

# THE ROLE OF YOUTH'S LEGAL STATUS FOR EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

in the context of  
protracted displacement  
in Jordan and Lebanon

Maha Shuayb, Cathrine Brun, Mohammad Hammoud, Oroub El Abed, Hala Caroline Abou Zaki, Dina Batshon, Nadim Haider, Cyrine Saab, Hamza Saleh, Alexandra Kassir, Zoe Jordan



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# Preface

The report comes out of a research programme jointly run by the Centre for Lebanese Studies (CLS) and the Centre for Development and Emergency Practice (CENDEP).

The programme, titled 'From education to employment? Trajectories for young people in Lebanon and Jordan in the context of protracted displacement', is funded by Canada's International Development Research Centre (IDRC, project ref. 109043-001) and the UK's Economic and Social Research Council (Global Challenges Research Funding, project ref. ES/S004742/1).

The main question we ask is: In displacement settings, what shapes the trajectories of young people from education into employment?

In this report, we present a quantitative survey of 1442 young people in Lebanon and Jordan. We want to thank all the 1442 people who took part.

In addition, our gratitude goes to our enumerators who contributed to make this study possible.

*We thank Dr Ali Fakh and Dr Walid Marrouch for assistance in developing the instruments and sampling and Dr Bill Merrifield for his systematic approach to get the work started. We also thank Dr Solava Ibrahim for her thorough feedback. Finally, we extend our gratitude to Al Jana and Lil Madina for helping to facilitate the fieldwork.*



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# Executive Summary

This report derives from a study on trajectories from education to employment of young nationals and refugees in Jordan and Lebanon. As part of the project, a face-to-face quantitative survey was administered to 1,442 young persons (aged 15 to 29 years old) with different nationalities (Syrian, Jordanian, Lebanese, and Palestinian), legal statuses, and socio-economic backgrounds in Lebanon and Jordan between August 2019 and October 2019.

The study covers three areas in Lebanon – Beirut, the South, and the Bekaa – and nine districts in the governorate of Amman, Jordan (from now on, the cases are referred to as “Lebanon” and “Jordan”). The selection of the sample was representative of the different legal statuses (nationals and refugees) of the overall population in the areas, according to available statistics. The standardized questionnaire was designed for both Lebanon and Jordan to collect information pertaining to the young person's legal status, socio-economic profile, household living conditions, education, and employment.

## .....EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT<sup>1</sup>

Main findings indicate that legal status is an important determinant of educational attainment in Lebanon where nationals are almost 20 per cent more likely to have higher educational attainment compared to refugees. Syrian refugees are likely to obtain lower educational attainments compared to Palestinian refugees. In contrast, and interestingly, in Jordan, legal status is not a significant determinant of educational attainment, while gender was a more indicative factor.

Legal status is an important determinant of dropout rates<sup>2</sup> in Lebanon and Jordan. However, the effect of one's legal status on the dropout rate seems to be greater in Lebanon, where nationals are 26 per cent less likely to dropout compared to refugees (at a one per cent statistical significance level), while in Jordan nationals are only 8 per cent less likely to dropout compared to refugees (at a 5 per cent statistical significance level). This indicates that educational inequalities experienced by refugees as compared to nationals are starker in Lebanon than Jordan.

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<sup>1</sup> Educational attainment is measured from the lowest to the highest completed school level starting with primary through postgraduate studies.

<sup>2</sup> Dropout: Includes any person who did not obtain an educational certificate that qualifies him/her to compete for a non-labour intensive job market.

Gender is only a significant determinant of dropout rates in Lebanon, where males are almost nine per cent more likely to drop out compared to females (at 10 per cent statistical significance level). With the increasing poverty which both Lebanese and refugees are experiencing in Lebanon, males are under a greater pressure to work and support with the family income. Results suggest that parents' education plays an important role in explaining the probability of dropout among youth in Lebanon and Jordan. A mother's education seems to be of greater importance compared to a father's education over all educational levels in both countries. For instance, having a mother with post-secondary education reduces an individual's dropout probability by 40 per cent in Lebanon and 32 per cent in Jordan compared to having a mother with primary education/no education (at a one per cent statistical significance level).

The effect of a refugee's legal status on education in Lebanon could be heightened by the pre-existing inequalities in the Lebanese educational system. The vast majority of parents in Lebanon (70 per cent) continue to opt to enroll their children in private schools instead of public schools due to their perception of the low quality of education offered in the latter schools (CERD, 2019). This trend continues to persist despite the severe economic crisis that Lebanon has witnessed in the past two years (2018-2020) (ibid). Refugees in Lebanon have to endure inherent inequalities in the Lebanese educational system, and they also suffer a more subordinate status within the weak public system because they are offered segregated second (afternoon) shifts. Research has indicated a lower quality of education in the afternoon shifts compared to the morning ones (Shuayb, et al., 2014, 2016).

Our findings have implications for the way humanitarian education is conceived and implemented. First, the results suggest that humanitarian education, with its apolitical approach, overlooks the pre-existing inequalities in the educational system of the host country, resulting in further marginalisation and disadvantaging of refugee children (Brun and Shuayb 2020). Second, humanitarian education needs to place equal emphasis on quality and recognition of refugee children as well as access. Recognition of refugees includes participation, language of instruction policies, and recognition of cultural diversity through the curriculum including civic education and history (Fraser, 1995; Novelli et al., 2014).

## Employability and Employment Outcomes<sup>3</sup>

Education is found to be a weak determinant of employability. Results indicate that the completion of post-secondary or vocational training levels in both countries has no significant effect on the probability of being employed compared to completing primary level/no education. The probability of being

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<sup>3</sup> The employment outcome index was constructed based on three different questions. The first determines the individuals' net monthly earnings; the second determines whether a mismatch between the individual's education and job exists; and the third determines the individual's job satisfaction level.

employed in Lebanon is found to be significantly lower for individuals who complete secondary level education compared to individuals who complete primary level/no education. This reflects a mismatch between the job market and the qualifications and skills of the youth. It also shows that youth may be engaged in unskilled labour upon leaving school. In both countries, gender is a significant determinant of employability although the effect of gender on employability is much greater in Jordan than in Lebanon (males are 27 per cent and 9 per cent more likely, respectively, to be employed compared to females, at a one per cent statistical significance level).

Similarly, education is also found to be a weak determinant of employment outcomes (which captures income, employment condition and job satisfaction) in Lebanon and Jordan. Results indicate that the completion of a post-secondary or vocational training certificate has no significant effect on employment outcomes compared to completing primary level/no education. On the other hand, the probability of having a high employment outcome is found to be significantly lower for individuals who completed secondary level education in Lebanon compared to individuals who completed primary level/no education (at a one per cent statistical significance level). In Jordan, having a secondary education degree is not a significant determinant of employment outcomes.

The findings reveal a mismatch between education and employment. There appears to be a negative return on education. While education's purpose is not just to prepare youth for employment, it is an inherent function that is currently unfulfilled. Insights show that investment in education for families and youth will not yield better access to employment and employment outcomes. Hence, investing in secondary education may not be considered meaningful for most families in the current socio-economic climate in the two countries. The findings lead us to question the meaning of education in a refugee setting as well as the impact of refugee education strategies as developed by humanitarian organisations, education clusters, and governments in the two countries.

In Lebanon, nationals are 13 per cent less likely to be employed compared to refugees. At the same time, legal status is an important determinant of employment outcomes in Lebanon and Jordan, where nationals are 11 per cent and 13 per cent more likely to have a high employment outcome compared to refugees, respectively (at 10 per cent and 5 per cent statistical significance, respectively).

While refugees are more likely to find employment in Lebanon compared to nationals, they often have poor employment outcomes because they are offered low paid jobs with no social protection. On the other hand, social capital, particularly of fathers, helps youth in general – find jobs and have better employment outcomes amid a precarious job market.

In the context of protracted displacement, legal status becomes a social position in itself (Brun et al., 2017) – an abject status within the nation state that operates alongside and in interaction with gender, socio-economic positions, family background/social capital, and physical capital (condition of

dwelling in this case). Compared to other social positions, legal status shows to a greater extent than other positions that refugees are stuck in a difficult situation, where social mobility and development of lives through education and employment is almost impossible to achieve.

Lebanon and Jordan both have a free labour market which dominates the education and employment discourse. With the identified disconnection between education and employment in both countries, there is a need to rethink the existing structures of inequalities as well as subordinations due to gender, class, and legal status. An apolitical approach will fall short of restructuring this system, and it will fall short of shifting the debate from “access” or distribution of goods to “recognition” beyond status. Realizing this is not only an internal matter, humanitarian agencies and the international community have a responsibility to support Lebanon and Jordan and the refugee community to realize more dignified and equitable education and employment outcomes.







# 01

## Introduction



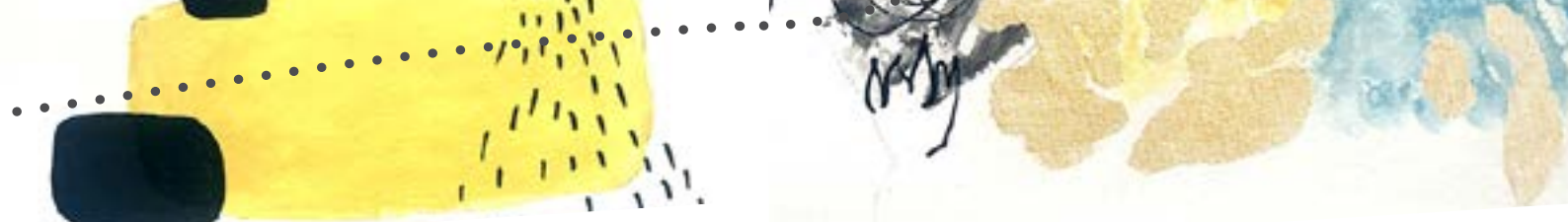
This report presents data on education and employment among young refugees and nationals in the context of protracted displacement in Lebanon and Jordan. Both countries are hosting among the highest numbers of refugees globally, relative to their local population. Lebanon, a country of approximately four million people, currently hosts around 1.5 million Syrian refugees and 200,000 Palestinian refugees (UNHCR, 2020a). Jordan's population in 2019 exceeded 10 million, including 1.3 million Syrian refugees as per the official figures (UNHCR 2020a). Jordan currently hosts over 654,700 Syrian refugees registered with the United Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees agency (UNHCR 2020b). When the COVID-19 pandemic hit the world in 2020, a new crisis piled on top of several other crises in the Middle East, and Lebanon and Jordan in particular. In Lebanon, the October 2019 economic crisis that culminated with the collapse of the banking system had profound impacts. In the context of protracted displacement, nationals and refugees in both countries have been affected by these overlapping crises. While increasing unemployment and precarity among all groups abounds (UNDP 2016), this report focuses on youth between the ages of 15 and 29 years old.

This report presents data collected in the months before the pandemic for a research programme on youth's trajectories from education to employment in the context of protracted displacement.

Youth will seldom experience a linear progression from education into employment. However, understanding the role of education and employment as well as the connection between them for youth's lives are key questions in this study. Education is, together with shelter, food/nutrition, water, and sanitation, one of the fields that has witnessed considerable attention since the outbreak of the Syrian crisis in 2011. To date, 40 and 59 per cent of school-aged Syrian children are enrolled in schools in Lebanon and Jordan, respectively (NRC, 2020). While the inclusion of education as part of a humanitarian response is commendable, as it is often overlooked, the educational attainment of refugees remains modest, especially since the vast majority of Syrian refugees (over 80 per cent) do not complete their education beyond middle school (NRC, 2020). At the same time, unemployment amongst youth, in both Lebanon and Jordan, is soaring and estimated to be within 30 to 40 per cent (UNDP 2016). The 2016 Arab Human Development Report (UNDP 2016, 80), for example, states that "high youth unemployment rates are one of the most distinctive features of Arab labour markets," adding that "unemployment among youth in Arab countries is the highest in the world." Notably, unemployment rates among university graduates in Lebanon and Jordan were significantly higher than among secondary graduates and youth only holding a primary education (ILO 2016).

Youth labour conditions are strongly affected by neoliberal economic policies that focus on services, banking, and tourism, which dominate the economic system in both countries. These policies have increased inequality and further marginalise the most vulnerable groups without giving them enough social protection. The volatile political situation in the region continues to threaten the tourism sector and financial stability in both countries. Moreover, youth





access to the labour market is strongly affected by a highly corrupt system in Lebanon and the tribal and sectarian quota system in both countries.

