

Aid Programs Integration: Case Study of Alzaatri Refugee Camp in Jordan

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Abstract

This research explores the complexity of the humanitarian aid process as it involves multiple actors. The research depends on the idea that INGOs is one of the most powerful actors in Humanitarian Aid, with more influence on the aid programs they execute and also the influence on other actors' roles. Therefore, the role they play is very important not only to deliver aid, rather to how they deliver it, and how the delivery mechanism they adopt can affect the relationships between INGOs and their partners. In addition, the research takes the position of participatory approach to examine the INGOs performance. The research pinpoints the cross-implementing programs, through outlines the strategies and mechanism they adopt in Alzaatari camp as a practical case. The research states the aid programs that INGOs select and run in the camp, and how they execute it. The study covers two main aid programs run in the camp WASH and CFW, as these programs related to different live aspects, and need different mechanism to execute. Finally, the research studies the level of the integration among humanitarian aid process.

Keywords: Refugees; humanitarian aid; integration; INGO.

تكاميل برامج المساعدات الانسانية : دراسة حالة لمخيم الزعتري في الأردن

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ملخص

يسعى هذا البحث إلى دراسة وتقييم مدى تعقيد العمليات المتعلقة بإيصال المساعدات الإنسانية؛ حيث إنّ هذه العمليات تجري من خلال عدة جهات وعلى مستويات مختلفة. يعتمد البحث على فكرة أن المنظمات الإنسانية الدولية هي واحدة من أقوى الجهات الفاعلة والمؤثرة في مجال المساعدات الإنسانية؛ حيث يرتبط دور هذه المنظمات ببرامج المساعدة الإنسانية التي تطرحها التي تؤدي إلى التأثير على نحو مباشر وغير مباشر في الجهات الأخرى المرتبطة بعمليات المساعدات الإنسانية، وعليه يعدّ الدور الذي تلعبه تلك المنظمات محوري وأساسي ليس فقط بتقديم المساعدة بل أيضاً في كيفية إيصالها، وألية التسليم والتنفيذ المتبعة. يتخذ البحث المنهج التشاركي كمعيار لاختبار أداء المنظمات الإنسانية الدولية خلال الأزمات، وذلك من خلال تناول برامج المساعدات والتمكين؛ حيث يدرس البحث ويحدد الخطوط العريضة للاستراتيجيات التي تعتمدها تلك المنظمات في مخيم الزعتري كحالة عملية قائمة ومستمرة. تعدّ برامج المساعدة التي تختارها المنظمات الإنسانية الدولية وتديرها في المخيم هي الركيزة الأساسية من خلال تحليل ودراسة كيفية تنفيذ تلك البرامج ومدى تأثيرها في المستفيدين من جهة والأطراف المرتبطة بتنفيذها من جهة أخرى. الدراسة تغطي برنامجي مساعدات رئيسية في المخيم WASH و CFW؛ حيث ترتبط هذه البرامج بالجوانب الحية والحساسية من حياة المستفيدين، ومن خلال تناول منظمين فاعلين وهما ACTED و Mercy Corp في مخيم الزعتري ومقارنة أداء ونتائج كل منظمة منهما لنفس البرنامج. وأخيراً يدرس البحث مستوى التكامل والتشاركية بين عملية المساعدات الإنسانية.

الكلمات الدالة: المنظمات الإنسانية الدولية، المساعدة الإنسانية، المستفيدين

Introduction

The aid programs that serve the refugees in crises are key elements, and the mechanism the being adopted to execute them is essential in humanitarian aid process (HAP). Also the roles of actors which involved within HAP and the aims of the process are complicated therefore managing HAP is a key challenge. Several actors with different or even conflicted agenda and unstable resources, make decision-making process in these programs is more critical. Besides, the authorities and the missions of each actor have become unclear and confused.

The study adopts the World Bank definition of NGOs as 'private organizations that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development' (1995). Since the role of the INGOs on the developing countries tend to have more development influence. The study defines the actors as the parties that have the direct influence over the HAP which are Donors, the refugees, the government, host communities. The study aims to provide clear understating of the contribution of different actors in the humanitarian aid in Jordan as the country hosts the second largest number of the refugees relative to the size of its population (Mencutek and Nashwan, 2020). Jordan has historical experiences with refugees' crises, like Palestinian and Iraqis. The study adopts Alzaatari as the humanitarian aid and intervention process which serves more 76,000 refugees (UNHCR, 2019). The camp administration depends on actors like international institutions, governments, local communities and NGOs, which have different contribution and impact. These actors might choose different delivery mechanism; tools and approaches based on actors priorities. Therefore, conflicted priorities and critical circumstances will lead to conflict of interest and to have negative influence on the related those actors. Accordingly, the study examines the level of the integration and collaboration between the partners among the aid delivery process. Through evaluating the case of AlZa'atari refugee camp to define the gap between humanitarian aid goals and aims and affect social and economic aspects from one side, and how the refugees as communities perceive the aid from another side.

Even though the research tried to examine the adopted aid programmes in the field, but due to the security circumstances this option was inefficient, therefore the research adopts qualitative methodology, particularly a case study of Alzaatri refugee camp. The justification of using the mentioned method that the study analyses the relationships among the actors and the activities that mange these relationships. The study will explore the facts and the previous studies of the selected case study, and the available data that exposed by international institutions like UNHCR. Besides, statistics and information of Alzaatri camp humanitarian aid programs and projects and annual reports of International Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs) that show their progress in the camp. In addition to some journal articles that documented personal interviews with the refugees of the camp and aid workers in the camp. The research depends on critical review relevant studies. The research explored the selected INGOs (ACTED and Mercy Corps) websites, to illustrate the vision and the approaches of humanitarian aid intervention that used by these INGOs, which are cited on their websites. In order to conduct the comparative analysis between the adopted visions and the field practices.

