at school	3999	0.5	0	1	0.51	0.68	32%	X	0.45	0.59	31%	X	0.47	0.66	40%	X
=1 if talked to female guardian about religion	4100	0.8	0	1	0.83	0.85	3%		0.75	0.81	7%	X	0.74	0.81	9%	
=1 if thinks peer pressure is concern in general for males (old cohort)	1899	0.8	0	1	0.72	0.86	20%	X	0.77	0.84	8%	X	0.85	0.89	4%	
=1 if thinks peer pressure is concern in general for females (old cohort)	1863	0.8	0	1	0.75	0.77	3%		0.75	0.73	-3%		0.77	0.88	14%	
Adult Female Trauma Scale score, 1-4	3747	2.3	1	4	2.36	2.33	-1%		2.34	2.32	-1%		2.17	2.29	6%	
=1 if Trauma symptoms suggest PTSD	3680	0.4	0	1	0.44	0.40	-8%		0.42	0.42	-1%		0.35	0.37	5%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). DThe attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms.

Table A24: Jordan baseline results by gender (within nationality)

	Overall				Females				Old Females				Old Adolescents				Syrian old Females			
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Never married	Ever married	% Diff (M-NM)	Sig Dif?	Never Married Female	Ever married Female	Male	Sig Dif?	Never Married Female	Ever married Female	Male	Sig Dif?	Never Married	Ever Married	% Diff (M-NM)	Sig Dif?
					Mean								Mean							
CR score on GHQ-12, 0-12 scale (higher means distress)	4057	1.991	0	12	2.025	2.168	7%		2.317	2.155	-7%		2.317	2.155	1.927	X	2.343	2.268	-3%	
=1 if Suffers from pscycological disgress (GHQ-12>=3)	4057	0.32	0	1	0.324	0.368	13%		0.349	0.365	4%		0.349	0.365	0.317		0.348	0.386	11%	
Child and Youth Resilience Measure Total Score (higher scores=more resilience)	3861	74.198	31	84	74.055	72.599	-2%	X	73.124	72.632	-1%		73.124	72.632	73.771	X	72.761	72.279	-1%	
Self Efficacy Score (old cohort)	1898	32.271	10	40	32.106	31.571	-2%		32.106	31.571	-2%		32.106	31.571	32.553	O	31.910	31.151	-2%	
=1 if CR has friends that they trust	4101	0.709	0	1	0.703	0.602	-14%	X	0.733	0.610	-17%	X	0.733	0.610	0.752	X	0.726	0.623	-14%	X
=1 if CR participates in a physical sport	4099	0.379	0	1	0.289	0.075	-74%	X	0.187	0.066	-65%	X	0.187	0.066	0.431	X	0.177	0.058	-67%	X
Index for talked to male guardian about education- work- bullying- religion	4005	2.29	0	4	2.274	1.859	-18%	X	2.051	1.862	-9%	O	2.051	1.862	2.047		1.973	1.824	-8%	
=1 if talked to male guardian about your education	4098	0.67	0	1	0.681	0.473	-31%	X	0.611	0.467	-24%	X	0.611	0.467	0.586	X	0.583	0.461	-21%	X
=1 if CR talked to male guardian about future work	4099	0.578	0	1	0.599	0.462	-23%	X	0.541	0.462	-15%	O	0.541	0.462	0.494	O	0.514	0.461	-10%	
=1 if talked to male guardian about when you will get married	2107	0.097	0	1	0.083	0.238	186%	X	0.116	0.243	110%	X	0.116	0.243		X	0.116	0.209	80%	X
=1 if talked to male guardian about bullying/ harrasment at school	4007	0.349	0	1	0.310	0.272	-12%		0.250	0.271	8%		0.250	0.271	0.298	O	0.235	0.248	6%	
=1 if talked to male guardian about religion	4097	0.687	0	1	0.683	0.645	-6%		0.644	0.654	2%		0.644	0.654	0.653		0.635	0.643	1%	
Index for talked to female about education- work- bullying- religion	3997	2.918	0	4	3.087	3.027	-2%		3.003	3.022	1%		3.003	3.022	2.377	X	2.914	2.980	2%	
=1 if talked to female guardian about your education	4101	0.836	0	1	0.876	0.785	-10%	X	0.822	0.780	-5%		0.822	0.780	0.726	X	0.799	0.773	-3%	
=1 if CR talked to female guardian about future work	4100	0.738	0	1	0.774	0.758	-2%		0.748	0.758	1%		0.748	0.758	0.630	X	0.721	0.740	3%	
=1 if talked to female guardian about when you will get married	2108	0.235	0	1	0.213	0.457	114%	X	0.329	0.456	38%	X	0.329	0.456		X	0.341	0.416	22%	O
=1 if talked to female guardian about bullying/ harrasment at school	3999	0.54	0	1	0.613	0.630	3%		0.614	0.630	3%		0.614	0.630	0.310	X	0.585	0.628	7%	
=1 if talked to female guardian about religion	4100	0.792	0	1	0.818	0.844	3%		0.810	0.841	4%		0.810	0.841	0.696	X	0.801	0.825	3%	
=1 if thinks peer pressure is concern in general for males (old cohort)	1899	0.809	0	1	0.852	0.816	-4%		0.852	0.816	-4%		0.852	0.816	0.769	X	0.847	0.801	-5%	
=1 if thinks peer pressure is concern in general for females (old cohort)	1863	0.754	0	1	0.753	0.749	-1%		0.753	0.749	-1%		0.753	0.749	0.755		0.730	0.735	1%	
Adult Female Trauma Scale score, 1-4	3747	2.33	1	4	2.316	2.371	2%		2.476	2.369	-4%		2.476	2.369	2.423		2.487	2.376	-4%	
=1 if Trauma symptoms suggest PTSD	3680	0.418	0	1	0.405	0.503	24%	X	0.487	0.506	4%		0.487	0.506	0.469		0.504	0.511	1%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). DThe attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms.