Jordan and Lebanon portray significant similarities and differences. They are not signatories to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. However, both countries have signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which is present in both countries. Advocacy for refugees' rights is a sensitive issue in both countries due to the history and presence of Palestinian refugees who, as we show below, have very different statuses in the two countries. Both countries neighbour Syria, had large Syrian populations before the Syrian war started in 2011, and have received huge numbers of Syrian refugees since 2011. However, the two countries have approached the management of Syrian refugees differently, and in this report, we will consider education and employment conditions for nationals as well as Syrian and Palestinian refugees.

Young people are here defined as people between the age of 15 and 29 years old in line with the official Lebanese definition. Through studying their trajectories, we seek to analyse the effect of structure on their sense of agency in the particular contexts of the refugee crises in Jordan and Lebanon. By studying the "status" in our work, we mean to unfold the various elements that affect access to rights to education and employment. In the first instance we are concerned with the role of legal status and particularly the differential access to and right to work that different legal statuses hold (such as Syrian refugee, Palestinian refugee and national). However, the legal status interacts with other social statuses such as class, gender, and location and by working with trajectories and pathways, we will be able to analyse how legal status interacts with other social statuses. Hence, in the overall project, we approach our questions through an intersectional lens. One essential outcome of the project will thus be to understand the role of legal status in a larger picture of social status for accessing employment in the context of the countries' substantial refugee populations.

**The principal research questions we seek to answer are:**

1. *How does legal status (refugee, national, migrant, displaced) and the accompanying rights and restrictions of that status impact trajectories from education to employment?*
2. *What is the interaction between different types of education (including no education) and employment for different groups of young people in the context of protracted displacement?*

To this end, we conducted a quantitative survey of 1442 young people in Lebanon and Jordan. In addition, we have conducted 293 qualitative interviews with young people, 46 of their parents, and 75 youth initiatives and key stakeholders in Jordan and Lebanon. This report presents the findings from the quantitative survey, which focuses on providing an overview picture of the education and employment opportunities and conditions for refugees and nationals in Lebanon and Jordan.

This report comprises three main chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter Two describes the research methodology and data analysis procedure. Chapter Three focuses on education results and begins with a brief overview of the education context in Lebanon and Jordan, followed by the results of the survey and the effect of legal status on youth education attainment. Chapter Four examines the employment dimension of this study. Following a short review of the employment conditions in Lebanon and Jordan, we present our research findings on the role of legal status on employment and connections between education to employment. Chapter Five presents a further discussion and conclusion of findings.





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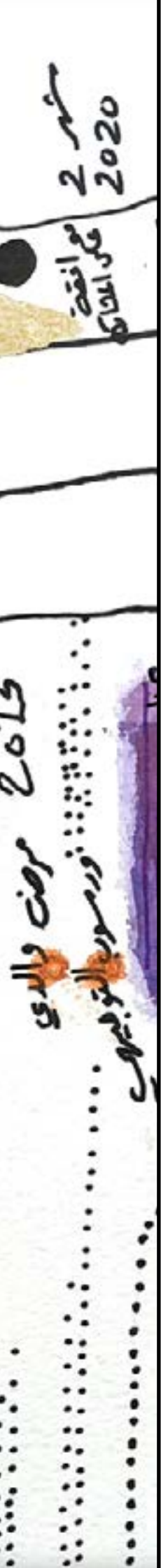
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# 02

## Methodology

To study educational attainment and employment outcomes and the connections between them, a mixed method approach was adopted, including a survey, narrative interviews, interviews with key informants from civil society, and a collaborative analysis where data were discussed with the research participants. The narrative interviews focused in particular on young people's trajectories between different forms of education and employment. This report concentrates on the survey-data which focuses more on the characteristics of education and employment among young nationals and refugees. This chapter presents the methodology of the survey, including the instrument design, sampling frame, variable definitions, summary statistics, empirical model, and the limitations of the survey.

## • • • • SURVEY INSTRUMENT

A quantitative survey with close-ended questions was administered in Kobo. The survey focused on current and past education, employment experiences, and future aspirations. It examined youth education and work conditions in relation to legal and socio-economic status<sup>4</sup> and gender. The instrument was piloted twice with more than 40 young persons in Lebanon and Jordan. Some questions on legal status and education were adapted based on the specificities of each country. Youth was the main defining characteristic for choosing participants; in addition, sampling was undertaken based on employment status, level of education, education status (whether they were enrolled in school, dropped out, or completed schooling), gender, socio-economic characteristics, and geographical areas.

## • • • • ADMINISTERING THE SURVEY


The survey was administered face to face with 1,442 young persons aged 15 to 29 years old in both countries, between August 2019 and October 2019. In Lebanon, 742 youth were surveyed; in Jordan, 700 youth were surveyed. Young researchers with relevant previous experience were trained to conduct the survey. The training focused on research design, conducting a survey, and research ethics. The team included female and male researchers, as well as Lebanese, Jordanians, Palestinians, and Syrians.

Informed consent was sought from the youth participant if above 18 and from their parents if younger. The data collectors used several outreach methods including gatekeepers in different areas, support from community-based and non-governmental organisations, as well as attendance at relevant public youth-related events.

In order to limit any duplicate enumeration and to ensure anonymity, a

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<sup>4</sup> For the socioeconomic status, the survey includes indicators such as income, type of dwelling, household crowding, and financial struggle that aim to provide an overview of the respondent's socioeconomic background.





psuedonymised tracking sheet was developed for the enumerator to fill in after each survey. The tracking sheet documents the number of the survey, the date, the way in which they accessed the interviewee (i.e. specific organisation, personal network, outreach, etc.), basic demographic data (i.e. nationality, district of residence, gender, age group, disability, whether engaged in education or employment or neither, the socio-economic status), and lastly comments around the interviewee or the interview. This sheet enabled researchers to cross-check information, track any inconsistencies, and follow progress in relation to the criteria and targets needed.

## Sampling Framework

### Lebanon

In Lebanon, the study covers three areas: Beirut, the South, and the Bekaa. The rationale for selecting these specific geographic areas was the diversity of the population, which covers the three main groups that are the focus of this study, namely nationals and Syrian and Palestinian refugees. The specific sites within the South and the Bekaa were urban and semi-urban areas and comparable with areas in Greater Amman.

As the latest official Lebanese census dates back to 1932, the survey was based on the sampling frame of the planning figures of the Lebanon Crisis Response Plan 2017-2020 (LCRP, 2020) along with different sources that aid in identifying the population distribution for Lebanese, Palestinians, and Syrians within each *Mohafaza* (Beirut, Bekaa, Mount Lebanon, and South Lebanon) (PDC, CAS and PCBS 2017; UNHCR 2020). The areas were selected according to population density weight of each area. Then the fraction of each population for each area was individually multiplied by the total number of surveys to determine the number of surveys that must be allocated for each nationality within each area.

### Beirut

Being the political, economic, and administrative centre of the country, the Lebanese capital has grown steadily over the decades and has been at the centre of ample research. Beirut and its surrounding suburbs are densely populated and have a diverse population. While just under 25,000 Palestinians live in Beirut and its suburbs (LPDC, CAS and PCBS 2018), there are around 100,000 Syrians registered with the UNHCR.

The survey was conducted in Tariq Jdideh neighbourhood, which is also considered a Palestinian cluster since many Palestinian families live there; in the eastern suburb of Beirut, in Ain Rummaneh; and its southern suburb, in Bourj al Barajneh; and the Shatila and Bourj al Barajneh Palestinian refugee camps. Both camps are now home to a significant number of Syrian families.

While in Bourj al Barajneh the Syrians constitute 47.9 per cent of the camp population, in Shatila, they represent more than half (57.6 per cent) (LPDC, CAS, and PCBS 2018).

## Saida

Located in the South governorate, the coastal city of Saida is the third main city in Lebanon. The survey focused on the old city of Saida, Abra, and the Ain el Helweh Palestinian refugee camp and its surrounding neighbourhoods. Saida is the city with the highest share of Palestinians (LPDC, CAS and PCBS 2017 ) and Ain el Helweh is the biggest Palestinian camp in the country. Since 2011, the city has hosted many Syrians and Palestinians from Syria.

## Bekaa

The Bekaa is one of the main agricultural areas in Lebanon. Located along the Syrian border, it has hosted one of the largest numbers of Syrian refugees since 2011, more than 300,000 (UNHCR 2019). Conversely, the area has the smallest proportion of Palestinian refugees (four per cent). The survey was conducted in the central area of the Bekaa, in the Bar Elias and Chtoura municipalities that are located in the Zahleh district. The Syrians represent half or more than half of the Bar Elias population. UNHCR (2019) estimates that there are around 30,000 registered Syrian refugees in Bar Elias; the municipality claims that there are 45,000 people. In recent years, the city has also welcomed Syrians who have been expelled from neighboring municipalities (Al Ayoubi 2018). Syrians live in the city, as well as in the hundreds of informal camps on its outskirts. Since the 1950s, a Palestinian community has lived in Bar Elias, and today there are around 1,300 (Al Ayoubi, 2018).

We computed the demographic composition ratio for each nationality (Lebanese, Palestinians from Lebanon, Palestinians from Syria, and Syrians) within each of the different selected large geographic areas (Beirut, Bekaa, Mount Lebanon, and South Lebanon) with respect to the total population of each nationality (status) residing in Lebanon.



**Table 1. Sampling Framework for Lebanon**

Mohafaza	Location	Lebanese	Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon (PRL)	Palestinian Refugees from Syria (PRS)	Syrians	Total
Beirut	Tariq El Jedide	25	9	1	7	42
	Sabra & Chatila	25	10	2	6	43
Mount Lebanon	Ain el Rummaneh	32	24	6	25	87
	Bourj al Barajneh	32	24	6	26	88
Beqaa	Refugee camps	68	21	19	167	275
South	Abra	10	51	7	7	75
	Saida (old city)	10	51	7	7	75
	Ain el Helweh	11	53	8	7	79
Total		213	243	56	252	764

## Jordan

The latest official Jordanian census was conducted in 2015, therefore, the sampling frame for Jordan's survey is based on the official census of 2015 and updates carried out by the Department of Statistics. Amman hosts 38.6 per cent of all Jordanians, and 49.7 per cent of all non-Jordanians with the majority of refugees now living in urban settings rather than camps (Jordan Department of Statistics, 2015).

This report relied on 700 Jordanian survey samples in the Amman governorate, which hosts a population of 4,327,800 (Jordan Department of Statistics 2018). It has both urban and semi-urban areas and represents different employment sectors such as agriculture, manufacturing and service.

This frame, based on convenient sampling, covers multiple criteria that ensures the intersectional diversity required to understand trajectories of youth from education to employment: nationalities, location and districts, gender, age group, disability, socio-economic status, engaged in education or employment, or neither. The criteria were chosen based on our literature review and preparatory work.

Concerning nationalities, the study in Jordan covered three nationalities: Jordanians, Syrians, and Palestinian refugees. By Jordanians, we refer to holders of the Jordanian nationality (a Jordanian national number) and who have access to citizenship rights. This group also includes those from Palestinian origin, who were nationalized per the 1954 Citizenship Law

(UNRWA, 2020). For Syrian and Palestinian refugee samples, only those who do not carry a Jordanian national number are considered. There was a target for each nationality, explained in Table 1 below, based on the weights of the actual populations in each of the districts covered. Nevertheless, since the majority of the population in Jordan are Jordanians, and in order to be able to survey more Syrians and Palestinians, the percentage of Jordanians in the sample was reduced by 20 per cent. That percentage was divided amongst the Syrian and Palestinian sample, again based on the relative weight of the sample to the total population in each district.

Table 2. Sampling Frame with Planned and Actual Samples in Jordan

Governorate	Jordanian	Syrians in Jordan	Palestinians in Jordan	Total
Al Jamiaa	69	32	13	114
Giza	14	3	2	19
Qweismeh	72	17	23	112
Al Moukker	11	4	1	16
Sahhab	16	4	8	28
Kasbah Of Oman	87	33	25	145
Marka	114	36	34	184
Naour	19	5	1	25
Wadi Al Seer	37	16	4	57
Total	439	150	111	700

## Selection of Sample

As indicated, this study aimed to cover refugees (Syrian and Palestinian) as well as Lebanese and Jordanian nationals. After specifying the sample framework and the percentages of the different sub-groups that this study targets, randomised controlled sampling was adopted in selecting participants. The researchers would visit the different geographic areas that the study targets and randomly select a participant for the study. If the participant was above 18 and accepted to participate in the study, his/her written consent was sought. If the participant was below 18, his/her parent/legal guardian consent in addition to his/her own consent was sought first; then the survey would be collected. In addition to visits to the targeted communities, the team of researchers were also able to identify potential participants in the study through their contacts with community-based organisations, which the team had mapped in the months preceding the study.