The research focuses on aid mechanism the selected INGOs and how they apply it through aid programs in the camp. In order to provide deeper analysis, the research adopted two particular programs that have been implemented by both INGOs, which are WASH programs and Cash For Work (CFW). The research goes through investigating how each selected INGOs implement both programs .

Aid processes: different actors and conflicted interests

Due to the political situation in MENA region for the past ten years, the INGOs becomes a main actor alongside to the state. This related to the impact that they have on social transformation and services delivery to the beneficiaries. HAP can be defined as a process that essentially aims to protect and assist the civilians in the occurrence of a natural or man-made disaster (Thévenaz and Resodihardjo, 2010:7). In order to deliver aid through, the programs follow major principles as mutual standards, needs-based, neutral, and independent, which can perform as the basic requirements to gain trust to get access to civilians in need (Slim, 1999; Hilhorst, 2002, 2005).

Aid agencies in many cases fail to perform the required efforts or find it "too difficult to collaborate" (Fenton, 2003 in source). For some of these organisations, there is a lack of knowledge on their internal and field work processes (Lewis,

2001; Dijkzeul and Beigbeder, 2001). Which also was found during the research. Besides, actors might “compete with each other for donations” as donors generally tend to be more sympathetic to emergencies instead of fund longer-term aid and development with “wide divergence in levels of funding” (Munslow and Brown, 1999; Bookstein, 2003). Hilhorst (2002) agrees that increasing allegations that humanitarian organisations are competitive over funding, media exposure and even beneficiaries and that they would be uncountable, especially headed to their beneficiaries. Therefore, adopting integrated approach to avoid clashes and chaos of the organisations work might lead to more balanced roles.

Eventually, using the cooperation model of OECD’s 1997 “development cooperation could better support ‘structural stability’ rightly points to the need to reduce poverty, to support equitable development and the legal and political means for peaceful change” (Bryer and Cairns, 2010).

Duffield (1997) suggests that to accomplish structural adjustment within the societies, NGOs run ‘compensatory programmes’.... which allow the targeted societies to rely on self-help and more empowerment of vulnerable marginal groups. Christie (2012) cautiously assessed the role of NGOs, “NGOs are ceding the debate about who is ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ of the state. NGOs also affect identity politics by advocating and representing particular forms of societal interaction”. Accordingly, INGOs are more effective actor that shapes the society pattern and change some believes throughout their programs, like pushing toward more gender equality.

To have better level of control over the HAP “Third World governments’ growing interest in participatory approaches....donors are placing conditions on grants and loans to governments that require them to support participatory research and development programs and projects (Grounder, 1994; Griffin, 1991; Bowles, 1989, Thompson, 1995)”. With stated objective to reshape the decision-making processes and to allow local organizations and agencies have presence and open public processes to more inspection Thompson states (1995)“donors claim to be linking participatory development directly to state accountability, empowerment of local groups and transparency in decision making”). Khamisi(2004) argues that “international workers must include local representatives in critical decisions about program design and implementation in order to encourage genuine local “ownership” of externally supported projects”.

The refugee camp administration faces several challenges, such as that “unique challenges of political culture: camp inhabitants are usually fleeing from broken political systems; in camps, they encounter a system of political rules with which they—and authorities—have little or no experience, and they confront authorities who may come from different political cultures” (Holzer,2012). Some scholars evaluate the identity of the refugees as “refugees came to be seen as “powerful, political figures” and as individuals with “complete histories” who were escaping regimes of political persecution (Johnson 2011). Drumm (2004) finds that the refugees need more control over their circumstances and on their daily activities; they desire to participate in camp procedures like physical facilities and activities. As a result, the refugees in the camps start to shape and determine their new identity as a result of their new and continuous circumstances. In terms of the refugee camps, especially the big ones, and after a while, it becomes a city with a social system; therefore, giving voices to these people can reduce the work and time needed to deliver the humanitarian aid.

Profile of Alzaatri-Camp.

AlZa’atari camp was opened on 28th July 2012 as a cluster of [UNHCR](#) in Jordan to receive and host Syrian refugees who have been forced to flee the war in Syria. AlZa’atari is located close to northern border with Syria, established on 8.75 square kilometers of land in the district of Mafraq (UNHCR, 2013) and divided into 12 districts (lived, 2014). According to UNHCR (2017). The total number of refugees was passed through the camp since year 2012 until 2017 are 461,701 refugees. Most asylum seekers of the Syrian refugees arriving Jordan come mainly from Dara’a, Aleppo and Homs (Achilli, 2015). Based on a 1998 agreement between UNHCR and Jordanian government, the camp is governed by several actors; “for the formal level, the work required to secure, host, house, feed, care for, educate and otherwise support the refugees is an internationally coordinated effort. More than 50 UN agencies, and national and international NGOs, fall under the leadership of UNHCR, which supervises camp administration and management” (Sullivan and Tobin, 2014). This interlinkage has important impact on governing the camp and delivering the humanitarian aid to the refugees in the camp among the peak flood times.