Table A25: Jordan baseline results: voice and agency

	Overall				Gender				Age				Disability Status			
					Male	Female	% Diff		Old	Young	% Diff	Sig	No Disability	Disability	% Diff	
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Mean		(F-M)	Sig Dif?	Mean		(D-NoD)	Dif?	Mean		(D-NoD)	Sig Dif?
=1 if CR leaves home daily	4098	0.761	0	1	0.861	0.667	-23%	X	0.709	0.807	14%	X	0.763	0.735	-4%	
=1 if CR leaves community at least once a week	4082	0.14	0	1	0.181	0.102	-44%	X	0.156	0.127	-18%	X	0.142	0.125	-12%	
=1 if CR feels safe walking in community during day	4092	0.848	0	1	0.897	0.803	-11%	X	0.881	0.820	-7%	X	0.858	0.770	-10%	X
=1 if CR feels safe walking in community during night	4052	0.312	0	1	0.443	0.188	-58%	X	0.409	0.226	-45%	X	0.320	0.242	-24%	X
=1 if CR feels safe at school most of the time, among enrolled	3083	0.942	0	1	0.932	0.951	2%	X	0.949	0.939	-1%		0.950	0.871	-8%	X
=1 if CR feels safe traveling to school, among enrolled	3078	0.853	0	1	0.869	0.838	-4%	X	0.878	0.841	-4%	X	0.867	0.727	-16%	X
=1 if CR has phone for own personal use	4101	0.354	0	1	0.455	0.259	-43%	X	0.560	0.171	-69%	X	0.360	0.299	-17%	X
=1 for CR has ever used the internet	4101	0.512	0	1	0.562	0.465	-17%	X	0.693	0.351	-49%	X	0.523	0.439	-16%	X
=1 if CR has ever been upset by something online (among those who have used internet)	2099	0.162	0	1	0.166	0.158	-5%		0.173	0.143	-17%	O	0.162	0.155	-5%	
=1 if CR feels comfortable expressing opinion to people older than him/her	4093	0.685	0	1	0.711	0.661	-7%	X	0.698	0.674	-4%	O	0.688	0.667	-3%	
=1 if CR feels comfortable expressing opinion to people in age group	4100	0.921	0	1	0.914	0.927	1%		0.928	0.914	-2%	O	0.926	0.871	-6%	X
Index for CR has some say in household decisions, 0-8	3751	4.953	0	8	5.136	4.771	-7%	X	5.220	4.719	-10%	X	4.973	4.765	-4%	O
=1 if CR has a role model (inside or outside of household)	4100	0.699	0	1	0.693	0.705	2%		0.669	0.726	8%	X	0.703	0.660	-6%	O
CR's opinion on the strength of togetherness in their village/neighborhood (higher scores= greater togetherness)	4035	3.45	1	5	3.454	3.447	0%		3.248	3.630	12%	X	3.469	3.290	-5%	X
Extent that CR thinks that differences characterize your community (higher scores = fewer differences)	4014	3.164	1	5	3.184	3.146	-1%		3.118	3.207	3%	X	3.184	2.995	-6%	X
=1 if CR ever talked with people in area about serious problem affecting the community (old cohort)	1927	0.088	0	1	0.094	0.082	-14%		0.088				0.088	0.081	-9%	
=1 if CR ever taken action with others about a serious problem affect the community (old cohort)	1927	0.051	0	1	0.054	0.049	-10%		0.051				0.049	0.075	52%	
Index of social cohesion (higher scores=greater cohesion) (old cohort)	1812	2.462	0	4	2.527	2.402	-5%	X	2.463				2.496	2.115	-15%	X
Time Use Attitudes	4075	2.022	0	3	2.061	1.986	-4%	X	2.091	1.961	-6%	X	2.030	1.944	-4%	X
Time Use Norms (old cohort)	1895	3.14	0	4	3.162	3.120	-1%		3.140				3.152	3.029	-4%	
Most boys and girls in my community do not share household tasks equally (old cohort)	1919	0.731	0	1	0.701	0.759	8%	X	0.731				0.729	0.753	3%	
Most people in my community expect men to have the final word about decisions in the home. (Old cohort)	1917	0.822	0	1	0.876	0.772	-12%	X	0.822				0.825	0.786	-5%	
Most people in my community do not expect girls and boys to share household tasks equally. (old cohort)	1914	0.704	0	1	0.685	0.722	6%	O	0.704				0.707	0.678	-4%	
Most men in my community are the ones who make the decisions in their home. (old cohort)	1921	0.886	0	1	0.902	0.871	-3%	X	0.886				0.893	0.816	-9%	X

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X ($p<0.05$) or an O ($p<0.10$). Disability is defined using questions from the Washington Group and includes difficulty in six core functional domains (seeing, hearing, walking, self-care, cognition, and communication). The attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms.

Table A26: Jordan baseline results by location

	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Host	ITS	Camp	Sig Dif?	Azraq	Zaatari	Gaza	Sig Dif?	Amman	Mafraq/ Irbid/Zarqa	Jerash	Sig Dif?	Mafraq/ Irbid	Amman	% Diff (Am-MI)	Sig Dif?
					Mean				Mean				Mean							
=1 if CR leaves home daily	4098	0.761	0	1	0.725	0.698	0.842	X	0.829	0.888	0.778	X	0.676	0.733	0.876	X	0.790	0.505	-36%	X
=1 if CR leaves community at least once a week	4082	0.14	0	1	0.173	0.130	0.084	X	0.049	0.076	0.161	X	0.211	0.163	0.073	X	0.101	0.192	91%	X
=1 if CR feels safe walking in community during day	4092	0.848	0	1	0.829	0.854	0.883	X	0.887	0.883	0.875		0.827	0.835	0.808		0.842	0.879	4%	
=1 if CR feels safe walking in community during night	4052	0.312	0	1	0.302	0.339	0.325		0.345	0.333	0.273	O	0.310	0.303	0.262		0.329	0.361	10%	
=1 if CR feels safe at school most of the time, among enrolled	3083	0.942	0	1	0.933	0.925	0.960	X	0.957	0.974	0.941		0.922	0.947	0.919	O	0.942	0.896	-5%	
=1 if CR feels safe traveling to school, among enrolled	3078	0.853	0	1	0.843	0.896	0.866	O	0.873	0.849	0.885		0.826	0.865	0.815	X	0.895	0.896	0%	
=1 if CR has phone for own personal use	4101	0.354	0	1	0.357	0.237	0.374	X	0.398	0.422	0.241	X	0.390	0.351	0.260	X	0.211	0.293	39%	
=1 for CR has ever used the internet	4101	0.512	0	1	0.598	0.234	0.420	X	0.353	0.453	0.476	X	0.629	0.578	0.572	X	0.191	0.323	69%	X
=1 if CR has ever been upset by something online (among those who have used internet)	2099	0.162	0	1	0.176	0.111	0.133	X	0.144	0.142	0.101		0.203	0.161	0.133	X	0.125	0.094	-25%	
=1 if CR feels comfortable expressing opinion to people older than him/her	4093	0.685	0	1	0.670	0.636	0.724	X	0.776	0.702	0.672	X	0.649	0.696	0.631	X	0.636	0.636	0%	
=1 if CR feels comfortable expressing opinion to people in age group	4100	0.921	0	1	0.924	0.889	0.922		0.920	0.927	0.917		0.902	0.936	0.952	X	0.865	0.939	9%	X
Index for CR has some say in household decisions, 0-8	3751	4.953	0	8	4.892	4.517	5.158	X	5.186	5.222	4.985		5.021	4.868	4.494	X	4.356	4.835	11%	O
=1 if CR has a role model (inside or outside of household)	4100	0.699	0	1	0.699	0.666	0.706		0.702	0.722	0.683		0.747	0.666	0.672	X	0.651	0.697	7%	
CR's opinion on the strength of togetherness in their village/ neighborhood (higher scores= greater togetherness)	4035	3.45	1	5	3.271	3.783	3.694	X	3.742	3.692	3.611		3.192	3.300	3.443	X	3.772	3.806	1%	
Extent that CR thinks that differences characterize your community (higher scores = fewer differences)	4014	3.164	1	5	3.088	3.502	3.227	X	3.174	3.357	3.072	X	3.156	3.061	2.951	O	3.495	3.516	1%	
=1 if CR ever talked with people in area about serious problem affecting the community (old cohort)	1927	0.088	0	1	0.097	0.069	0.075		0.049	0.102	0.057	O	0.105	0.086	0.149		0.075	0.059	-22%	
=1 if CR ever taken action with others about a serious problem affect the community (old cohort)	1927	0.051	0	1	0.054	0.049	0.047		0.045	0.060	0.019	O	0.066	0.045	0.060		0.065	0.020	-70%	
Index of social cohesion (higher scores=greater cohesion) (old cohort)	1812	2.462	0	4	2.366	2.855	2.551	X	2.435	2.659	2.510	O	2.368	2.373	2.286		2.874	2.824	-2%	
Time Use Attitudes	4075	2.022	0	3	1.971	2.235	2.066	X	2.084	2.072	2.021		1.915	2.018	1.964	X	2.249	2.206	-2%	
Time Use Norms (old cohort)	1895	3.14	0	4	3.108	3.216	3.185		3.220	3.186	3.106		3.113	3.119	2.970		3.284	3.098	-6%	
Most boys and girls in my community do not share household tasks equally (old cohort)	1919	0.731	0	1	0.735	0.713	0.728		0.695	0.734	0.781		0.745	0.732	0.702		0.739	0.667	-10%	
Most people in my community expect men to have the final word about decisions in the home. (Old cohort)	1917	0.822	0	1	0.805	0.895	0.837	X	0.857	0.845	0.771		0.801	0.806	0.821		0.924	0.843	-9%	
Most people in my community do not expect girls and boys to share household tasks equally. (old cohort)	1914	0.704	0	1	0.696	0.688	0.724		0.771	0.708	0.667	O	0.693	0.709	0.591		0.689	0.686	0%	
Most men in my community are the ones who make the decisions in their home. (old cohort)	1921	0.886	0	1	0.876	0.931	0.895	O	0.897	0.897	0.887		0.877	0.876	0.866		0.946	0.902	-5%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). Index of things talked to male/female guardian about includes: education, bullying/harrasment at school, and religion.The Adult Female Trauma score comes from the Harvard Trauma Scale, scores represents the average response across 18 items where higher scores mean greater trauma.