## Characteristics of Surveyed Participants

Having presented the sample framework and the targeted areas and population for this study, in this section we provide an overview of the main characteristics of the surveyed participants. As indicated, the quantitative survey was administered to 1,442 young persons (aged 15 to 29 years old) with different nationalities, legal statuses, and socio-economic backgrounds in both Lebanon and Jordan between August 2019 and October 2019. The following table presents an overview of the percentages of different nationalities of the surveyed youth.

**Table 3. The Percentage of Nationals and Refugees in the Survey Sample**

	% Nationals	% Syrian Refugees	% Palestinian Refugees
Lebanon	29	39	31
Jordan	63	21	16

It is worth noting that the percentage of the different groups in the participant sample was based on the sampling framework that estimated the size of each group in the different selected areas for the study. As can be noted in Jordan, the percentage of nationals reflects the population in Amman, which is mainly Jordanian. However, the percentage of Syrian refugees in the sample was increased in order to capture the diversity in education and employment that the study sought to investigate. As for the gender breakdown, the sample is almost equally divided between females and males. In the following table, a breakdown of the sample by age groups is presented.

**Table 4. Sample Breakdown by Age Groups**

	15 years old	15-19 years old	20-23 years old	24 years old and above
	%			
Lebanon	2	18	15	17
Jordan	3	14	12	19

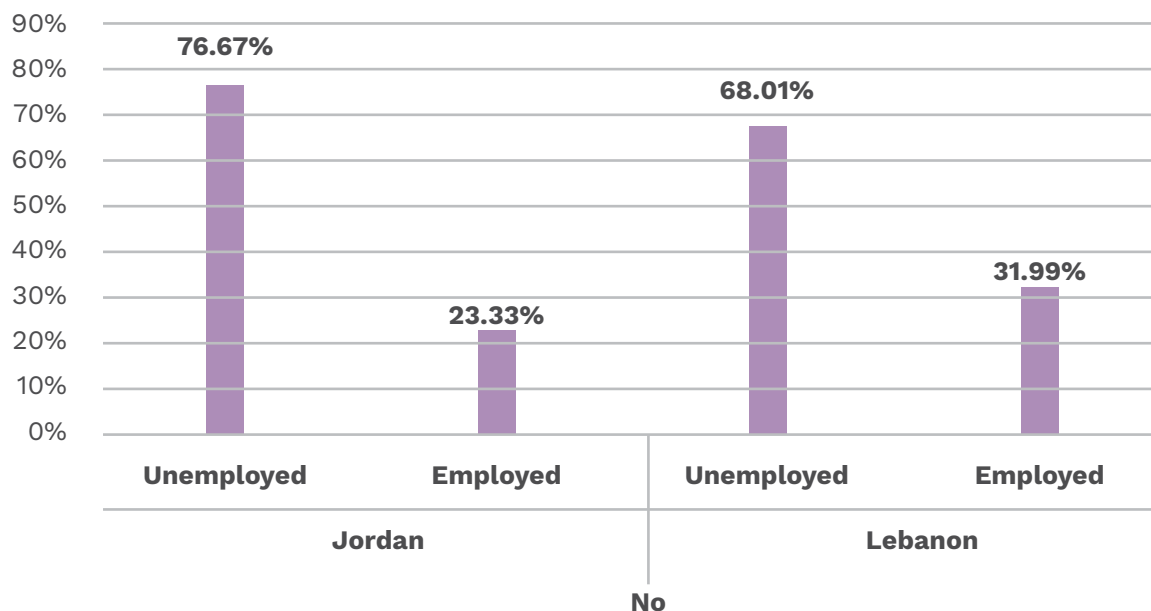
The table above illustrates how the sample was almost equally representative of the different age groups of youth as defined by UNICEF (15 to 29). As for the education status of the sample, less than two-thirds were not enrolled, while over a third were enrolled.

**Table 5. Participants Education Status**

	% Enrolled	% Not enrolled
Lebanon	36.78	63.22
Jordan	38.63	61.37

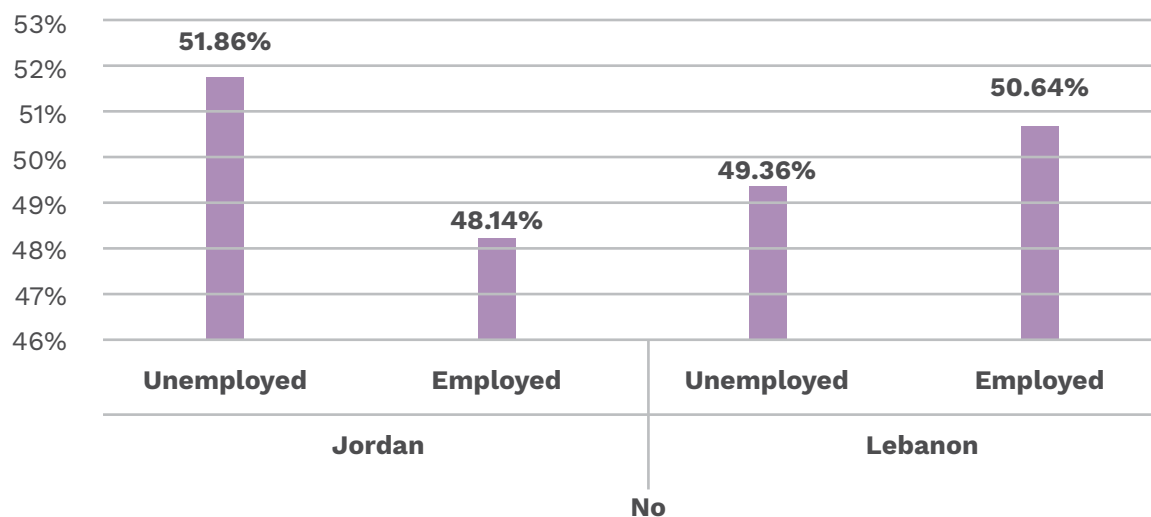
Finally, the figure below shows that less than a third of the surveyed participants enrolled in education were also employed, while over two-thirds were unemployed. The participant sample in Jordan reported a higher rate of unemployment amongst enrolled youth compared to Lebanon.

**Figure 1. Unemployment Rates Amongst Youth in Education**



When looking at youth who are not in education, we realize that unemployment was lower than among those enrolled in education, yet still considerably high, with around 50 per cent of youth who neither in school nor employed.

**Figure 2. Unemployment Rates Amongst Youth not in Education**





## Research Ethics

This report and survey are part of a larger study where we work with youth in different ways to understand their trajectories from education to employment. The survey was the first entry point and all participants were invited to continue to be part of the study. The study is approved by the Institutional Review Board of the Lebanese American University. All researchers and enumerators had to undergo CITI training. They also took a workshop that focused on research ethics. All participants had to sign a written consent form that was read out to them. If the participant was below 18, his/her legal guardian's consent was sought first. No personal information was documented in the survey that enables the identification of the participant. Since the data was collected using Kobo, the completed survey immediately disappears from the tablet once the survey is submitted. Finally, the researchers ensured that the survey was carried out in conditions that allow privacy and the safety of both the participant and the researcher.

## Challenges and Limitations

One of the main limitations of this study is the sample size and the limited geographic coverage of the sample due to the budget constraints which limit the generalisability of the findings. Some of the key questions in the survey that would allow for obtaining critical information about the economic conditions or education of the participants and their trajectories had a very low response rate, which limits ability to conduct further statistical analysis. The different education contexts between Jordan and Lebanon make it difficult to align the survey questions where they are relevant to the context but also allow us to compare the experiences in the two countries. This limited the ability to dig deeper into certain issues in the survey. However, we are addressing these issues in the qualitative component of the study where we have done narrative interviews with 293 young people across the two countries. Another challenge we faced was research fatigue; as a result, many youth were reluctant to participate. Participation in the study was voluntary and participants had the right to withdraw at any point during the survey. Moreover, they always had the option to say no. Some participants were sceptical concerning the value of research studies in the region. We stressed that this study was being conducted solely for academic purposes. At the same time, the study was designed with several avenues for participants to engage in workshops, exhibitions, and a documentary to share their views and experiences to a wider audience and have their voices heard.

In Lebanon, the introduction of new job and residency restrictions on refugees by the Lebanese Ministry of Labour and General Security made refugee participants more reluctant to disclose information. Furthermore, enumerators observed that the younger age group (15-19) did not always have a clear understanding of their household situation and the education levels of their parents. However, this group represented a small number of the overall

sample. Some interviewees expected to benefit from being interviewed because they previously participated in research that provided remuneration; or, they expected that the research was connected to a service that will be provided. While the research was always explained, such misunderstandings could not be entirely avoided.

With a team of enumerators working on quantitative data collection, there are some risks such as inconsistency in the process of collecting data, the chances of human error, and biases related to convenient sampling by either the enumerators themselves or gatekeepers in the selection of the interviewees. Training, debriefs, and follow-up conversations in the team were important in order to minimise any inconsistency. In addition, a tracking sheet was filled in for each interview for cross-checking.

## • • • • VARIABLE DEFINITIONS


In this section we define and provide a summary statistics for our four dependent variables and three sets of explanatory variables that are used in our empirical model.

### **Dependent variables**

We are mainly interested in investigating the determinants of *school drop-out*, *employability*, *educational attainment* and *employment outcome* among youth in a forced displacement setting. To this aim, we created 4 dependent variables. Specifically, we generated a binary dependent variable “dropout” which equals to 1 if the respondent is not currently enrolled in any educational program and does not have an educational certificate that qualifies them to take on a specialized profession and equals to zero otherwise. The educational qualification that allows a person to join the job market was the main factor for considering a person a dropout or not, as the primary interest of the study is in the transition that happens from acquiring an educational certificate that qualifies youth to join the job market. Our second dependent variable is also a binary dependent variable “employment” which equals 1 if the respondent is employed and zero otherwise.

The remaining two dependent variables are educational attainment and employment outcome. Both dependent variables were generated based on two indices we constructed throughout the study, using a set of questions that were indicators to certain educational attainment or employment outcome in the survey. The answers to the questions used to construct the indices include multiple responses, whereby, each individual response describes the individual’s educational attainment or employment outcome according to the provided answer. To construct the educational attainment index, we rely on a question that determines the highest level of schooling reached by the individual starting with primary up to postgraduate studies.





As for the employment outcome index we rely on three different questions, the first determines the individual's net monthly earning, the second determines whether a mismatch between the individual's education and job exists, and the third determines the individual's job satisfaction level. Following the choice of questions, each response is individually evaluated and ranked from the most favorable to the least favorable outcome. The response that indicates the most favorable outcome receives the highest rank, similarly if the response is presumed to be the least favorable outcome it is given the lowest rank accordingly. For more details on the indices' methodology, refer to Appendix 1.

## **Explanatory variables**

We use three main sets of explanatory variables. The first set of explanatory variables provide information on youth characteristics. Specifically, we include variables on the individual's legal status, age in years, gender, and marital status. We define legal status as a dummy variable that is equal to 1 if the individual is a national and 0 otherwise. Age in years is a continuous variable ranging between 15-29. Gender is a dummy variable that is equal to 1 if the individual is a male and 0 otherwise. Marital status is also a dummy variable that is equal to 1 if the individual is single and 0 otherwise.

The second set of explanatory variables contain information on education characteristics. We use the individual's educational attainment, which is divided into five groups: 1) no education if the youth did not attend school at all, 2) primary education, 3) secondary education, 4) post-secondary education, 5) vocational training. A dummy variable is generated for each educational level while using no education and primary education as a reference group.

Our thirds set of explanatory variables is related to household characteristics, which provides information on the individual's parents' educational attainment, number of people per room, and dwelling type. Parents' educational attainment is treated in a similar fashion to individual educational attainment and is divided into four groups: 1) no education if the parent did not attend school at all, 2) primary education, 3) secondary education, 4) post-secondary education. A dummy variable is generated for each educational level while using no education and primary education as a reference group. Number of people per room is a continuous variable derived by dividing the total number of people living in the household by the number of rooms in the dwelling. Dwelling type is a dummy variable that is equal to 1 if the individual lives in a private apartment or a private house and 0 otherwise. Finally, Urban is a dummy variable that is equal to 1 if the individual resides in an urban residential area and 0 otherwise.