The camp was initially designed to host a maximum of 60,000 inhabitants but the flood continued in 2013 to become

over 100,000 inhabitants, LIVED (2014). With 500,000 USD to run camp per day (UNHCR, 2013). Jordan as a host country is estimated to spend \$870 million a year hosting Syrian refugees; if it were treated as a traditional donor (Oxfam, NA). That generated intensive need for services and infrastructure of the camp. One of these services, is providing shelters to provide place to host the increased number of refugees, the camp's shelters grow from approximately 5,000 shelters in November 2012 to more than 28,000 until the middle of 2013 (Sullivan and Tobin, 2014). The below satellite photos placed the expansion of the camp's shelters and space for the period November 2012 until May 2013.

Zaatari Camp Organization

Since its inception in 2012, Zaatari has continuously expanded, trying to remedy to the needs of incoming Syrian refugees.



ZAATARI IN NOVEMBER 2012. SOURCE: DIGITAL GLOBE



ZAATARI IN JULY 2013. SOURCE: DIGITAL GLOBE

Figure (1) the expansion of the AlZa'atari refugee camp

The source: <https://publicintelligence.net/al-zaatari-refugee-camp/>

The challenge of governing the refugees is not only the massive number of refugees that hosted by the camp, rather the demographic distribution, as Led with (2014) indicates the "56 percent are children (boys and girls under 17) and 25 percent are women aged 18 and older". Besides to 80 babies which born every day in the camp UNHCR (2017). This means that more than 80 percent of Zaatari refugees are vulnerable and demand more services especially the delivery of basic education to school-aged children which becomes problematic.

Table (1) shows the demographic category distribution of the Al Zata'ari Refugee Camp.

Demographic Breakdown	Male 50.2%	Female 49.8%
0-4	9.8%	9.2%
5-11	11.4%	10.8%
12-17	7.4%	7.1%
18-59	20.5%	21.2%
60+	1.1%	1.6%

Sources: UNHCR ZAATARI REFUGEE CAMP FACTSHEET August /2017

Thus, the services like education and health care are expanded. For Instance, the schools expanded from three schools in 2014 (lived, 2014) up to 29 schools with 22,000 school-aged children enrolled in 2017 (UNHCR, 2017). Although, eleven collaborating NGOs provide education who are targeting children 5-17 years old', but the challenges of the education sector expanded form providing the learning facilities such as schools to low attendance rate of 40 percent at schools, which leads to worries of an illiterate "lost generation" following the crisis from one side (Led with, 2014). On the other side, the Jordanian Ministry of Education promotes quality by certifying schools; only schools taught by Jordanian teachers can be certified, though Syrian teachers may work as assistants (Led with, 2014). Such challenges lead to create several problems within the Syrian refugees, like high rate of unemployment.

During the research, it has been revealed conflicted numbers of the hospitals in Za'atari, such as lived (2014) indicates that the number of the hospitals offer the medical services to the refugees are 3 hospitals. Ledwith (2014) indicates the same number, unlike 2 hospitals with 55 beds and 9 health care centres (clinics), 1 delivery unit and 120 community health volunteers. However, according to UNHCR AlZa'atarifact sheet (2017), one hospital serves the refugees of the camp. The health care system in Zaatri Camp, as indicated by Krause (2015) "normal deliveries, basic emergency obstetric care and new-born care functions were conducted at the Gynécologie Sans Frontières maternity clinic. Obstetric emergencies requiring comprehensive emergency obstetric care, including post-abortion care and management of new-born complications were referred to the Moroccan Field Hospital."

Even though the refugees have a free access to the health-care services within camp (Coutts and Fouad, 2013). But many health problems are found in the camp, and cannot be solved immediately. For instance, teenage pregnancy, which is common in Zaatari, in 2014 'Save the Children' reported that one-quarter of the total of Syrian refugee marriages registered in Jordan involve a girl under the age of 18 (Jaafari, 2017). In addition to many physical and mental health problems the children of the camp have suffered of, as Jabbar and Zaza (2014) argue that "the mental health of children may be evidenced through feelings of social isolation, poor self-image, self-harm, aggression and depression".

The social structure of the Al Za'atri refugee camp relies on that most of the refugees who are from small towns or villages in southern Syria (Wall, Campbell and Janbek, 2017). In addition, the common family style of those refugees is extended families. Therefore, as Ledwith (2014) argues that "The residents, rather than maintaining the row shapes of their cravens, they re-position caravans in "little compounds" — typically with a U-shape or a courtyard shape — so that they may live together with their extended families". These changes of the informal layout of the camp create a maze shape of the camp instead of urban layout.

One more social problem is children of the Syrian refugees are born to unregistered marriages run the threat of statelessness, as citizenship in Syria can be passed through the father's line (Ledwith, 2014). Besides, early marriage and forced marriage which are acceptable and common issues in the camp (Tobin and Campbell, 2016; Timms 2015; CARE 2015; Zeronian 2015; Al Arabiya News 2014 and Rubin 2016). As Ledwith (2014) explains that one of the main reasons of early marriage at the camp is, "that girls in the camp are under strong pressure to marry so that resources within a family are not spread so thin". Therefore, many NGOs' programs are driving ideological factor behind the official targets of these programs. (Tobin and Campbell, 2017). Accordingly, the cultural and social drivers have influence on what and how the humanitarian aid programs and funds need to be run.