Table A27: Jordan baseline results by age and gender

	Overall				Gender							
					Old Males	Old Females	% Diff (OF-OM)	Sig Dif?	Young Males	Young Females	% Diff (YF-YM)	Sig Dif?
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Mean				Mean			
=1 if CR leaves home daily	4098	0.761	0	1	0.884	0.550	-38%	X	0.841	0.774	-8%	X
=1 if CR leaves community at least once a week	4082	0.14	0	1	0.217	0.100	-54%	X	0.150	0.104	-31%	X
=1 if CR feels safe walking in community during day	4092	0.848	0	1	0.930	0.836	-10%	X	0.869	0.772	-11%	X
=1 if CR feels safe walking in community during night	4052	0.312	0	1	0.597	0.234	-61%	X	0.309	0.146	-53%	X
=1 if CR feels safe at school most of the time, among enrolled	3083	0.942	0	1	0.940	0.956	2%		0.928	0.949	2%	O
=1 if CR feels safe traveling to school, among enrolled	3078	0.853	0	1	0.904	0.854	-6%	X	0.851	0.831	-2%	
=1 if CR has phone for own personal use	4101	0.354	0	1	0.733	0.401	-45%	X	0.213	0.130	-39%	X
=1 for CR has ever used the internet	4101	0.512	0	1	0.764	0.628	-18%	X	0.387	0.317	-18%	X
=1 if CR has ever been upset by something online (among those who have used internet)	2099	0.162	0	1	0.173	0.173	0%		0.153	0.131	-14%	
=1 if CR feels comfortable expressing opinion to people older than him/her	4093	0.685	0	1	0.719	0.680	-5%	O	0.704	0.644	-9%	X
=1 if CR feels comfortable expressing opinion to people in age group	4100	0.921	0	1	0.910	0.945	4%	X	0.917	0.911	-1%	
Index for CR has some say in household decisions, 0-8	3751	4.953	0	8	5.455	4.983	-9%	X	4.852	4.588	-5%	X
=1 if CR has a role model (inside or outside of household)	4100	0.699	0	1	0.640	0.696	9%	X	0.739	0.713	-4%	
CR's opinion on the strength of togetherness in their village/neighborhood (higher scores= greater togetherness)	4035	3.45	1	5	3.274	3.223	-2%		3.609	3.650	1%	
Extent that CR thinks that differences characterize your community (higher scores = fewer differences)	4014	3.164	1	5	3.177	3.063	-4%	O	3.190	3.223	1%	
=1 if CR ever talked with people in area about serious problem affecting the community (old cohort)	1927	0.088	0	1	0.094	0.082	-14%					
=1 if CR ever taken action with others about a serious problem affect the community (old cohort)	1927	0.051	0	1	0.054	0.049	-10%					
Index of social cohesion (higher scores=greater cohesion) (old cohort)	1812	2.462	0	4	2.527	2.402	-5%	X				
Time Use Attitudes	4075	2.022	0	3	2.184	2.006	-8%	X	1.954	1.967	1%	
Time Use Norms (old cohort)	1895	3.14	0	4	3.162	3.120	-1%					
Most boys and girls in my community do not share household tasks equally (old cohort)	1919	0.731	0	1	0.701	0.759	8%	X				
Most people in my community expect men to have the final word about decisions in the home. (Old cohort)	1917	0.822	0	1	0.876	0.772	-12%	X				
Most people in my community do not expect girls and boys to share household tasks equally. (old cohort)	1914	0.704	0	1	0.685	0.722	6%	O				
Most men in my community are the ones who make the decisions in their home. (old cohort)	1921	0.886	0	1	0.902	0.871	-3%	X				

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). Index of things talked to male/female guardian about includes: education, bullying/harrasment at school, and religion.The Adult Female Trauma score comes from the Harvard Trauma Scale, scores represents the average response across 18 items where higher scores mean greater trauma.