The following table offers summary statistics on each variable.

**Table 6. List of Variables**

	# of Observations	Mean	St. Dev	Min	Max
<b>Dependent Variables</b>					
Dropout	1,427	0.397	0.489	0	1
Employed	1,442	0.341	0.474	0	1
Educational Attainment	1,146	3.474	1.194	1	5
Employment Outcome	553	3.122	1.334	1	5
<b>Independent Variables</b>					
<i>Youth characteristics</i>					
Legal Status	1,442	0.456	0.498	0	1
Age: years	1,442	21.81	4.098	15	29
Gender	1,442	0.497	0.500	0	1
Marital status	1,412	0.798	0.401	0	1
<i>Education characteristics</i>					
Education: secondary	1,417	0.536	0.498	0	1
Education: post-secondary	1,417	0.232	0.422	0	1
Vocational training	1,417	0.052	0.222	0	1
<i>Household characteristics</i>					
Father's Education: Secondary	1,308	0.420	0.493	0	1
Father's Education: Post-secondary	1,308	0.279	0.448	0	1
Mother's Education: Secondary	1,341	0.434	0.495	0	1
Mother's Education: Post-secondary	1,341	0.214	0.410	0	1
Number of People per Room	1,437	1.351	1.115	0.125	7
Private Apartment/House	1,433	0.839	0.367	0	1
<i>Residence area</i>					
Urban	1,442	0.558	0.496	0	1





We use four dependent variables in this report: *Dropout*, *Employed*, *Educational Attainment*, and *Employment Outcome*. The statistics for the first dependent variable “*Dropout*” show that 39.7 per cent of the youth in the sample are school dropouts. The statistics for the second dependent variable “*Employed*” indicate that 34.1 per cent of the youth in the sample are employed. As for the third dependent variable, “*Educational Attainment*,” the average educational attainment category is 3.47 (on a discrete scale of 1 to 5), where one indicates the lowest educational attainment and five indicates the highest. Looking closer into the details of this variable, we can observe the following percentages regarding respondents’ answers: 7.42 percent fall into the first category (the lowest educational attainment); 13.44 percent fall into the second category; 26.53 percent fall into the third category; 29.49 per cent fall into the fourth category; and 23.12 percent fall into the fifth category. Furthermore, the fourth dependent variable “*Employment Outcome*” indicates that the average employment outcome category is 3.12 (on a discrete scale of 1 to 5), where one indicates the lowest employment outcome and five indicates the highest. Looking closely at the details in this variable, we can observe the following percentages regarding respondents’ answers: 13.92 percent fall into the first category; 24.23 percent fall into the second category; 15.01 percent fall into the third category; 29.29 percent fall into the fourth category; and 17.54 percent fall into the fifth category (the highest educational attainment).

Moving into the explanatory variables, youth characteristics show that 45.6 percent of the youth in the sample are nationals and the average sample age is 22 years. Around 50 percent are males and 79.8 percent of our respondents are single. As for education characteristics, 49.8 percent of respondents completed secondary education; 42.2 percent completed post-secondary education; and 5.2 percent completed vocational training, while the remaining 12 percent completed primary education or have no education.

In addition, summary statistics for household characteristics indicate that 42 percent of respondents’ fathers completed secondary education and 27.9 percent completed post-secondary education, while the remaining 30.1 percent of respondents’ fathers completed primary education or have no education. Furthermore, 43.4 percent of respondents’ mothers completed secondary education and 21.4 percent completed post-secondary education, while the remaining 35.2 percent of respondents’ mothers completed primary education or have no education. The average number of people per room for the sample is 1.351 with a maximum of 7 and a minimum of 0.125. This range reveals the huge gap in living standards within the sample. Finally, 83.9 percent of respondents live in a private apartment/house, and 55.8 percent reside in urban areas.

## Empirical Model

To examine the determinants of school dropout, employability, education attainment, and employment outcome among youth in displacement settings, different empirical specifications of the below regressions were run, using a probit model<sup>5</sup> first for school dropout and employability (equations 1 and 2), and second an ordered probit model<sup>6</sup> for educational attainment and employment outcome (equations 3 and 4). The models are specified below:

$$Pr(D_i=1) = \Phi(\beta_0 + \beta_1 Y_i + \beta_2 H_i + \beta_3 R_i + u_i) \quad (1)$$

$$Pr(E_i=1) = \Phi(\beta_0 + \beta_1 Y_i + \beta_2 ED_i + \beta_3 H_i + \beta_4 R_i + u_i) \quad (2)$$

$$Pr(EDO_i = 1,2,3,4,5) = \Phi(\beta_0 + \beta_1 Y_i + \beta_2 H_i + \beta_3 R_i + u_i) \quad (3)$$

$$Pr(EMO_i = 1,2,3,4,5) = \Phi(\beta_0 + \beta_1 Y_i + \beta_2 ED_i + \beta_3 H_i + \beta_4 R_i + u_i) \quad (4)$$

where  $D_i$  is a binary dependent variable that equals one if the youth respondent is found to be a dropout and zero otherwise.  $E_i$  is also a binary dependent variable that equals one if the youth respondent indicates being employed and zero otherwise.  $EDO_i$  and  $EMO_i$  are categorical dependent variables based on the educational attainment index and employment outcome index, respectively.  $Y_i$  is a vector of variables representing youth characteristics,  $ED_i$  is the vector of variables representing educational characteristics,  $H_i$  is the vector of variables representing household characteristics, and  $R_i$  is a binary explanatory variable that equals one if the youth respondent resides in an urban area and zero otherwise.  $\Phi$  depicts the cumulative standard normal distribution function. Finally,  $\beta_0$ ,  $\beta_1$ ,  $\beta_2$ ,  $\beta_3$ , and  $\beta_4$  are vectors of individual parameters to be estimated, and  $u_i$  is the error terms to be normally distributed.

<sup>5</sup> Probit model is a type of regression where the dependent variable can take only two values (Greene and Hensher, 2010).

<sup>6</sup> Ordered probit is a type of regression where the dependent variable is a categorical ordered variable i.e. can take more than two outcomes (Greene and Hensher, 2010).



Variables representing youth characteristics, household characteristics, and area of residence are included in all of the regressions. However, variables representing educational characteristics are dropped from models one and three to control for a potential endogeneity<sup>7</sup> problem. Furthermore, all models are first estimated using the full sample of Lebanon and Jordan, then using each sample from Lebanon and Jordan individually to investigate whether restricting the data by country would yield different results. Finally, because the probit is derived from the standard normal distribution<sup>8</sup> (a nonlinear function), calculus is applied in order to obtain the effect of the independent variable on the probability of observing the outcome. These influences are known as marginal effects and are present in all the tables. Please refer to the appendices for the regression results tables.

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<sup>7</sup> Endogeneity occurs when an independent variable and an explanatory variable simultaneously cause each other and a causal effect run reciprocally (Wooldridge, 2002).  
<sup>8</sup> The Standard Normal distribution, also known as the Z distribution, is one form of the Normal distribution in which the mean is equal to zero and the variance is equal to 1 (Turner, 2013).







# 03

## Youth Education

This chapter examines education of youth in Lebanon and Jordan. The prime question it sets to answer is how the legal status shapes youth's schooling attainment in Lebanon and Jordan. To understand the context of the data, we will provide background information on the educational system and schooling provisions in both countries. The first section provides an overall background and context around the education of youth in Lebanon and Jordan. The findings of the survey are presented in Section Two.

## • • • • AN OVERVIEW OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN LEBANON AND JORDAN

### Lebanese Educational System

The Lebanese educational system is marked by a major divide between the public and the private sectors. The distribution of Lebanese students across educational sectors for the years 2018-2019 (CRDP 2020) indicates a substantial difference between the percentage of Lebanese students enrolled in unsubsidized private schools, 56 per cent, and those enrolled in public schools, only 30 per cent. On the other hand, the subsidized private sector, essentially composed of “sectarian-based philanthropic organisations offering tuition at reduced fees to the needy” (Vlaardingerbroek, & Shehab, 2012, p. 381) comprises around 14 per cent of Lebanese students. The latest economic crisis has, more than ever, pushed Lebanese children to enroll in public schools.

The education system in Lebanon comprises four general levels: Kindergarten (pre-school), Elementary, Intermediate, and Secondary. There are two main official exams that students sit for in grade 9 (Brevet) and in grade 12 (baccalaureate). Once students are done with intermediate school (grade 9), students may leave the academic route and enroll in one or two years of vocational training. They can also continue their vocational training up to a level equivalent to the baccalaureate and then pursue a university degree. Although Lebanon has a universal enrollment rate, these figures drop continuously over time. The country's average completion rate for the elementary cycles is 75 per cent. The lowest completion rates at the elementary level are observed in the north where under 67 per cent of children drop out before finishing their elementary education (CAS, UNICEF, 2009). The transition into the intermediate/middle school cycle registers a considerable drop in the net enrollment rate to 68.5 per cent and it drops even further to 42 per cent at the secondary level. Dropout from school is preceded by high repetition rates.





**Table 7. Retention Rates Amongst Students in Schools (2015-2016)**

Cycles	More than 1 year and less than 2 years of repetition	More than 2 years of repetition
Pre-elementary years (KG)	3.56%	0.94%
Elementary Years: Cycles 1 & 2	12.33%	9.31%
Middle/Intermediate School: Cycle 3	16.32%	12.90%
Secondary School	16.16%	11.10%

Source: CRDP (2018)

Repetition rates reach their peak in intermediate grades, which might explain why enrollment rates decrease too. However, there is a paucity of research on the dropout causes amongst children in Lebanon. The lack of a tracking system for students in Lebanon also makes it difficult to know how many of these children actually drop out from school and whether they switch over to vocational schools. Twenty-six per cent of students enrolled in secondary education in Lebanon opt for the Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) route. The weak relevance of TVET training to the needs of the labour market fails to present this route as an alternative to the academic one. In addition, this route does not present itself as key to productive labour market outcomes. Moreover, TVET is generally associated with academic failure, low wages, undesirable working conditions, and lack of career prospects. The vast majority of students who are enrolled in TVET are mainly concentrated in the poorer areas in Lebanon; the Bekaa and North Lebanon have a national completion rate of 71.3 per cent to 91.1 per cent and 41.9 per cent to 54.4 per cent, respectively (Chaaban & Khoury, 2015). Refugees, on the other hand, were only offered short-term training courses (three month) in any specialization, although only three occupations are open to them – agriculture, construction, and environmental services. More recently, MEHE began to enroll Syrian refugee children in TVET and currently there are 2163 non-Lebanese students are enrolled in TVET (PMU, 2019).

According to UNESCO statistics, 18 per cent of the population in Lebanon over the age of 25 have a higher education degree (European Commission, 2011). There are around 49 universities in Lebanon; only one of them is a public university, the Lebanese University. Enrollment in private universities continues to supersede that of the public university (125,000 in the former compared to 75,000 in the latter) (Ghanem, 2018). The majority of enrolled students are registered in humanities and social sciences. During the academic year 2009-2010, 39 per cent of students enrolled in universities chose Social Sciences, Business, and Law. The majority of students enrolled in the Lebanese University choose humanities and social sciences, while students in other private universities prefer business-oriented majors. Only 53 per cent of the Lebanese population aged 15 years and above holding university degree are employed; the remaining are either inactive or unemployed (CAS, 2012).

## Education of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon

With the influx of Syrian refugees in 2012, there were over 500,000 school-aged Syrians in need of education in Lebanon. The number of enrolled children in public schools across all grades was 200,000. Hence, the Ministry of Education and Higher Education (MEHE) needed to triple its capacity in record time, which was an impossible task. At the outbreak of the crisis, the MEHE allowed Syrian refugees to register in public schools. The MEHE introduced afternoon shifts strictly reserved for non-Lebanese students and requested funding from UN agencies to run these shifts in order to absorb a larger number of children. The following table shows the enrollment figures of Syrian refugees in Lebanese public schools based on PMU statistics (PMU, 2018, 2019).