Besides the aid programs, the NGOs offered 1500 jobs within the camp, (Ledwith, 2014). NGOs have initiated employment programs such as Zaatari aid landscape by hiring refugees through CFW programs (Tobin and Campbell. 2017). In addition, the refugees tend to establish their own business such as shops. The main market of AlZa'atari camp is called Champs-Elysees. According to Aljazeera (2018): "The market Filled with produce markets, the road has become symbolic of the resilience of Syrian refugees and the entrepreneurship that can be found in the camp. Zaatari's informal market comprises of approximately 3,000 informal shops and businesses". Some scholars like Huynh (2015), perceived this entrepreneurship business as refugee empowerment and ownership over their own lives. This live pattern of the refugee camp can be an evidence of the participatory model, that different actors can share the development roles and decisions to improve the lives' of the refugees.

NGOs employment program CFW which is the only official way through which refugees can earn money in the camp (Dalal, 2015) and the business ownership of the refugees. The employment among AlZa'atari refugees still considered as a challenge, as the legal access to the work labor needs a long and restrict process, therefore unemployment rate is at approximately 80 percent (Kattaa, 2016). Indeed, some of the refugees cannot wait and likely try to find jobs through illegal or informal work. The consequences of informal work can be resulted in the expanding of informal employment sector, which is characterized by lower and declined wages, longer working hours, and poor working conditions and regulations including a lack of proper work contracts or no formal contract, no social insurance (Kattaa, 2016).

In order to control the navigation of AlZa'atari refugees outside the camp whether for work or for several reasons, the Jordan government applied 'kafala system'. As (Sullivan and Tobin, 2014) explain "kafala system works through which a Jordanian citizen, often a relative or tribal connection, posts a bond of 15 Jordanian dinars or about \$22 per refugee. Should the refugee be found breaking local laws or leaving the country, the sponsor must pay an additional 5,000 Jordanian dinars, equivalent to about \$7,000". This security policy applied externally in order to provide flexibility for the refugees to leave the camp besides governance for the movement of the refugees. While on the internal level, Members of a specialized police unit, who are known as "gendarmerie" and refer to themselves as a "SWAT team," are called to intervene only when the regular police cannot maintain the order (Sullivan and Tobin, 2014). Moreover, as Ledwith (2014) mentions that: "Kleinschmidt a UNHCR employee, who states to himself as the mayor of Al Za'atari, arranged for the training of 600 Syrians, 50 for each of the 12 districts, to act as a refugee police force that would supplement the Jordanian security". Such actions are being held on the formal level as a part of the self-governance of the camp.

To have better communication with the refugees, seven informal Syrian leaders were employed by UNHCR, they have been chosen based on their previous influence on their communities in Syria, (Lived, 2018). The role of the Informal leaders is to control key streets, and being known as "street leaders". Their formal responsibilities in the camps are, deciding who will receive a caravan and who will receive official camp employment. Also adds that "officially, the people choose their street; in reality, there are often self-appointed disreputable people who are underground leaders or involved in organized crime"(Ledwith, 2014). Eventually, the security system of the camp attempts to run formal and informal levels of protection.

AlZa'atari still synonymous with chaos and violence on different levels, as Sullivan and Tobin (2014) argue: "legal complaints and formal reports of assault, including sexual and gender-based violence, are extremely hard to come by, as are exact figures about the number of violent incidents. Despite widespread fear of violence, refugees are not reporting such incidents to the Jordanian police". Thus, the several protection efforts for AlZa'atari camp do not accomplish the stability yet.

With more stability of the number of the refugee in the camp, and since Za'atari Refugee Camp becomes a major city in Jordan, the needs of the refugees expanded and transmitted from demanding basic needs such as shelters, food or protection, to more developed requirements. These requirements can be better access to labor market, more integration with hosting communities, to more voices for the refugees to govern and own their lives and their city-refugee camp-. Such requirements can lead to present more integration and empowerment to the refugees.

INGOs work in Alzaatari Camp

ACTED like many INGOs becomes an essential partner in humanitarian aid relief for Syrian refugees in Jordan as one of the main hosting countries of Syrian refugees. ACTED, since 2012 until now provides essential services such as "water, hygiene and sanitation services such as water distribution, hygiene promotion, infrastructure rehabilitation and maintenance, and solid waste management through Cash for Work, and distribute bread"ACTED (2018). Besides their claim, ACTED works closely with municipalities to improve basic service provision and enhance the business environment through infrastructure rehabilitation and participatory community planning, through collaborating with partners like UN.Women, CBOs and host communities (ACTED, 2015).

ACTED works with CBOs to empower them (ACTED, 2017). And "closely works with a range of CBOs to build their capacity using the Grassroots Organisation Capacity Assessment (GOCA), an assessment tool designed and used by ACTED to measure the current capacity of its partner CBOs" (ACTED, 2018). As the humanitarian aid engages many stakeholders, tools and governance programs can facilitate planning and executing aid programs by these stakeholders. Therefore, some

of ACTED's tasks, are being "Committed to develop a business-friendly environment and enhancing cohesion between Syrians and Jordanians in host communities ACTED (2018). Besides that, ACTED has engaged in local governance programming as a part of the LEADERS consortium". Thus, missions of INGOs like ACTED, extended to be social responsibility toward several parties, rather than presenting humanitarian aid, in order to give the targeted beneficiaries more control over the programs that affect their lives directly.