Table A28: Jordan baseline results by nationality, host and ITS only

	Overall				Nationality				Location of Origin for non-Jordanians			
					Non-Jordanian	Jordanian	% Diff (Jod-nonJod)		Palestinian	Syrian	% Diff (Syr-Pal)	
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Mean			Sig Dif?	Mean			Sig Dif?
=1 if CR leaves home daily	4098	0.761	0	1	0.764	0.746	-2%		0.769	0.767	0%	
=1 if CR leaves community at least once a week	4082	0.14	0	1	0.119	0.254	112%	X	0.141	0.116	-18%	
=1 if CR feels safe walking in community during day	4092	0.848	0	1	0.850	0.838	-1%		0.868	0.850	-2%	
=1 if CR feels safe walking in community during night	4052	0.312	0	1	0.315	0.297	-6%		0.273	0.318	16%	O
=1 if CR feels safe at school most of the time, among enrolled	3083	0.942	0	1	0.940	0.951	1%		0.935	0.942	1%	
=1 if CR feels safe traveling to school, among enrolled	3078	0.853	0	1	0.843	0.900	7%	X	0.892	0.837	-6%	X
=1 if CR has phone for own personal use	4101	0.354	0	1	0.356	0.341	-4%		0.247	0.366	48%	X
=1 for CR has ever used the internet	4101	0.512	0	1	0.479	0.692	45%	X	0.493	0.474	-4%	
=1 if CR has ever been upset by something online (among those who have used internet)	2099	0.162	0	1	0.147	0.216	47%	X	0.100	0.153	53%	X
=1 if CR feels comfortable expressing opinion to people older than him/her	4093	0.685	0	1	0.688	0.670	-3%		0.661	0.691	4%	
=1 if CR feels comfortable expressing opinion to people in age group	4100	0.921	0	1	0.917	0.939	2%	X	0.924	0.918	-1%	
Index for CR has some say in household decisions, 0-8	3751	4.953	0	8	4.934	5.053	2%		4.919	4.936	0%	
=1 if CR has a role model (inside or outside of household)	4100	0.699	0	1	0.693	0.731	5%	O	0.671	0.696	4%	
CR's opinion on the strength of togetherness in their village/neighborhood (higher scores= greater togetherness)	4035	3.45	1	5	3.438	3.516	2%		3.580	3.434	-4%	O
Extent that CR thinks that differences characterize your community (higher scores = fewer differences)	4014	3.164	1	5	3.176	3.104	-2%		3.079	3.191	4%	
=1 if CR ever talked with people in area about serious problem affecting the community (old cohort)	1927	0.088	0	1	0.075	0.160	112%	X	0.070	0.076	8%	
=1 if CR ever taken action with others about a serious problem affect the community (old cohort)	1927	0.051	0	1	0.043	0.099	130%	X	0.017	0.046	161%	X
Index of social cohesion (higher scores=greater cohesion) (old cohort)	1812	2.462	0	4	2.464	2.453	0%		2.402	2.466	3%	
Time Use Attitudes	4075	2.022	0	3	2.047	1.885	-8%	X	2.046	2.052	0%	
Time Use Norms (old cohort)	1895	3.14	0	4	3.146	3.107	-1%		3.142	3.153	0%	
Most boys and girls in my community do not share household tasks equally (old cohort)	1919	0.731	0	1	0.734	0.716	-2%		0.772	0.731	-5%	
Most people in my community expect men to have the final word about decisions in the home. (Old cohort)	1917	0.822	0	1	0.826	0.794	-4%		0.781	0.833	7%	
Most people in my community do not expect girls and boys to share household tasks equally. (old cohort)	1914	0.704	0	1	0.702	0.719	2%		0.684	0.705	3%	
Most men in my community are the ones who make the decisions in their home. (old cohort)	1921	0.886	0	1	0.888	0.872	-2%		0.904	0.888	-2%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). Index of things talked to male/female guardian about includes: education, bullying/harrasment at school, and religion.The Adult Female Trauma score comes from the Harvard Trauma Scale, scores represents the average response across 18 items where higher scores mean greater trauma.

Table A29: Jordan baseline results by gender (within nationality)

	Overall				Jordanian				Syrian				Palestinian			
					Male	Female	% Diff		Male	Female	% Diff		Male	Female	% Diff	
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Mean		(M-F)	Sig Dif?			(M-F)	Sig Dif?	Mean		(M-F)	Sig Dif?
=1 if CR leaves home daily	4098	0.761	0	1	0.801	0.711	-11%	X	0.872	0.658	-25%	X	0.902	0.665	-26%	X
=1 if CR leaves community at least once a week	4082	0.14	0	1	0.301	0.224	-26%	X	0.157	0.073	-53%	X	0.221	0.077	-65%	X
=1 if CR feels safe walking in community during day	4092	0.848	0	1	0.902	0.798	-12%	X	0.896	0.802	-11%	X	0.925	0.824	-11%	X
=1 if CR feels safe walking in community during night	4052	0.312	0	1	0.455	0.199	-56%	X	0.445	0.185	-58%	X	0.399	0.174	-56%	X
=1 if CR feels safe at school most of the time, among enrolled	3083	0.942	0	1	0.956	0.948	-1%		0.930	0.954	3%	X	0.922	0.945	2%	
=1 if CR feels safe traveling to school, among enrolled	3078	0.853	0	1	0.933	0.878	-6%	X	0.851	0.822	-3%	O	0.930	0.862	-7%	O
=1 if CR has phone for own personal use	4101	0.354	0	1	0.382	0.316	-17%	O	0.471	0.258	-45%	X	0.391	0.135	-66%	X
=1 for CR has ever used the internet	4101	0.512	0	1	0.699	0.687	-2%		0.539	0.408	-24%	X	0.571	0.433	-24%	X
=1 if CR has ever been upset by something online (among those who have used internet)	2099	0.162	0	1	0.209	0.221	5%		0.166	0.136	-18%		0.105	0.095	-10%	
=1 if CR feels comfortable expressing opinion to people older than him/her	4093	0.685	0	1	0.695	0.654	-6%		0.717	0.663	-8%	X	0.654	0.667	2%	
=1 if CR feels comfortable expressing opinion to people in age group	4100	0.921	0	1	0.947	0.934	-1%		0.907	0.930	3%	X	0.947	0.906	-4%	
Index for CR has some say in household decisions, 0-8	3751	4.953	0	8	5.270	4.913	-7%	X	5.112	4.744	-7%	X	5.222	4.675	-10%	X
=1 if CR has a role model (inside or outside of household)	4100	0.699	0	1	0.699	0.750	7%		0.691	0.701	1%		0.714	0.637	-11%	
CR's opinion on the strength of togetherness in their village/neighborhood (higher scores= greater togetherness)	4035	3.45	1	5	3.514	3.517	0%		3.444	3.424	-1%		3.602	3.563	-1%	
Extent that CR thinks that differences characterize your community (higher scores = fewer differences)	4014	3.164	1	5	3.152	3.073	-3%		3.197	3.184	0%		3.109	3.055	-2%	
=1 if CR ever talked with people in area about serious problem affecting the community (old cohort)	1927	0.088	0	1	0.209	0.136	-35%		0.084	0.067	-20%		0.063	0.075	19%	
=1 if CR ever taken action with others about a serious problem affect the community (old cohort)	1927	0.051	0	1	0.165	0.068	-59%	X	0.043	0.048	11%		0.042	0.000	-100%	
Index of social cohesion (higher scores=greater cohesion) (old cohort)	1812	2.462	0	4	2.391	2.483	4%		2.543	2.383	-6%	X	2.522	2.312	-8%	
Time Use Attitudes	4075	2.022	0	3	1.882	1.888	0%		2.101	2.002	-5%	X	1.955	2.118	8%	O
Time Use Norms (old cohort)	1895	3.14	0	4	3.088	3.116	1%		3.181	3.123	-2%		3.106	3.167	2%	
Most boys and girls in my community do not share household tasks equally (old cohort)	1919	0.731	0	1	0.703	0.723	3%		0.703	0.761	8%	X	0.702	0.821	17%	
Most people in my community expect men to have the final word about decisions in the home. (Old cohort)	1917	0.822	0	1	0.879	0.753	-14%	X	0.882	0.781	-11%	X	0.854	0.727	-15%	O
Most people in my community do not expect girls and boys to share household tasks equally. (old cohort)	1914	0.704	0	1	0.648	0.753	16%	O	0.691	0.719	4%		0.638	0.716	12%	
Most men in my community are the ones who make the decisions in their home. (old cohort)	1921	0.886	0	1	0.857	0.879	3%		0.906	0.870	-4%	X	0.917	0.896	-2%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). DThe attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms.