**Table 8. Enrollment Rates Amongst Syrian Refugee Students in Lebanon**

Number of Enrolled Students	Morning shift	Afternoon shift	Total
2011-2012	30,000		
2012/2013	29,000	-	29,000
2013/2014	58,360	29,902	88,000
2014/2015	44,000	62,000 (59,000)	106,000
2015/2016	62,500	92,595	155,095
2016/2017 <sup>[1]</sup>	63,754	157,868	221,622
2017/2018 <sup>[2]</sup>	59,145	154,209	213,358

Despite the increase of school enrollment amongst Syrian refugees in Lebanon, more than 40 per cent remain out of school. Moreover, less than four per cent are enrolled in secondary education as the vast majority drop out in upper primary.

There is little connection made to the employment prospects of refugees within these plans. However, when made, the Lebanese government and the donor community refer to low-skilled labour – construction, agriculture, and janitorial – in accordance with the Ministry of Labour decisions and Lebanese labour laws. Therefore, in addition to their limited ability to attend school, refugees are also restricted to working in low-paying and precarious fields. It is less likely that Lebanese workers accept the unattractive working conditions associated with these sectors, unless these jobs require higher skills (ILO, 2016). These fields often do not require educational diplomas.





## **Education of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon**

There are 170,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon (LPDC, CAS, and PCBS 2018) who fled Palestine in 1948 and in 1967. Moreover, and following the Syrian crisis in 2011, around 29,145 Palestinian refugees from Syria (PRS) fled to Lebanon (UNRWA, 2018), down from 32,042 recorded at the end of 2016. The gradual reduction is due to either onward movement to third countries or unassisted returns to Syria.

The majority of Palestinian refugee children attend UNRWA schools. Net enrollment in elementary school (6-11 years) is 96 per cent, but this drops to 63 per cent in middle school (12-14 years) and further drops to an alarming 40 per cent in secondary school (15-17 years). A survey of child labour commissioned by UNICEF in Palestinian camps and gatherings in Lebanon found that 50 per cent of 17-year-olds, and 40 per cent of 16-year-olds had dropped out of school (UNICEF, 2010). Moreover, the pass rate in the Brevet Official exams (grade 9), in some schools is as low as 13.6 per cent according to the UNRWA results, despite the average pass rate in UNRWA schools being 43 per cent for the 2009–2010 academic year (2017).

Concerning Palestinian Refugees from Syria children (PRS), only 88 per cent of those between 6 and 12 years old enrolled in school, compared to 97 per cent of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon (PRL) of the same age bracket (UNRWA, 2018). Over half (60.2 per cent) of PRS above the age of 25 do not have a Brevet certificate, 6.6 per cent of whom never even attended school. PRS children face many challenges while trying to sit for official exams in Lebanon (Brevet and Baccalaureate), mostly due to their lack of official documentation. Female PRS are three times more likely to have never attended school compared to males (9.4 per cent to 3.2 per cent). However, when they do attend school, females are more likely to see schooling through to the end and attain their Baccalaureate degrees.

The main reasons cited behind the dropping rates of education levels at UNRWA schools include the difficult socio-economic and living conditions in the camp, lack of work opportunities due to the work restrictions enforced on Palestinians, crowded classrooms, and the practice of automatic promotion from class to class without any assessment of learning outcomes (UNICEF 2013).

## **Refugees in Higher Education in Lebanon**

As for refugee enrollment in higher education, according to MEHE, the number of Syrian youths enrolled in Lebanese universities reached up to 7,072 in 2016 (El-Ghali et al., 2017). Prior to the Syrian crisis, the total participation of Syrians aged 18-24 in tertiary education reached over 20 per cent, yet rates dropped to less than five per cent in 2016 (EU Regional Trust Fund in Response to the Syrian Crisis, 2016). Around 17 per cent of Syrian refugee students aged 18-24, who are qualified for tertiary education, were enrolled in universities in the region.

**Table 9. Number of Syrian Students in Comparison to Lebanese in All Universities**

Private Universities			Public University			Total		
Lebanese	Syrian	Total	Lebanese	Syrian	Total	Lebanese	Syrian	Total
-	-	-	-	-	70,164	99,550	5,549	187,209
102,894	5,059	120,530	65,230	2,013	69,994	168,124	7,072	190,524
124,011	4,370	142,204	68,778	1,490	72,518	192,789	5,860	214,722

Source: MEHE, 2016, cited in El-Ghali et al., 2017

An analysis of Palestinian youth's situation conducted in 2015 revealed that 11.9 per cent are baccalaureate holders and 6.2 per cent hold university degrees (Chaaban et al., 2015). As for PRS, the study reveals that while university attendance is lower for PRS compared to PRL, in the 19 to 24-year-old student bracket, 9.6 per cent of PRS attend the Lebanese University compared to 15.9 per cent of PRL students. Also, 15.3 per cent of PRS students compared to 37.9 per cent of PRL students attend other (private) universities.

## Jordanian Educational System

The Jordanian educational system offers formal as well as informal and non-formal education provisions. Formal education in Jordan refers to certified education services and are mainly provided by the Ministry of Education (MoE) and the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research (MoHE). Other ministries in Jordan also lead on education services such as the Ministry of Social Development (MoSD) being responsible for nurseries and KG1, the Ministry of Labour (MoL) providing vocational training, and the Directorate of Education and Military Culture (DEMC) within the Ministry of Defense, which manages Military Culture schools in remote areas. All schools in the country fall under the mandate of the MoE: public schools, private schools, United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) schools, in addition to the Military Culture schools.

The formal education system starts with early childhood education of one to two years of kindergarten, followed by a compulsory ten years of basic/primary education (grades 1-10). This is followed by either two years of secondary academic or vocational education (grades 11 and 12). Alternatively, students may pursue vocational training under the umbrella of the MoL, which offers training and certification from as short a period of three months up to two years long, mainly through the Vocational Training Corporation (VTC) and the National Employment and Training Company (NET) (UNESCO and UNEVOC, 2019). These two streams, academic and vocational, continue through to higher education where students can choose to pursue either an intermediate diploma or a bachelor's degree.



All students in grade 12 in secondary academic and vocational streams have to undertake an official exam known as the *Tawjihi*, which leads to a formal certification (Jordan Ministry of Education, 2020). If the students pass the examination with a minimum grade point average (GPA), they can continue further education, choosing either an Intermediate Diploma at a community college or a bachelor's degree at a university, all under the umbrella of the MoHE. After finishing the Intermediate Diploma, students that pass the comprehensive examination (*Shamel*) can bridge to a bachelor's degree. If the student does not pass the *Tawjihi*, they can still develop their skills through TVET with options from short courses to Technical Diplomas. A main issue facing TVET at the different levels is the negative perception among students and the society at large since many go down that route if their GPA does not enable them to continue on the academic track. Refer to Table 10 below for further information on the routes within the formal education system.

In addition to formal education, the MoE has six accredited programmes within Non-Formal Education (NFE), focused on supporting children and adults who have dropped out of school for a number of different reasons but wish to continue their education (Jordan Ministry of Education, 2018). The Adult Literacy Programme is a programme for those who are illiterate and over 15 years old, who graduate and receive certification equivalent to either grade 4 or grade 6. The Home Studies Programme enables those who have to continue their studies from home to sit in for the end of term exams in schools.

Jordan was historically boasting an above average enrollment rate (for upper middle income countries) for Jordanian students, and had reached gender parity in access to education in 1979 (National Committee for Human Resources Development, 2016). As per the Department of Statistics (2018a, 2018b), in the academic year 2017/2018 there were 1,722,680 students of all nationalities in basic education, and 201,126 in academic and vocational secondary education, with the majority of them (73.9 per cent) in public schools. Furthermore, 755,520 (36.82 per cent) of the total enrolled children are in the governorate of Amman, which comprises the geographical scope of this research (Jordan Department of Statistics, 2018a).

The Global Education Monitoring Report with data from 2016 and 2017 shows transition within basic education in Jordan (from primary to lower secondary i.e. grades 4-9) at 99 per cent (UNESCO, 2018). On the other hand, it also identifies 28 per cent of children as out-of-school in lower secondary education and a 50 per cent out of school in upper secondary education (grades 11 and 12). This data identifies 400,000 out-of-school children between the grades of 4-12 but does not disaggregate the information to show nationality or gender. Children most at risk of being out of school are refugee children, children from poor socio-economic backgrounds, child labourers, and children with disabilities, with some that share two or more of these vulnerabilities (UNICEF, 2014, 2020). Furthermore, three per cent of students in lower secondary are at least two years over age for their current grade (UNESCO, 2018).

## Higher Education and TVET in Jordan

Currently, Jordan has 79 institutions that provide TVET and HE opportunities, covering public, private, and regional community colleges and universities (Jordan Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, 2020). The public HE institutions have a number of admissions processes and requirements where only students with Jordanian IDs can sign up through centralized, competitive, unified admissions criteria based on their *Tawjihi* GPA. The competitive stream is considered to be the least costly and within it also lie a number of “exception seats” that are scholarships covered by the royal courts for a number of groups such as outstanding students, sons and daughters of public servants, as well as students from marginalized communities and Palestinian refugee camps. In addition, there are scholarships for Palestinians that do not hold a Jordanian ID provided by the Palestinian embassy (Massadeh, 2012). Jordanians who do not get the required GPAs for the competitive stream, sons/daughters of Jordanian mothers, as well as ex-Gazans can join through a parallel, more expensive but less competitive admissions stream. Non-nationals (including refugees) only have access to public HE institutions through the international admissions stream. On the other hand, all students, regardless of nationality, have equal access to private education institutions, which have a wide range of fees.

Quality education in HE depend on issues such as admissions policies, which put considerable weight on the *Tawjihi* GPA, and which are also bypassed through exceptions and through access to the parallel stream, all of which do not guarantee that deserving and prepared students access HE opportunities (National Committee for Human Resources Development, 2016). Additionally, lack of rigorous scientific research, poor university learning environments, and outdated curricula and pedagogy play a major role in lowering the quality of education. Numerous reports have referenced a gap between educational output and the needs of the labour market, with universities contributing to the high unemployment rate amongst youth (Faris, 2018).

## Education of Refugees in Jordan

In 2018, there were 235,616 Syrian school-aged children in Jordan, and as per a No Lost Generation report (2019) 57 per cent of them were in formal education, seven per cent in non-formal education, leaving 36 per cent out of school, an increase from 31 per cent out of school in 2017. The out of school increase is explained as being due to a decrease in non-formal education services. The data shows the education gap between Syrian refugee access to education and Jordanian access to be mainly at the secondary and post-secondary levels.

The MoE (2018) data shows that Syrians have significantly lower gross enrollment ration (GER) than Jordanians across all levels – ECED, basic education, and secondary education.





**Table 10. Gross Enrollment Rates Amongst Syrian Refugees in Jordan**

	GER of Syrian Students 2015/2016 as per MoE Emis Data	GER of Syrian Students 2019/2020 as per ESWG Data
KG2	8.8%	23%
Basic Education	36.7%	68%
Secondary Education	13.5%	25%

Similar to Lebanon, it is difficult to track the number of students who leave the academic route in pursuit of vocational training. Yet within secondary education, only four per cent of students enrolled in vocational streams (National Committee for Human Resources Development, 2016). Females make up 49.47 per cent of the students, but when broken down to basic education and secondary education, the percentage is 49.06 per cent and 53.36 per cent, respectively, showing a larger number of females continuing into secondary education than males (Jordan Department of Statistics, 2018b).