In some cases, ACTED leads the needs assessment process in the refugee camps, which aims collecting data, to make decisions in terms of the priorities of aid programs that required by several refugee groups. This data is being used by different organisations for the same reason. For example, "an ACTED (2013) study in Zaatari camp on a household level revealed that the total average of expenditure was 292 JD, whereas the total average income was 208 JD, leaving an average deficiency of 84 JD per month and it states, that only 20% of respondents had zero income and are dependent on their family savings, while 80% earned income in the last 30 days of the interview. Therefore, ACTED run CFW as a program that provides income-generating opportunities to Syrian refugees in AlZa'atari camp through its Cash for Work program. Besides that, ACTED considered as a main water provider to AlZa'atari camp, in partnership with (UNICEF), (Ledwith, 2014).

Mercy Corps:

Mercy Corps since 2012 works with several partners such as the Jordanian government and the U.N to offer infrastructures and services such as delivering food and clean water, restoring sanitation systems, improving shelters and providing families with clothing, mattresses and other household essentials to the Syrian refugee camps (Mercy Corps, 2013). Furthermore, Mercy Corps tries to organise the structure of the refugees and host community members into integrated community, to ease tensions, and identify joint problems and work together on shared projects (Mercy Corps, 2013). Providing humanitarian aid through these shared projects among several actors might not only facilitate the delivery of aid, and build connections and trust between Jordanians and Syrians which is essential for reducing potential violence and local tension (Ritchie, 2014). Mercy Corps also conducts a comprehensive study to understand the impact of its interventions in several areas, in order to form future economic development programming based on opportunities and constraints at the household and small business level and identify how humanitarian programming can contribute to longer-term economic development goals (JIF, 2016).

However, both INGOs seem that they aim to use a mechanism that might offer more stability to the Syrian refugee and other related actors. But on the other side the intensive efforts of humanitarian aid that target the refugees, such as services like providing housing, education, and income generating opportunities, become a primary source of tension between the refugees and the host communities. The aid which given by international organizations has become a source for tensions (Mercy Corps 2013). Even though organizations are increasingly trying to help Syrian refugees as well as Jordanians in need. Jordanians have accused Syrians of taking more aid than they need while Jordanians are being neglected; as a result, the scapegoating of Syrians is rising (Mercy Corps 2013). Accordingly, humanitarian aid that offered by the mentioned INGOs, with a lack of aware and involvement of several partners that has direct impact on the HAP, can transform aid from being a tool that improves the life aspects of these parties to bad impact and conflicts.

As a pre step, "Mercy Corps, funded by the United Kingdom Foreign & Commonwealth Office (FCO), began a 10-month project in February 2013, "Leadership and Community Development in Jordan". The project seeks: (a) to mitigate tensions between the two communities by training and mentoring 40 Syrian and Jordanian community leaders, and 10 Jordanian CBOs and government representatives in conflict management skills; (b) to address tangible needs by implementing 12 community projects that will benefit both Syrian refugee and Jordanian host communities" (UNHCR, 2013).

Aid Programs (WASH and CFW)

Productivity of WASH program: The main goals of applying WASH are to reduce illness and death from disease and improve health, which perhaps lead to social and economic development (CDC, 2018). Besides, access to these livelihood services becomes an effort toward equalities among different areas.

Multiple key sub-programs are accompanied to accomplish the main program. Programs such one aiming to find acceptable quality and quantity of water (UNICEF, 2013). Setting up of surface water treatment system, water trucking,

filtration items and training on using treatment methods. In the Sanitation program, waste management and clean bathing and laundry spaces including facilities for special needs women and girls and, those in vulnerable situations. For hygiene program, campaigns to promote hygiene among the refugees, plus the distribution of hygiene items (International Organisation of Migration). Throughout WASH programs as World Health Organisation (2011) finds 'Engaging and consulting the community in planning WASH services to identify culturally and socially acceptable interventions which will be effective,, Providing safe disposal of clinical waste and vaccination to waste handlers against prevalent infections such as Hepatitis'. Based on the above, the NGOs engage the community through building knowledge and promoting health practice, in order to save more lives in crises time.

Since 2012 until now, WASH is one of the highest priorities of humanitarian aid for Syrian refugees in Jordan. According to UNICEF (2014) WASH program allowed 122,000 Jordanians and more than 200,000 Syrians to access to appropriate sanitation, through establish 9 Jordanian health facilities to benefit 100,000 Syrian refugees. WASH as a humanitarian aid for the Syrian refugees of Jordan is being implemented through the following activities "Increase supply through Infrastructure activities with an objective of increasing water supply through provision and installation of equipment for drilled wells, Supply and installation of water networks materials and equipment (Pumps, surge systems) are some of the efforts made by partners"(WASH SECTOR, 2017). Such program like most of humanitarian aid programs is executed by several partners.

WASH in Jordan led by UNICEF, with collaboration of UNHCR and Jordanian government (REACH, 2017:8). WASH partners in AlZa'atari camp since 2012, are local governorates, UNICEF, ACTED, JEN and OXFAM (UNICEF, 2017), for the year 2018 WASH Sector budget allocations is USD 25,554,358 for refugees in Jordan (Relief web, 2017). However, Jordan is one of the most water-scarce countries in the world. The country's renewable water supply currently only meets about half of the population's water demands (USAID, 2020). In addition to the low cited funding that support WASH program, which mainly that the fund supports primarily the camp.