Table A30: Jordan baseline results by gender (within nationality)

	Overall				Females				Old Females				Old Adolescents				Syrian old Females			
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Never married	Ever married	% Diff (M-NM)	Sig Dif?	Never Married Female	Ever married Female	Male	Sig Dif?	Never Married Female	Ever married Female	Male	Sig Dif?	Never Married	Ever Married	% Diff (M-NM)	Sig Dif?
					Mean								Mean							
=1 if CR leaves home daily	4098	0.761	0	1	0.705	0.280	-60%	X	0.609	0.280	-54%	X	0.609	0.280	0.884	X	0.596	0.279	-53%	X
=1 if CR leaves community at least once a week	4082	0.14	0	1	0.103	0.097	-5%		0.101	0.094	-7%		0.101	0.094	0.217	X	0.069	0.078	12%	
=1 if CR feels safe walking in community during day	4092	0.848	0	1	0.803	0.800	0%		0.845	0.796	-6%		0.845	0.796	0.930	X	0.834	0.797	-4%	
=1 if CR feels safe walking in community during night	4052	0.312	0	1	0.183	0.234	28%		0.234	0.233	0%		0.234	0.233	0.597	X	0.224	0.243	9%	
=1 if CR feels safe at school most of the time, among enrolled	3083	0.942	0	1	0.951	0.938	-1%		0.957	0.938	-2%		0.957	0.938	0.940		0.950	0.929	-2%	
=1 if CR feels safe traveling to school, among enrolled	3078	0.853	0	1	0.838	0.875	4%		0.853	0.875	3%		0.853	0.875	0.904	X	0.856	0.857	0%	
=1 if CR has phone for own personal use	4101	0.354	0	1	0.224	0.624	179%	X	0.351	0.626	79%	X	0.351	0.626	0.733	X	0.348	0.636	83%	X
=1 for CR has ever used the internet	4101	0.512	0	1	0.457	0.548	20%	X	0.643	0.560	-13%	X	0.643	0.560	0.764	X	0.588	0.520	-12%	
=1 if CR has ever been upset by something online (among those who have used internet)	2099	0.162	0	1	0.166	0.088	-47%	X	0.189	0.088	-53%	X	0.189	0.088	0.173	X	0.150	0.088	-42%	O
=1 if CR feels comfortable expressing opinion to people older than him/her	4093	0.685	0	1	0.658	0.694	5%		0.677	0.692	2%		0.677	0.692	0.719		0.685	0.675	-1%	
=1 if CR feels comfortable expressing opinion to people in age group	4100	0.921	0	1	0.923	0.968	5%	X	0.941	0.967	3%	O	0.941	0.967	0.910	X	0.941	0.961	2%	
Index for CR has some say in household decisions, 0-8	3751	4.953	0	8	4.780	4.613	-3%		5.034	4.613	-8%	O	5.034	4.613	5.455	X	4.967	4.585	-8%	
=1 if CR has a role model (inside or outside of household)	4100	0.699	0	1	0.705	0.699	-1%		0.695	0.698	0%		0.695	0.698	0.640	X	0.676	0.695	3%	
CR's opinion on the strength of togetherness in their village/ neighborhood (higher scores= greater togetherness)	4035	3.45	1	5	3.463	3.272	-6%	O	3.212	3.273	2%		3.212	3.273	3.274		3.211	3.213	0%	
Extent that CR thinks that differences characterize your community (higher scores = fewer differences)	4014	3.164	1	5	3.157	3.028	-4%		3.066	3.046	-1%		3.066	3.046	3.177		3.126	3.116	0%	
=1 if CR ever talked with people in area about serious problem affecting the community (old cohort)	1927	0.088	0	1	0.089	0.050	-44%	X	0.089	0.050	-44%	X	0.089	0.050	0.094	O	0.069	0.058	-16%	
=1 if CR ever taken action with others about a serious problem affect the community (old cohort)	1927	0.051	0	1	0.055	0.022	-60%	X	0.055	0.022	-60%	X	0.055	0.022	0.054	X	0.054	0.026	-52%	O
Index of social cohesion (higher scores=greater cohesion) (old cohort)	1812	2.462	0	4	2.385	2.476	4%		2.385	2.476	4%		2.385	2.476	2.527	X	2.359	2.475	5%	
Time Use Attitudes	4075	2.022	0	3	1.958	2.274	16%	X	1.948	2.269	17%	X	1.948	2.269	2.184	X	1.950	2.266	16%	X
Time Use Norms (old cohort)	1895	3.14	0	4	3.097	3.224	4%		3.097	3.224	4%		3.097	3.224	3.162		3.106	3.185	3%	
Most boys and girls in my community do not share household tasks equally (old cohort)	1919	0.731	0	1	0.763	0.740	-3%		0.763	0.740	-3%		0.763	0.740	0.701	X	0.765	0.745	-3%	
Most people in my community expect men to have the final word about decisions in the home. (Old cohort)	1917	0.822	0	1	0.762	0.819	7%	O	0.762	0.819	7%	O	0.762	0.819	0.876	X	0.771	0.818	6%	
Most people in my community do not expect girls and boys to share household tasks equally. (old cohort)	1914	0.704	0	1	0.715	0.757	6%		0.715	0.757	6%		0.715	0.757	0.685	O	0.718	0.726	1%	
Most men in my community are the ones who make the decisions in their home. (old cohort)	1921	0.886	0	1	0.861	0.917	7%	X	0.861	0.917	7%	X	0.861	0.917	0.902	X	0.859	0.909	6%	O

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). DThe attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms.