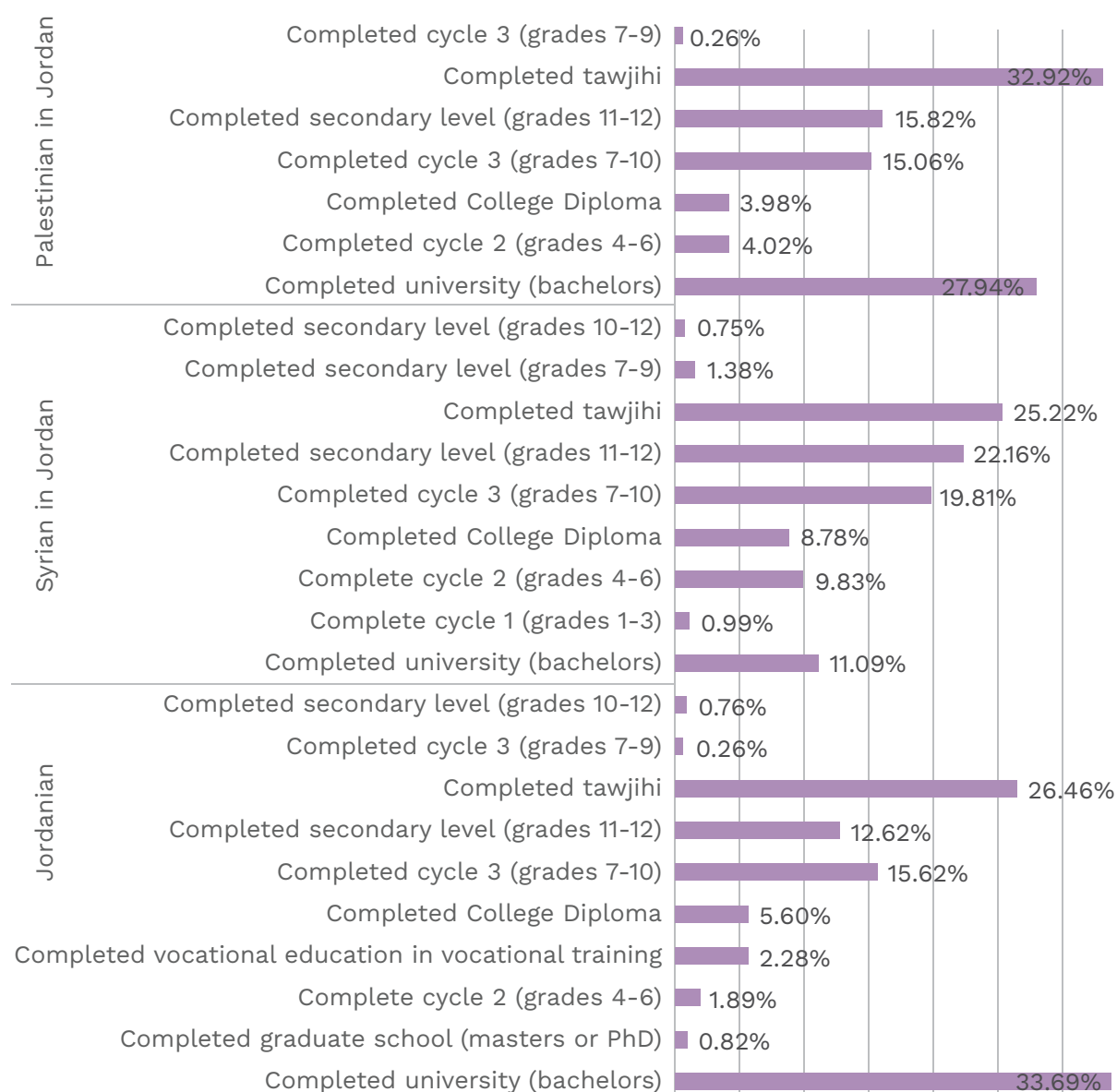
In addition to the public and private sectors in Jordan, UNRWA provided basic education to 121,000 students and TVET opportunities to 2,800 others in 2019 (UNRWA, 2020). The breakdown of how many of these are Palestinians, without a Jordanian national number (as relevant to this study) is not clear. Out of that 121,000 in basic education, 1,353 were Palestinian refugees from Syria and Syrian refugee students (UNRWA, 2019). UNRWA has 169 schools in Jordan with 88 per cent operating double shifts; they are working on gradually eliminating unsuitable rented schools as well as improving school infrastructure to enhance inclusivity as per their inclusive education policy (UNRWA, 2020). In 2018, 11 schools were rehabilitated for accessibility (UNRWA, 2018). The net enrollment rates in grades 7-12 for Palestinians in Jordan has been stable at 80 per cent since 1999/2000 (UNICEF and NCFA, 2007). However, overall in the 2004-2005 scholastic year, for children aged 16-17 years, the rate of enrollment was as low as 75.2 per cent. Higher dropout rates in older students could be due to their being lured into the labour market, among other reasons. It is important to note that one study found that 40 per cent of adult males between the ages of 18 and 30 living in camps did not complete their basic education – indicating more boys drop out than girls.

Concerning Syrian refugees in higher education (HE), although they have access, enrollment rates stand at five per cent (No Lost Generation, 2019). This is relatively higher than the access to HE for refugees globally (one per cent), yet it is still drastically lower than the gross enrollment ratio in Jordan at 34.4 per cent (UNESCO, 2018). Support for refugees to access HE is generally not given the same attention as to basic and secondary education. As per UNESCO (2018), 71.6 per cent of the development aid given to Jordan in 2016 for education went towards basic/primary education (265 out of 370 million USD) reflecting – or perhaps being the reason behind – the lack of focus on secondary and post-secondary education where dropout rates usually increase.

## Survey Findings: Youth Educational Attainment in Lebanon and Jordan

Following the provided background on the educational system in both countries for nationals and refugees, this section presents the results of the survey. More specifically, it examines youth educational attainment and the role of legal, social, and economic factors in shaping school attainment. The results reveal that youth in Jordan (22 to 29 years old), whether nationals or refugees, progress further in education compared to their peers in Lebanon. Refugees in Jordan also tend to reach further in education compared to refugees in Lebanon. More specifically, 82 per cent of Syrian refugees in Lebanon did not finish university compared to 73 per cent of Syrian refugees in Jordan. As for Palestinians in Lebanon, 75 per cent have not completed their university education compared to 50 per cent in Jordan.

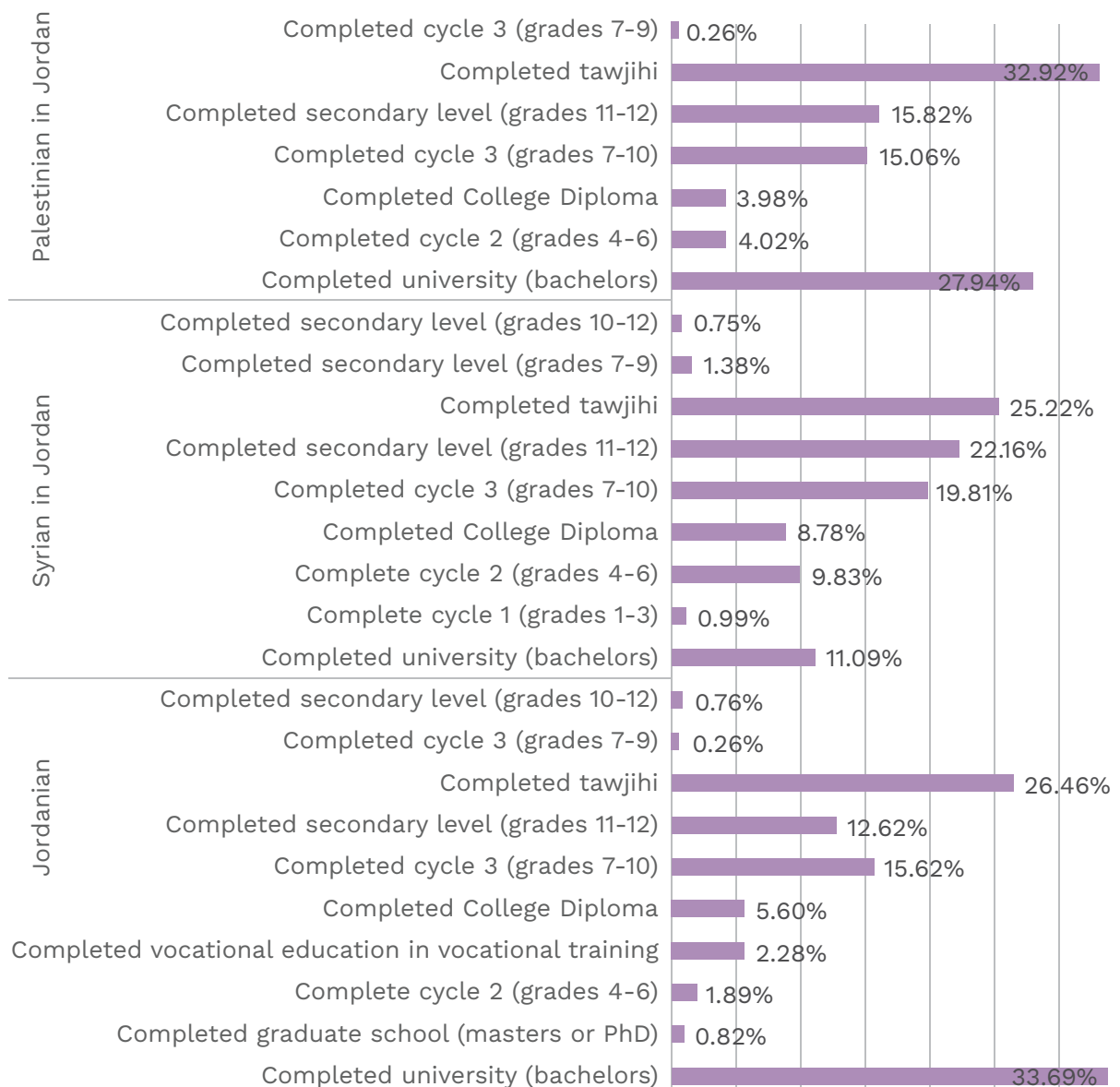
**Figure 3. Educational Attainment by Status in Jordan**







**Figure 4. Educational Attainment by Status in Lebanon**



The above results show that nationals in the sample were able to reach a higher educational attainment compared to both types of refugees (Syrians and Palestinians). Syrians had the lowest educational attainments compared to other groups. In order to understand why certain groups of youth manage to achieve higher levels of education, we examine determinants of education attainment.

## DETERMINANTS OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

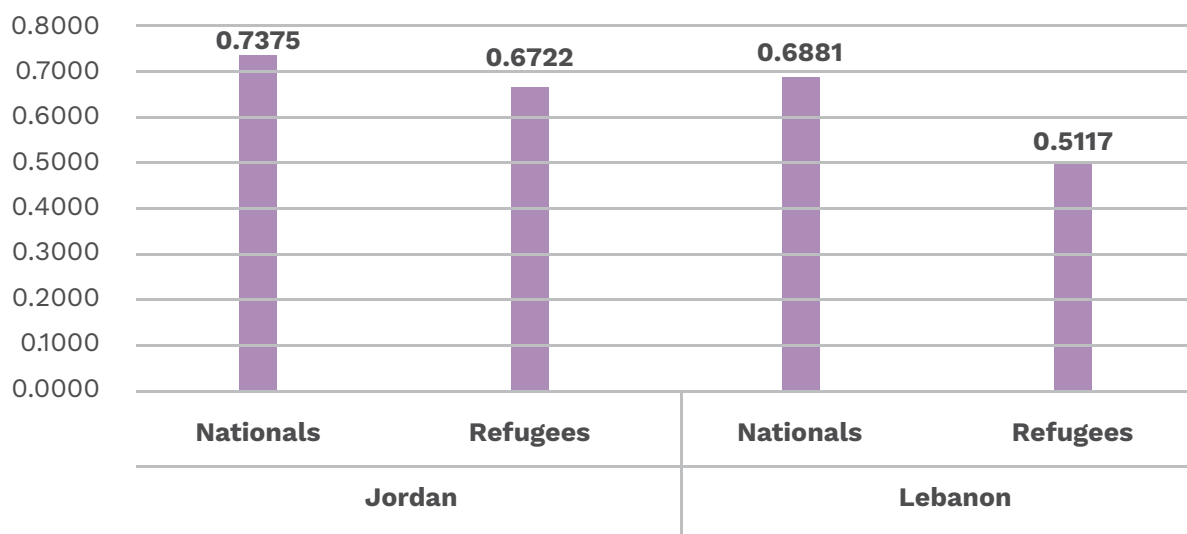
This section discusses the factors that affect educational attainment using youth characteristics, household characteristics, and area of residence. The model is run by country to compare results for Lebanon and Jordan based on Tables 1 and 2, respectively. Given that educational attainment has five categories (1 to 5), the probability of each category is assigned its own marginal effect. Therefore, to clearly present the results, each sample is presented in a separate table in Appendix 2, Tables A1 and A2. The model revealed youth education attainment was related to individual characteristics (legal status, gender, marital status), household, and finally region, although the latter was statistically less significant. Below each determinant is examined.

### Youth Characteristics: a Determinant of Educational Attainment

**Legal status** is an important determinant of educational attainment in Lebanon, where nationals are almost 20 per cent more likely to have a higher educational attainment compared to refugees. However, in Jordan while nationals fared better than refugees, legal status was not found to be a significant determinant of educational attainment.