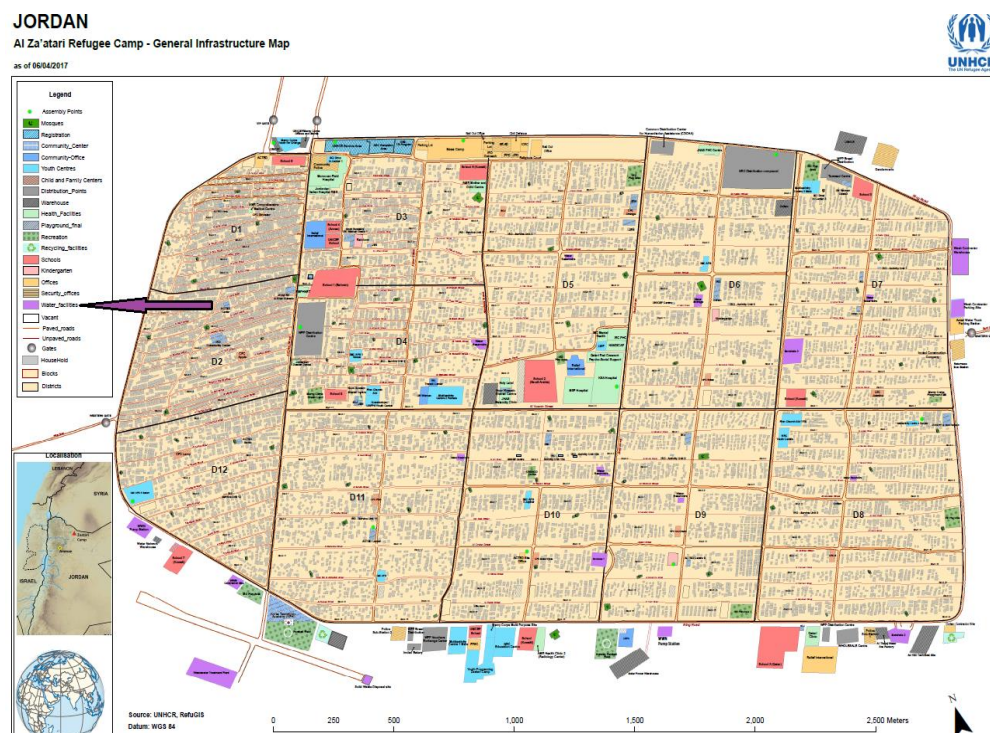


Figure 2: WASH program services centres in AlZa'atari refugee camp.

The purple squares referred to WASH services centres/ source: (UNHCR, 2017)
<https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/55994>

In spite of the weak infrastructure of water, sanitation and hygiene facilities were available to the refugees in AlZa'atari camp. Assessment conducted in March 2017 showed that the number of households that provided with WASH infrastructure by major partners including ACTED were increased. Those partners might, as suggested by (Reliefweb, 2017) "need to combine infrastructure and distribution improvements with solutions to its overall low". In order to not affect the water supply of the host communities.

The highly demand on more improved and longer services that will serve both the refugee camp and the host community. As the lack of integration among the infrastructure will affect water services of the camp and the network of the host communities, may create more pressure and tension between different actors. For example, Host Community Support Platform (HCSP, 2013) indicates, "In 2013, hundreds of Jordanians joined protests outside government buildings in the cities of Mafraq and Karak demanding" change for better access and services for water. Accordingly, REACH (2014) suggests "HCSP has also identified the two-fold nature of host community tensions in Jordan, highlighting tension between Syrians and Jordanians on one hand, and Jordanians and local governance institutions on the other". Furthermore, the implementation of water construction has been shifted toward long-term, (Relief web, 2017). Indeed, to offer more stable water services mechanism supply.

ACTED as a key partner, deliver water trucking, and check water quality and quantity for the camp. By 2017 ACTED with collaboration of JEN and OXFAM delivered approximately two third (67.8%) of household needs of water for the camp. Moreover, ACTED provides the intensive services, it also serves double number of districts of the camps comparing to its partners. As ACTED offer WASH services to 6 districts, while two remain NGOs serve 3 districts each. The large share of ACTED for WASH program in AlZa'atari camp might be viewed as ACTED is empowered partner and has impact influence of applying the program regarding to its strategies and own approach.

While its important the gain support from refugees, but the low number of the major partners of WASH program, as well as more than two third share of services provided by ACTED. It can be criticised that there might be a possibility that those partners dominate WASH sector, and reduced the role of other international and national NGOs and other actors to participate in WASH program, or participate with less capability. Within the next section I attempt to examine the role of Mercy corps in WASH program, as a partner with external funding support to run WASH activities.

Mercy corps executes several activities in the camp, such as "drilled two deep wells and constructed a pump station and chlorination system, providing clean water for up to 75,000 refugees. This new water system will remain after the refugees return home, increasing the water supply of local communities..... With support from UNICEF and the US Agency for International Development. Mercy Corps has programmed \$25 million for water interventions (Mercy Corps, 2018). Accordingly, with the Mercy corps extends WASH activities to cover the main areas that surround AlZa'atari camp. For example, "the residents in Mafraq, the closest town to Za'atari, have running water for approximately 10 hours per week" (UNICEF, 2012) which was not available before that. Such activities can reduce the tension between the host communities from one side and the Jordanian government and the refugees' community from the other side.

Moreover, Mercy Corps works with several partners in order to execute a specific WASH program, which is "The USAID-funded program, known formally as the Community-Based Initiative for Water Demand Management, is implemented by Mercy Corps, with its partners: the Jordan River Foundation, the Royal Scientific Society and 135 local community-based organizations throughout Jordan" (USAID, 2017). The collaboration and mutual work with local community-based organizations including local NGOs, with empowered organisations like USAID and Mercy Corps, allows local partners to learn the international standards and gain the proper experience in order to apply it in future projects.