Table A31: Jordan baseline results: economic empowerment

	Overall				Gender				Age				Disability Status			
					Male	Female	% Diff		Old	Young	% Diff		No Disability	Disability	% Diff	
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Mean		(F-M)	Sig Dif?	Mean		(D-NoD)	Sig Dif?	Mean		(D-NoD)	Sig Dif?
=1 if Household ever received Hajati (Host and ITS Only)	2735	0.346	0	1	0.372	0.321	-14%	X	0.348	0.343	-1%		0.342	0.378	10%	
=1 if Household currently receives Hajati (Host and ITS Only)	2731	0.047	0	1	0.047	0.046	-3%		0.047	0.046	-1%		0.044	0.065	47%	
=1 if Money They Control in Last 12 Months	4100	0.243	0	1	0.268	0.221	-18%	X	0.246	0.242	-2%		0.248	0.209	-16%	O
=1 if Paid Work in Last 12 Months (old cohort)	1927	0.364	0	1	0.641	0.110	-83%	X	0.364				0.367	0.330	-10%	
Hours worked in Past 7 days if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	642	20.396	0	85	21.338	15.519	-27%		20.396				20.694	17.148	-17%	
Hourly Wage (JOD) if worked in past 7 days if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	406	1.716	0	25	1.685	1.900	13%		1.716				1.747	1.382	-21%	
Days worked in past four weeks if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	669	10.341	0	30	10.579	9.020	-15%		10.341				10.373	10.000	-4%	
Daily Wage (JOD) if worked in past four weeks if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	360	7.037	0	50	7.210	5.988	-17%		7.037				7.242	4.937	-32%	X
=1 if CR has any savings	4092	0.053	0	1	0.044	0.061	38%	X	0.054	0.052	-3%		0.054	0.032	-42%	X
Total time as a share of 24 hours spent in sleep-personal care-traveling-studying-eating-leisure-religion (Young Cohort)	2076	0.866	0.333	1	0.871	0.861	-1%	X		0.866			0.865	0.873	1%	
Total time as a share of 24 hours spend in school-employed-training (old cohort)	1928	0.147	0	0.771	0.159	0.136	-15%	X	0.147				0.148	0.135	-9%	
Total time as a share of 24 hours spend in cooking, domestic work or care work (old cohort)	1928	0.062	0	0.563	0.014	0.106	633%	X	0.062				0.062	0.061	-3%	
Economic and Financial Attitudes	3980	1.052	0	3	1.185	0.928	-22%	X	0.932	1.159	24%	X	1.040	1.110	7%	
Economic and Financial Norms (old cohort)	1881	0.994	0	2	1.104	0.892	-19%	X	0.994				0.990	1.036	5%	
Most women in my community have the same chance to work outside the home as men. (old cohort)	1903	0.514	0	1	0.560	0.472	-16%	X	0.515				0.512	0.539	5%	
Most people in my community expect women to have the same chance to work outside the home as men.	1894	0.482	0	1	0.547	0.422	-23%	X	0.482				0.479	0.506	6%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X ($p<0.05$) or an O ($p<0.10$). Disability is defined using questions from the Washington Group and includes difficulty in six core functional domains (seeing, hearing, walking, self-care, cognition, and communication). The attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms.

Table A32: Jordan baseline results by location

	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Host	ITS	Camp	Sig Dif?	Azraq	Zaatari	Gaza	Sig Dif?	Amman	Mafraq/ Irbid/Zarqa	Jerash	Sig Dif?	Mafraq/ Irbid	Amman	% Diff (Am-MI)	Sig Dif?
					Mean				Mean				Mean							
=1 if Household ever received Hajati (Host and ITS Only)	2735	0.346	0	1	0.342	0.375							0.676	0.733	0.876	X	0.790	0.505	-36%	X
=1 if Household currently receives Hajati (Host and ITS Only)	2731	0.047	0	1	0.043	0.074		O					0.211	0.163	0.073	X	0.101	0.192	91%	X
=1 if Money They Control in Last 12 Months	4100	0.243	0	1	0.243	0.211	0.252		0.228	0.283	0.235	O	0.827	0.835	0.808		0.842	0.879	4%	
=1 if Paid Work in Last 12 Months (old cohort)	1927	0.364	0	1	0.343	0.583	0.352	X	0.332	0.394	0.283	O	0.310	0.303	0.262		0.329	0.361	10%	
Hours worked in Past 7 days if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	642	20.396	0	85	21.380	22.897	17.738		19.639	16.028	19.321		0.922	0.947	0.919	O	0.942	0.896	-5%	
Hourly Wage (JOD) if worked in past 7 days if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	406	1.716	0	25	1.851	1.845	1.381		1.216	1.642	0.867		0.826	0.865	0.815	X	0.895	0.896	0%	
Days worked in past four weeks if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	669	10.341	0	30	10.325	12.397	9.615		10.123	9.730	7.897		0.390	0.351	0.260	X	0.211	0.293	39%	
Daily Wage (JOD) if worked in past four weeks if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	360	7.037	0	50	7.905	5.703	5.986	X	5.505	6.114	6.702		0.629	0.578	0.572	X	0.191	0.323	69%	X
=1 if CR has any savings	4092	0.053	0	1	0.047	0.039	0.068	X	0.074	0.073	0.045		0.203	0.161	0.133	X	0.125	0.094	-25%	
Total time as a share of 24 hours spent in sleep-personal care-traveling-studying-eating-leisure-religion (Young Cohort)	2076	0.866	0.333	1	0.873	0.833	0.862	X	0.867	0.862	0.855		0.649	0.696	0.631	X	0.636	0.636	0%	
Total time as a share of 24 hours spend in school-employed-training (old cohort)	1928	0.147	0	0.771	0.155	0.140	0.133	X	0.104	0.166	0.106	X	0.902	0.936	0.952	X	0.865	0.939	9%	X
Total time as a share of 24 hours spend in cooking, domestic work or care work (old cohort)	1928	0.062	0	0.563	0.061	0.075	0.062		0.075	0.054	0.058	X	5.021	4.868	4.494	X	4.356	4.835	11%	O
Economic and Financial Attitudes	3980	1.052	0	3	1.014	1.174	1.093	X	1.136	1.056	1.086		0.747	0.666	0.672	X	0.651	0.697	7%	
Economic and Financial Norms (old cohort)	1881	0.994	0	2	1.032	1.029	0.914	X	0.896	0.871	1.069		3.192	3.300	3.443	X	3.772	3.806	1%	
Most women in my community have the same chance to work outside the home as men. (old cohort)	1903	0.514	0	1	0.529	0.550	0.479	O	0.462	0.463	0.558		3.156	3.061	2.951	O	3.495	3.516	1%	
Most people in my community expect women to have the same chance to work outside the home as men.	1894	0.482	0	1	0.505	0.475	0.439	X	0.435	0.414	0.515		0.105	0.086	0.149		0.075	0.059	-22%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). Index of things talked to male/female guardian about includes: education, bullying/harrasment at school, and religion.The Adult Female Trauma score comes from the Harvard Trauma Scale, scores represents the average response across 18 items where higher scores mean greater trauma.