When comparing the average educational attainment index by legal status, refugees scored significantly lower on their average educational attainment index than nationals in both Lebanon and Jordan. However, after controlling for other individual and household factors in our regression model, legal status was only a significant determinant of youth educational attainment in the case of Lebanon.

**Figure 5. Educational Attainment by Legal Status**





These results could be due to refugees having limited access to education and to the quality of the schooling for refugees which might result in class repetition which often leads to dropping out. Finally, other factors such as interest and ability to invest in education for refugees, especially in the light of job restrictions, could be amongst the factors that can explain the above results.

**Gender** is a significant determinant of educational attainment in Lebanon (at five per cent statistical significance level), where males had lower educational attainment compared to females. This could be partly due to the greater pressure on boys to work and support with school income, while girls are not encouraged to work as much. Often they have a pressure to get married. In Jordan, however, results indicate that gender is not a significant determinant of educational attainment. These results are supported by previous studies that show Syrian male refugees in Lebanon are under higher pressure to work to support their families compared to females (Assaad and Krafft, 2020, Salehi-Isfahani, Hassine, and Ragui, 2014). Moreover, analysis of the impact of household characteristics (presented in the following section) also shows that the type of dwelling, which is often an indicator of the socio-economic condition of the family, was also a determinate factor in refugee educational attainment compared to nationals.

## Household Characteristics

Our research results indicate that the number of people per room and area of residence does not have a significant effect on educational attainment in both countries. On the other hand, type of dwelling is only found to be significant in Lebanon. For instance, individuals living in a private apartment/private house are more likely to have higher educational attainment levels at one per cent statistical significance level compared to individuals living in a shared apartment/student housing (column 1a, Appendix 2).

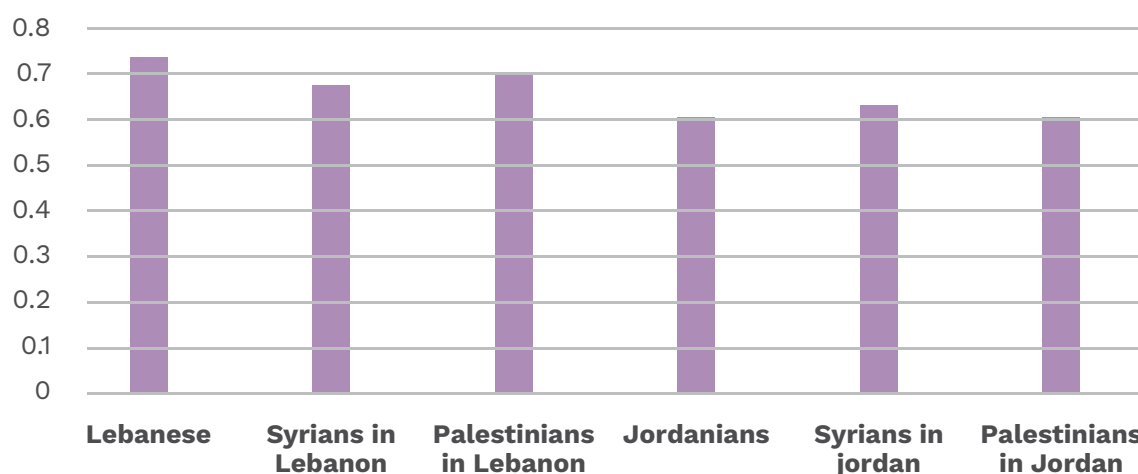
The regression representing Lebanon indicates that individuals with fathers who have secondary education degrees are more likely to have a high educational attainment, compared to fathers with primary education/no education (reference groups) at five per cent statistical significance level based on column 1a. However, results for Jordan indicate that fathers with secondary education degrees have no significant effect on youth's educational attainment compared to fathers with primary education/no education (Appendix 2, column 2a). Furthermore, results for Lebanon indicate that individuals with fathers having post-secondary education degrees are more likely to have a high educational attainment compared to fathers with primary education/no education, at one per cent statistical significance (based on column 1a). On the other hand, Jordan's results indicate that fathers with post-secondary education degrees have no significant effect on youth's educational attainment compared to fathers with primary education/no education (Appendix 2).

**Mothers' education** seems to be of greater importance compared to fathers' education in affecting youth educational attainment in both countries. Results indicate that the higher the mother's educational attainment (secondary/post-secondary), the more likely a young person will have better educational attainment (at one per cent statistical significance). These findings are in line with other studies (Salehi-Isfahani, Hassine, and Ragui, 2014)

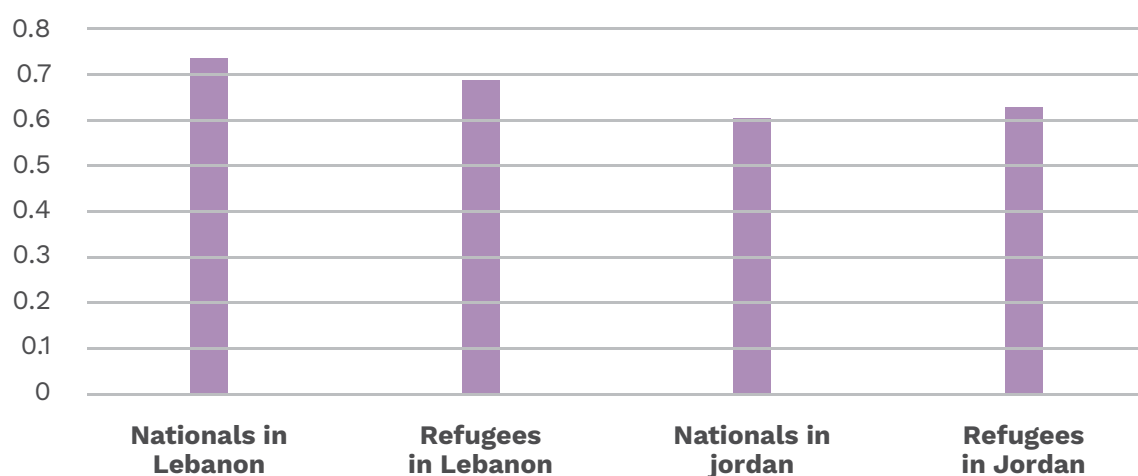
## Youth Perception of the Importance of Education

While the study shows that youth in Lebanon, whether nationals or refugees, have lower educational attainment compared to youth in Jordan, the figure below shows that young people in Lebanon, regardless of status, value education more than youth in Jordan.

**Figure 6. Youth Perception of Importance of Education by Legal Status**



**Figure 7. Refugees vs Nationals Perception of Importance of Education in Lebanon and Jordan**



Hence, youth decisions to stop pursuing education in Lebanon is not related to their not valuing education, but it is rather affected by restricted access due to their legal status and socio-economic background. In contrast, in Jordan other factors could play a stronger role in youth realizing their aspirations



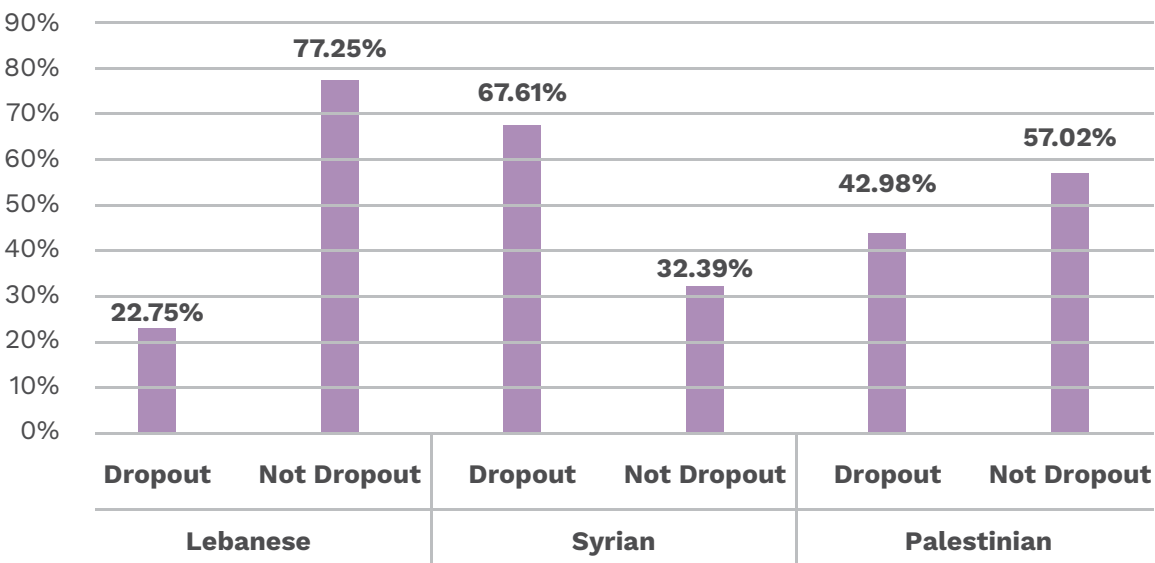
such as the positive discrimination and quota system which favors Jordanians of non-Palestinian origins. This has major implications on the education programming for refugee children in Lebanon and Jordan. Providing mere access to education is not sufficient for yielding better schooling attainment.

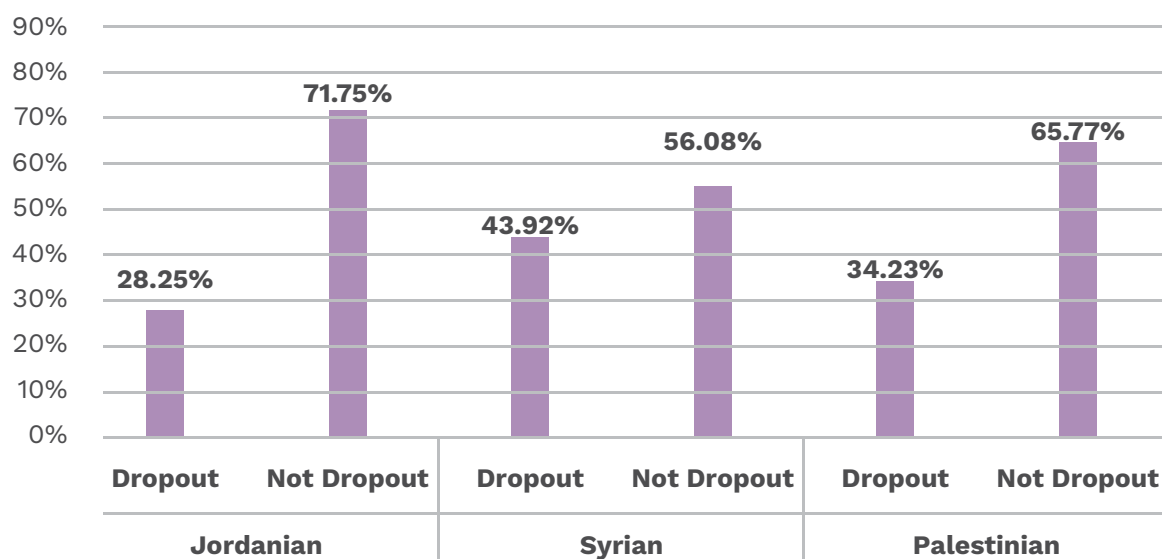
## Determinants of School Qualifications to Access the Job Market

As presented earlier in the background section, both Lebanon and Jordan have almost universal enrollment rates, especially amongst nationals in the elementary stage. Enrollment rates amongst refugees are much lower compared to nationals. Dropping out of school presents a greater challenge to all children; the majority, especially refugees, drop out before completing their intermediate education. In this section, we discuss the factors that affect youth’s ability to leave school with a qualification that allows them to work using their BT, TS, BA, etc. focusing on youth characteristics, household characteristics, and area of residence (Appendix 3, Table A3).

Legal status is an important determinant of education qualification in Lebanon and Jordan. However, the effect of legal status on attainment of an educational qualification seems to be greater in Lebanon where nationals are 26 per cent less likely to drop out compared to refugees (at a one per cent statistical significance level). In the case of Jordan, nationals are only eight per cent less likely to drop out compared to refugees (at a five per cent statistical significance level). This could partly explain the lower educational attainment reported earlier amongst refugees in Lebanon compared to Jordan.