In addition to develop the attitude of the people and their roles as citizens and refugees in terms of water issues (USAID, 2017). Therefore, Mercy Corps through their aid delivery mechanism which is according to HUNTER KEITH Mercy Corps' country director, derived by communities' interests with better people integration (GlobalGiving, 2018). That also improve the cooperation and communication among both groups the refugees from one side and the local partners from the other side. Moreover, as HUNTER KEITH confirms that working with both groups helps for better understanding of the priorities to be set by the aid organisations. All the above besides, the interaction between these essential groups comes with better

understanding of each other's basic issues, such as water services and the possibility to solve such problems jointly (GlobalGiving, 2018). Compromising with the concerned parties, make such partners more responsible about their current water resources and more empowered in terms of decision making for future projects.

Contribution of CFW aid program on Alzaatri refugees

According to International Labour Organisation (2014) Cash for Work programs: "Social Protection Programmes, whereby the most disaster affected communities are able to quickly earn cash under 'decent work' conditions to enable them to get back on their feet, in return for participating in disaster clean up and restoration activities. They are usually of limited duration and fill the need for local communities while longer term rehabilitation measures are put in place and resumption of employment is possible". CFW programs generally managed by Governments and International organizations, through "community-based projects such as repairing roads, clearing shrubs in the public properties such as school, temples, hospitals, clearing debris, clearing canals to uplift the livelihood of the vulnerable segments of the community (Sivakumar, 2014). In general, CFW programs might be used as useful tool to implement parallel projects in several areas, maintain the diversity of the labour skills and activities on site, and to support people by giving them training to improve their skills.

CFW program might establish a base of participatory model. As well as "Community decision making will empower the community to decide on the community needs" (Sivakumar, 2014). Through involving a large number of people, and integrate different participants like women and other marginalized groups, it can benefit directly and indirectly the targeted communities. For instance, "indirectly benefiting countless more through the outputs of CFW activities in the form of revitalized markets and improved community assets. The projects implemented using CFW programming vary significantly in response to local needs, type of emergency, and security risks" (Mercy Corps, 2007). Even though the activities of the CFW can empower the targeted communities, but on the other side, CFW wages might be poor, besides that these communities cannot view CFW as source of stable employment and primary income. Furthermore, engaging certain group in CFW programs especially within crises time, might create tension by targeting these groups and neglecting other groups. Therefore, planning and conducting CFW programs becomes more sensitive as it is under one of the most sensitive economic sectors, which is employment. Consequently, there is a need to develop integrated agenda that offers jobs for people from different groups, in order to create compact among targeted communities, particularly in crises.

Jordanian labor market after refugees flee continues to face significant vulnerability, the unemployment rate remained elevated at 18.5% by the end of 2017, in addition to the rise of poverty, given rising inflation, unemployment, joblessness, and sluggish growth (World Bank, 2018). Which exposed a pressure on the actors that manage the humanitarian aid in Jordan. Lenner (2018) argues "the search for solutions for protracted refugee populations in countries of first asylum has prompted forced migration experts, humanitarian organizations, NGOs and governmental actors to move their focus (once more) from 'traditional' humanitarian work toward labor market interventions. Simultaneously, economic planners, labor market experts, and businesses have had to integrate refugees into their conceptual and practical horizons". However, CFW program can be used as a tool to develop economic stability among the refugees and the host communities, but this depends on the mechanism that used to run CFW program to accomplish this goal.

CFW essentially launched in AlZa'atari camp in order to provide income resources for the refugees since most men of the refugees are unemployed, and most of the cash resources of the income of the refugees were from selling goods from donations inside the camp (UNHCR, 2014), as basic income source before launching the program. Generally, CFW in AlZa'atari camp offers the same jobs that offered by the same program in all crises, as indicated in UNHCR (2014) "refugees who manage to find work usually work for organizations as cleaners, construction workers or teachers, or perform labour for food, loading and unloading. They are paid at the set rate of JOD 1 per hour for unqualified and JOD 1.5 for qualified workers for a maximum of six hours per day as part of the Cash for Work program". The program offered more jobs to the Syrian refugees with 1,500 jobs until 2014 (Ledwith, 2014).

With more progress of the program, by 2017 the total number of works for program of CFW is 6,133 with total cost 767,942 JD (UNHCR, 2017). Even though the CFW programme aims to hire 50% women and 3% people with disabilities (GIZ, 2018), but according to the statistics published on UNHCR (2017) the proportion of cash for work by gender is 72%

male and 28% for female. Nonetheless the program in Al Za'atari, is relatively well designed and provides integration within different programs of several sectors, like food, shelters, education. The key problem is that the program is not able to present stable income for a large population yet, which indeed reveal inability of this program to offer economic development for such societies. In addition to less empower of refugees to participate in decision making process related to CFW programs, with less engagement by the INGOs who run the program.

ACTED until 2017 hired 1878 workers, with 31% of the total number of the workers hired through CFW, with the mentioned percentage, ACTED has the highest share of CFW workers comparing to other partners (UNHCR, 2017). As a strategy ACTED choose to give more opportunities to women through the program as a community challenge, therefore, ACTED "started working with women on the first week of November 2015. Initially the programme only had 8 women. In over 3 months, this number has increased to 47, with the aim of reaching a 50-50 ratio for the solid waste management programme" (ReliefWeb, 2016), according to ACTED (2017) "a group of Syrian women refugees walks through one of the many neighbourhoods,...., in Za'atari....the small group of women fans out across the streets and gather plastic bags and other litter strewn around the block.