Table A33: Jordan baseline results by location

	Overall				Gender							
					Old Males	Old Females	% Diff (OF-OM)	Sig Dif?	Young Males	Young Females	% Diff (YF-YM)	Sig Dif?
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Mean				Mean			
=1 if Household ever received Hajati (Host and ITS Only)	2735	0.346	0	1	0.3957	0.3065	-23%	X	0.3517	0.3347	-5%	
=1 if Household currently receives Hajati (Host and ITS Only)	2731	0.047	0	1	0.0446	0.0489	10%		0.0494	0.0429	-13%	
=1 if Money They Control in Last 12 Months	4100	0.243	0	1	0.282	0.2119	-25%	X	0.2554	0.2283	-11%	
=1 if Paid Work in Last 12 Months (old cohort)	1927	0.364	0	1	0.6406	0.1103	-83%	X				
Hours worked in Past 7 days if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	642	20.396	0	85	21.3383	15.5192	-27%	X				
Hourly Wage (JOD) if worked in past 7 days if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	406	1.716	0	25	1.6846	1.9004	13%					
Days worked in past four weeks if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	669	10.341	0	30	10.5785	9.0196	-15%					
Daily Wage (JOD) if worked in past four weeks if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	360	7.037	0	50	7.2104	5.9876	-17%					
=1 if CR has any savings	4092	0.053	0	1	0.0401	0.0666	66%	X	0.0481	0.0562	17%	
Total time as a share of 24 hours spent in sleep-personal care-traveling-studying-eating-leisure-religion (Young Cohort)	2076	0.866	0.333	1					0.8713	0.861	-1%	X
Total time as a share of 24 hours spend in school-employed-training (old cohort)	1928	0.147	0	0.771	0.1592	0.1359	-15%	X				
Total time as a share of 24 hours spend in cooking, domestic work or care work (old cohort)	1928	0.062	0	0.563	0.0144	0.1056	633%	X				
Economic and Financial Attitudes	3980	1.052	0	3	1.1121	0.7681	-31%	X	1.2485	1.0741	-14%	X
Economic and Financial Norms (old cohort)	1881	0.994	0	2	1.1043	0.8918	-19%	X				
Most women in my community have the same chance to work outside the home as men. (old cohort)	1903	0.514	0	1	0.5602	0.4722	-16%	X				
Most people in my community expect women to have the same chance to work outside the home as men.	1894	0.482	0	1	0.5469	0.4215	-23%	X				

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X ($p<0.05$) or an O ($p<0.10$). The attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms.

Table A34: Jordan baseline results by nationality, host and ITS only

	Overall				Nationality				Location of Origin for non-Jordanians			
					Non-Jordanian	Jordanian	% Diff (Jod-nonJod)		Palestinian	Syrian	% Diff	
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Mean			Sig Dif?	Mean		(Syr-Pal)	Sig Dif?
=1 if Household ever received Hajati (Host and ITS Only)	2735	0.346	0	1	0.402	0.158	-61%	X	0.161	0.409	154%	X
=1 if Household currently receives Hajati (Host and ITS Only)	2731	0.047	0	1	0.057	0.013	-77%	X	0.000	0.059		X
=1 if Money They Control in Last 12 Months	4100	0.243	0	1	0.222	0.357	60%	X	0.237	0.221	-7%	
=1 if Paid Work in Last 12 Months (old cohort)	1927	0.364	0	1	0.387	0.231	-40%	X	0.278	0.398	43%	X
Hours worked in Past 7 days if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	642	20.396	0	85	20.897	15.441	-26%	O	22.100	20.973	-5%	
Hourly Wage (JOD) if worked in past 7 days if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	406	1.716	0	25	1.654	2.422	46%		1.182	1.684	42%	
Days worked in past four weeks if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	669	10.341	0	30	10.550	8.217	-22%		8.290	10.704	29%	
Daily Wage (JOD) if worked in past four weeks if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	360	7.037	0	50	6.869	8.888	29%		7.512	6.867	-9%	
=1 if CR has any savings	4092	0.053	0	1	0.052	0.056	7%		0.053	0.053	-1%	
Total time as a share of 24 hours spent in sleep-personal care-traveling-studying-eating-leisure-religion (Young Cohort)	2076	0.866	0.333	1	0.863	0.879	2%	X	0.860	0.864	0%	
Total time as a share of 24 hours spend in school-employed-training (old cohort)	1928	0.147	0	0.771	0.146	0.154	6%		0.121	0.146	20%	
Total time as a share of 24 hours spend in cooking, domestic work or care work (old cohort)	1928	0.062	0	0.563	0.061	0.069	13%		0.062	0.061	-1%	
Economic and Financial Attitudes	3980	1.052	0	3	1.064	0.989	-7%	X	1.075	1.062	-1%	
Economic and Financial Norms (old cohort)	1881	0.994	0	2	0.998	0.971	-3%		1.100	0.985	-10%	
Most women in my community have the same chance to work outside the home as men. (old cohort)	1903	0.514	0	1	0.518	0.495	-4%		0.563	0.512	-9%	
Most people in my community expect women to have the same chance to work outside the home as men.	1894	0.482	0	1	0.482	0.477	-1%		0.545	0.476	-13%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). The attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms.