One of the main objectives of the program to have more gender equality and promote social changes, women are part of ACTED's cash-for-work program and provide crucial waste-collection services to the estimated 79,500 refugees calling the camp home. One of the success stories of the program discussed by ACTED is Islam. Islam is a single woman was a part of the pilot project of the program since 2015. In 2017 she became a leader of a team of eight women for the same program, with stable income that used to support her family, (ACTED, 2017). Another case that influenced workers of CFW, "Maysoon and Samya were interviewed in Al Za'atari, two female team leaders of the garbage collection team in District 10, they mentioned the community taboo surrounding women working on the streets. However, since the programme started in November 2015, they have noticed a change in mentalities and attitudes regarding their work, which has led to an increased interest in women to participate in this working activity (ReliefWeb, 2016).

In contrast to WASH program which showed significantly higher participation of men in terms of cash for work positions, such as positions of construction of the waste water network. The unbalanced gender positions within the program being justified by some INGOs as "the majority of them were male given that most positions entailed manual labour, male adults are likely to be more aware of their local WASH actor" (REACH, 2017:30). Accordingly, the employment process through CFW still relies on the social perspectives, based on the refugees' social system, which can't be avoided or neglected. Therefore ACTED "has been working with communities to provide a safe working environment for the women that are looking for income generating activities. To overcome the cultural challenges, focus groups discussions were led by community mobilisation teams in order to find a suitable solution for women willing to work. It was agreed that women would work in their own blocks, in groups of 10 with 2 female team leaders" (ReliefWeb, 2016).

On the other side, Mercy Corps emphasis on the economic aspects in terms of CFW program. Community-led and participatory assessments enable individuals to gain first-hand knowledge about local employment opportunities, hiring trends, skills in demand, as well as a deeper understanding of the constraints they face in entering the labor market. The process of gathering market information shapes the knowledge of the economy and also builds skills in effective communication, teamwork, and increases confidence of the refugees. According to (UNHCR, 2017), the total number of the workers that hired by Mercy Corps until September 2017 is 180 workers. "The companies Mercy Corps has worked with anticipate an increase in profits of between 30% and 60% and plan on hiring more workers" (Euromoney, 2018). As Mercy Corps believes that providing cash income for the workers will lead to improve the local market, based on Mercy Corps (2018) "Cash is spent within the local economy, typically with small businesses and market traders who may also be suffering because of the situation or crisis". Eventually, Mercy Corps run CFW program to increasing economic development in several areas, in and local economic development planning for the municipality.

Mercy corps uses different mechanism to run the CFW programs. For example, Jordan INGO Forum (2016:3) indicates that Mercy corps analysed Vulnerability Assessment Framework (VAF), which was conducted that 171 out of 981 Syrians expressed their interest to participate in the CfW program. Thirty Syrians and ten Jordanians have participated in the first

round of CfW activities until now. (JIF, 2016:3). Accordingly, involving the host community within the CFW program in order to reduce the tension that might be occurred by providing jobs for Syrian refugees, and ignoring the high need for jobs by the host community.

Table 2. Shows the comparison between ACTED and Mercy corps in terms of executing CFW in AIZa'atari

	ACTED	Mercy Corps
CFW No. of worker	1878workers	180Workers
%Share of program	30%	2%
Sectors	Waste Management	WASH
Approach	Participatory	Participatory
Targeted groups	Women	Different groups Youth/Women
Involve Host Communities	Focused on refugees in the camp	Include host communities.

Conclusion.

In conclusion, HAP can be more effective by giving the targeted people more access to the decision-making process of the aid programs, as different societies result different needs and different perspectives. Therefore, the mechanism that has been chosen by the INGOs, like empowering some particular groups like women or youth. In order to execute the aid programs INGOs need to consider the long term empowerment, and provide the beneficiaries with more control over their lives which makes them less depended on the aid. Accordingly, it's significant to evaluate the impact of the executed programs on the refugees' lives on the long-term, and evaluate how the refugees perceive the mechanism that being used to run such programs.

Moreover, the success of the mission of the INGOs to deliver humanitarian aid, relies on relationships with several partners, thus, the involving these partners in all phases of the programs will lead to more trust of the INGOs. And working with these partners result in avoiding tension between the served communities like refugees and the host communities. By adopting participatory approach, the partners within the humanitarian aid process can have balanced power and roles, then more influence on decision making process, which make HAP more efficient.

However, INGOs adopt participatory approach, many challenges affected HAP, and make their impact less effective. Thus, it becomes more relevant to have clear roles of the humanitarian actors, and apply the process by finding more collaborative and integrated approach. In addition, the more partners involved the more they become responsible about the success and the achievement of the aid programs. Throughout the studied INGOs, it can be found that the key partners are being engaged within the humanitarian aid programs in some phases of the programs. Particularly, the related partners like refugees and host communities are involved in the final stages rather than being considered in the early set up phases like determining the actual needs, prioritising theses needs and how to fulfil it. Such phases are more likely to shape the framework of the execution of the project. Furthermore, the decision-making process at these phases are more productive, therefore, by engaging these partners throughout the early phases, and allow for more participation by the concerned partners, is intended to avoid undesirable outcomes.

Nevertheless humanitarian aid mainly targets the refugees, but it can be evaluated that the imbalanced roles within aid process and programs, in many cases can lead to cause tensions between different partners like the tensions mentioned between the host community and the refugees over aid, or the tension between the host community and the Jordanian government. Accordingly, these tensions will lead to make more pressure over the program execution and the involved partners.

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