Table A35: Jordan baseline results by gender (within nationality)

	Overall				Jordanian				Syrian				Palestinian			
					Male	Female			Male	Female			Male	Female		
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Mean		% Diff (M-F)	Sig Dif?			% Diff (M-F)	Sig Dif?	Mean		% Diff (M-F)	Sig Dif?
=1 if Household ever received Hajati (Host and ITS Only)	2735	0.346	0	1	0.170	0.151	-11%		0.423	0.395	-7%		0.400	0.048	-88%	X
=1 if Household currently receives Hajati (Host and ITS Only)	2731	0.047	0	1	0.021	0.008	-63%		0.055	0.062	13%					
=1 if Money They Control in Last 12 Months	4100	0.243	0	1	0.423	0.316	-25%	X	0.244	0.196	-20%	X	0.263	0.216	-18%	
=1 if Paid Work in Last 12 Months (old cohort)	1927	0.364	0	1	0.528	0.089	-83%	X	0.664	0.120	-82%	X	0.542	0.090	-83%	X
Hours worked in Past 7 days if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	642	20.396	0	85	18.250	7.200	-61%	X	21.722	16.857	-22%	O	22.920	18.000	-21%	
Hourly Wage (JOD) if worked in past 7 days if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	406	1.716	0	25	1.806	4.064	125%		1.701	1.570	-8%		1.301	0.587	-55%	
Days worked in past four weeks if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	669	10.341	0	30	8.909	6.313	-29%		10.865	9.713	-11%		8.600	7.000	-19%	
Daily Wage (JOD) if worked in past four weeks if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	360	7.037	0	50	6.990	14.107	102%		7.202	4.595	-36%	X	8.576	2.905	-66%	O
=1 if CR has any savings	4092	0.053	0	1	0.020	0.079	285%	X	0.047	0.059	26%		0.053	0.053	1%	
Total time as a share of 24 hours spent in sleep-personal care-traveling-studying-eating-leisure-religion (Young Cohort)	2076	0.866	0.333	1	0.882	0.877	-1%		0.869	0.858	-1%	X	0.874	0.848	-3%	X
Total time as a share of 24 hours spend in school-employed-training (old cohort)	1928	0.147	0	0.771	0.173	0.145	-16%		0.157	0.134	-15%	X	0.132	0.113	-14%	
Total time as a share of 24 hours spend in cooking, domestic work or care work (old cohort)	1928	0.062	0	0.563	0.024	0.090	277%	X	0.014	0.111	724%	X	0.011	0.098	766%	X
Economic and Financial Attitudes	3980	1.052	0	3	1.162	0.882	-24%	X	1.187	0.934	-21%	X	1.158	1.012	-13%	
Economic and Financial Norms (old cohort)	1881	0.994	0	2	1.079	0.919	-15%		1.102	0.863	-22%	X	1.083	1.113	3%	
Most women in my community have the same chance to work outside the home as men. (old cohort)	1903	0.514	0	1	0.517	0.484	-6%		0.566	0.454	-20%	X	0.500	0.609	22%	
Most people in my community expect women to have the same chance to work outside the home as men.	1894	0.482	0	1	0.573	0.431	-25%	X	0.538	0.411	-24%	X	0.583	0.516	-12%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). DThe attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms.

Table A36: Jordan baseline results by gender (within nationality)

	Overall				Females				Old Females				Old Adolescents				Syrian old Females			
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Never married	Ever married	% Diff (M-NM)	Sig Dif?	Never Married Female	Ever married Female	Male	Sig Dif?	Never Married Female	Ever married Female	Male	Sig Dif?	Never Married	Ever Married	% Diff (M-NM)	Sig Dif?
					Mean								Mean							
=1 if Household ever received Hajati (Host and ITS Only)	2735	0.346	0	1	0.333	0.209	-37%	X	0.331	0.206	-38%	X	0.331	0.206	0.396	X	0.407	0.262	-36%	X
=1 if Household currently receives Hajati (Host and ITS Only)	2731	0.047	0	1	0.047	0.036	-23%		0.052	0.037	-29%		0.052	0.037	0.045		0.073	0.047	-36%	
=1 if Money They Control in Last 12 Months	4100	0.243	0	1	0.222	0.204	-8%		0.213	0.209	-2%		0.213	0.209	0.282	X	0.179	0.214	20%	
=1 if Paid Work in Last 12 Months (old cohort)	1927	0.364	0	1	0.107	0.126	18%		0.107	0.126	18%		0.107	0.126	0.641	X	0.118	0.130	10%	
Hours worked in Past 7 days if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	642	20.396	0	85	17.817	6.955	-61%	X	17.817	6.955	-61%	X	17.817	6.955	21.338	X	20.047	6.650	-67%	
Hourly Wage (JOD) if worked in past 7 days if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	406	1.716	0	25	1.848	2.129	15%		1.848	2.129	15%		1.848	2.129	1.685		1.364	2.441	79%	
Days worked in past four weeks if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	669	10.341	0	30	9.987	5.696	-43%	O	9.987	5.696	-43%	O	9.987	5.696	10.579	X	11.500	4.350	-62%	X
Daily Wage (JOD) if worked in past four weeks if Paid Work in past 12 months (old cohort)	360	7.037	0	50	6.132	5.395	-12%		6.132	5.395	-12%		6.132	5.395	7.210		4.337	5.628	30%	
=1 if CR has any savings	4092	0.053	0	1	0.053	0.145	174%	X	0.049	0.148	206%	X	0.049	0.148	0.040	X	0.040	0.162	307%	X
Total time as a share of 24 hours spent in sleep-personal care-traveling-studying-eating-leisure-religion (Young Cohort)	2076	0.866	0.3	1	0.861															
Total time as a share of 24 hours spend in school-employed-training (old cohort)	1928	0.147	0	0.771	0.161	0.023	-86%	X	0.161	0.023	-86%	X	0.161	0.023	0.159	X	0.162	0.027	-84%	X
Total time as a share of 24 hours spend in cooking, domestic work or care work (old cohort)	1928	0.062	0	0.56	0.093	0.164	76%	X	0.093	0.164	76%	X	0.093	0.164	0.014	X	0.097	0.165	71%	X
Economic and Financial Attitudes	3980	1.052	0	3	0.936	0.848	-9%		0.752	0.839	12%		0.752	0.839	1.112	X	0.738	0.837	13%	
Economic and Financial Norms (old cohort)	1881	0.994	0	2	0.907	0.824	-9%		0.907	0.824	-9%		0.907	0.824	1.104	X	0.860	0.873	2%	
Most women in my community have the same chance to work outside the home as men. (old cohort)	1903	0.514	0	1	0.480	0.439	-8%		0.480	0.439	-8%		0.480	0.439	0.560	X	0.449	0.474	6%	
Most people in my community expect women to have the same chance to work outside the home as men.	1894	0.482	0	1	0.430	0.384	-11%		0.430	0.384	-11%		0.430	0.384	0.547	X	0.415	0.397	-4%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Jordan (2018-2019). Statistically significant differences are denoted with an X (p<0.05) or an O (p<0.10). DThe attitudes index and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements,respectively, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed with a gendered statement or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed, and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicate more gendered attitudes and norms.

About GAGE

Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence (GAGE) is a nine-year longitudinal research programme generating evidence on what works to transform the lives of adolescent girls in the Global South. Visit www.gage.odi.org.uk for more information.

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This document is an output of the Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence (GAGE) programme which is funded by UK aid from the UK government. However, views expressed and information contained within do not necessarily reflect the UK government's official policies and are not endorsed by the UK government, which accepts no responsibility for such views or information or for any reliance placed on them.

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Front cover: 17-year-old Jordanian girl with one of her paintings © Nathalie Bertrams/GAGE 2019

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ISBN: 978-1-912942-41-1

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