Figure 8. Dropout Rates According to Legal Status in Lebanon



**Figure 9. Dropout Rates by Legal Status in Jordan**

When examining the age of surveyed youth who dropped out of school, gender was found to be a significant determinant of the dropout rate in Lebanon only, where males in Lebanon are almost nine per cent more likely to drop out compared to females (at 10 per cent statistical significance level). This could be partly due to the pressure on males to support with the house income. Again this supports the earlier findings where males also had a lower educational attainment level compared to females. Marital status is also a significant determinant of dropout in Lebanon only, where young single individuals in Lebanon are nine per cent less likely to drop out compared to married/divorced young individuals (at one per cent statistical significance level).

Another dropout determinant is the socio-economic conditions of the family. Results indicate that the type of dwelling is only found to be significant in Lebanon, based on column 3a. For instance, an individual living in a private apartment/house in Lebanon is 16.8 per cent less likely to be a dropout at a one per cent statistical significance level compared to an individual living in a shared/student housing, based on column 3b.

The survey also revealed that parents' education plays an important role in explaining the probability of dropping out among youth in Lebanon and Jordan which is aligned with other research (Salehi-Isfahani, Hassine, and Ragui, 2014). Results for fathers' and mothers' education are almost the same in terms of signs and statistical significance level between the two countries, except for a father's secondary education which was only found to be significant in Lebanon.

Mothers' education seems to be of greater importance compared to fathers' education over all educational levels in both countries. For instance, having a mother with post-secondary education reduces an individual's dropout probability by 40 per cent in Lebanon and 32 per cent in Jordan compared to having a mother with primary education/no education (at a one per cent





statistical significance level). On the other hand, having a father with post-secondary education would have a lower effect on the probability of dropping out by 27.7 per cent in Lebanon and 24.2 per cent in Jordan compared to having a father with primary education/no education at one per cent statistical significance level, based on columns 3b and 3d.

There are limited studies investigating the causes of dropping out of school in Lebanon and Jordan. In Lebanon, studies reveal that the poor quality of teaching and learning exacerbated by the foreign language policy of the country in addition to the socio-economic factors all lead students to drop out in the intermediate phase before completing grade 9. Moreover, the lack of job opportunities for refugee children weakens their motivation to continue their education (UNICEF, 2013). For both nationals and refugees, but in particular refugees, the cost of pursuing a higher education with the risk of not finding a job afterwards due to legal restrictions pushes many of them to give up education and join the labour market at a very young age (Shuayb et al., 2016). The effects of the education policies and practices on employment in both countries will be examined in the following chapter.

In conclusion, our survey shows that youth education attainments are affected by their legal status. Refugees in both Lebanon and Jordan are likely to have lower educational attainments compared to refugees. Males in particular have lower educational attainments as they are forced to join the job market due to the financial hardship of their families. Our study also reveals that refugees are forced out of education not because they do not value education but due to poverty and the employment restrictions imposed on them. The findings emphasise the need to approach education not as an independent sector but in relation to other sectors such as employment. The long-term objective of education cannot remain unexamined. Humanitarian education needs to address the bigger purpose of education for refugees. The impact of education on employment is explored in the following section.



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# 04

## Youth Employment

During the last twenty years, the Middle East experienced an increasing supply of young jobseekers unable to find employment. As a result of the global and regional economic recession, the markets have been slowing down, often reducing the number of new positions or simply cancelling them. Numbers vary, but in both countries, youth unemployment rates are high with Jordan at 35 to 40 per cent (Chappelle, 2019) and Lebanon at around 18 per cent (Statista, 2020, World Bank, 2020) before the pandemic and at the time of our survey interviews.

There is a general understanding in the literature of a discrepancy between education and market-needs in both countries – a situation that creates an abundance of university degree holders on the one hand and unskilled or students who dropped out of their educational path on the other, with both groups failing to integrate into the labour market. As a result, youth are often excluded from productive society – a situation that is currently aggravated by a shrinking economy in both Jordan and Lebanon. Varying access to the labour market for different groups of youth, based on legal status, gender, and social class further complicates the challenges in the economy and job market as we return to below.

With more limiting options in both the formal and informal job markets for all groups, the survey presented in this chapter sought to collect information about employment status, including income and benefits, and to understand the role of education, skills, and educational degrees in securing work. Before the data presentation, the following shows the domestic legislative systems and employment contexts in Jordan and Lebanon.

## AN OVERVIEW OF EMPLOYMENT POLICIES IN JORDAN AND LEBANON

### Labour Legislation in Jordan

Labour rights in Jordan were embedded in its constitutional law in 1952 to ensure equal opportunities and rights such as equitable working conditions (ILO, 2015). Several amendments have since been made to the law following the ratifications of international conventions to constitute the legal framework of the Labour Law of 1996 No.8 (amended by Law No. 14 in 2019), the primary piece of legislation governing the employment relationship (Tamkeen, 2020).

Jordan is committed to international covenants and conventions such as The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and The Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. The latter recognizes the right of everyone to enjoy just and favorable conditions of work for all workers, which provides them with decent living conditions, safe and healthy work conditions, and fair remuneration. Moreover, as a member of the ILO, Jordan is bound by the declaration of its principles.





The majority of Palestinian-origin Jordanians have the Jordanian nationality and consequently have access to employment opportunities as citizens. Those who do not hold the Jordanian nationality, but hold provisional Jordanian Travel Documents, such as Ex-Gaza refugees and West Bank Palestinians, have limited rights to higher education and to employment. Until 2016, Palestinians with provisional travel documents had been able to work in the private sector, provided that they obtained security clearance from the authorities. Since 2016, Syrians in Jordan have been able to acquire work permits. The requirements for applying for and obtaining work permits are similar to those of other non-Jordanian workers in Jordan. According to a recent International Labour Organisation (ILO) study, 99 per cent of Syrian refugees work outside Jordan's labour regulations and in the informal economy (ILO, 2015).

As the Syrian refugee crisis become protracted, the Jordan Response Plan (JRP) of 2014 was formulated with an aim to integrate refugee and resilience responses into one single plan for each sector (MoPIC, 2014). The integration of Syrian refugees into the labour market became understood as a development opportunity through the provision of a number of work permits to specific sectors in the economy (MoPIC, 2019).

The year 2016 marked a major shift in employment rights for refugees in Jordan. The Jordan Compact was established after the London donor meeting in February 2016 (GoJ, 2016). Work permits were to be given to Syrians to work in sectors such as agriculture, construction, retail and hospitality where they would not compete with Jordanians. Additionally, Syrians with high degree of skills match (e.g. handicrafts, textiles) could access employment in 'Special Economic Zones' to manufacture products for export, primarily to European markets.

Following the introduction of the Jordan Compact, a new work permit was introduced for all non-Jordanians. As a result, 27 jobs were made unavailable to non-Jordanians, affecting Syrians, Palestinians, and other refugees and migrants in Jordan. The changes must be understood in the context of Jordan's attempt to shift from emergency mode to a development strategy incorporating the Syrian refugee crisis. In this context, the Ex-Gaza refugees and West Bank Palestinians had to abide by the new classification of their status, experiencing exclusion from jobs they were allowed to work before the decision.

In 2019, a new set of professions was closed to non-Jordanians, in order not to compromise Jordanian workers. As of June 2020, 190,000 work permits had been issued to Syrian refugees (Arabic RT, 2020). There was a low uptake of jobs by Syrians in the Special Economic Zones and Tiltne et al. (2019) found that the scheme was not widely known among Syrians. By October 2019, the Ministry of Labour had issued work permits for Syrians in the fields of agriculture, construction, and customer service jobs. Most professions, however, remained closed to non-Jordanians.

Syrians, like Palestinians, will continue to be subject to Jordanian labour laws and regulations – perhaps the most important of which is that the employer issue them a work permit. For Syrian refugees, the UNHCR covers the fees

for the issued work permit, which exceed 700 USD. Meanwhile the fees of the work permit for the Ex-Gaza and West Bank Palestinians, who number around 110,000 people, were waived as a result of pressure by Jordanian Parliamentarians. Finally, around 18,000 Palestinian refugees who arrived from Syria before 2013 with their Syrian travel documents and UNRWA registration have not been given the right to work (Arabic RT, 2020). Currently, there seems to be only one-third of the Syrians in Jordan who have a valid work contract (ILO, 2015).

## Employment Rates and Sectors in Jordan

The latest unemployment rate according to the Jordanian Department of Statistics (DOS) is 19 per cent (as of the fourth quarter of 2019) (Jordan Times, 2019). Male unemployment rate is 17.7 per cent and female unemployment rate is 24.1 per cent. The unemployment rate is highest among university degree holders at 22.4 per cent compared to other educational levels. 50.7 per cent of the unemployed are secondary certificate holders and higher, and 49.3 per cent have less than secondary school qualifications. The high percentage of unemployed youth is a major concern in a country where youth make up more than 60 per cent of the population. The highest rate of unemployment is for the age group 15-19 at 48 per cent, followed by 20-24 years at 39 per cent (Jordan DOS, 2019).

The service sector represents 70 per cent of employees, industry represents 29 per cent, while agriculture has a very small share of the workforce. The workforce rate is slowly decreasing in Jordan and already confronts a low employment-to-population ratio of 33 per cent in 2018. Employment is very male dominated. The rate of women's participation in the Jordanian labour market, according to the World Bank (2020), is one of the lowest rates worldwide (14 per cent women vs. 66 per cent men) and the rate amongst Syrian refugee women in Jordan is as low as seven per cent compared to 51 per cent of males. Overall, about 51 per cent of the total number of Syrian refugees in Jordan are females, of whom 15 per cent work in several professions such as sewing, confectionery, and pickling (Tiltne et al., 2019).

Public sector jobs in Jordan's rentier economy appear to be attractive mainly for social protection grounds since the public sector offers open-ended contracts, fixed working hours, social security, and health insurance. Graduates apply to the Civil Service Bureau, a government institution which receives and circulates applications for work in the public sector. The Civil Service Bureau aims to link the needs of the citizens looking for work with the needs of the state institutions.

There are several guesstimates about the percentage of workers who are part of the informal sector. The Department of Statistics estimates the informal sector to be at no more than 25 per cent of Jordan's GDP. According to the Ministry of Labour statistics released in 2013, more than 45 per cent of Jordanian workers are employed in the informal sector, 26 per cent work in





the private sector, while 17 per cent are self-employed (UNDP, 2013). Many Syrians and Palestinians, bypassing the limitations of the work permit and bureaucratic procedures, have been working in the informal sector and opt to work without labour protections (Kelberer and Sullivan, 2017). To many, albeit the absence of health insurance, social security, and on-site training, the informal sector appears to be a solution and only access to livelihood.

## Labour Legislation in Lebanon

Lebanon has signed and ratified legal treaties and conventions related to workers' rights such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and they are all enshrined in Lebanon's constitution. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights enshrines the rights to "security in the event of unemployment, the right to equal pay for equal work, the right to form and join unions, the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours, the right to work in safe and fair conditions, and the right to an adequate standard of living" (Leaders Consortium, 2019:7). Moreover, in the second article of the Code of Civil Procedure, the "Lebanese legislature accepted the principle that international conventions supersede ordinary law based on the principle of the 'hierarchy of rules'" (Leaders Consortium, 2019:6). As such—and crucially—the ICESCR and the ICCPR are part of Lebanese law and supersede it.<sup>9</sup> Additionally, Lebanon joined and became a member of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in 1948 (Leaders Consortium, 2019).

Despite international conventions, Lebanese Labour Laws exclude five distinct categories of people from its protection: domestic workers, agricultural unions, institutions where only members of the family are employed, government departments and municipal bodies, and day and temporary workers (Leaders Consortium, 2019).

For Syrians, it is their status as international workers that counts for accessing the right to work. An individual must obtain a work permit within 10 days after entering the country, if they are willing to work in Lebanon; however, over time, the Lebanese government has practiced these laws with varying force. Janmyr and Mourad (2018) show the extent of complexity the laws and policies for Syrians have been in Lebanon. However, since 2015, the presence of a valid residence permit (which costs \$200) has affected Syrians' ability to obtain a work permit. The percentage of refugees who own or renew their resident permits, both men and women, does not exceed 50 per cent across all ages. Even with a valid residence permit, Syrians, like other foreigners,

.....  
<sup>9</sup> In addition, Lebanon has ratified numerous international texts and charters, including but not limited to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which enshrines the right to equality; the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which enshrines the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and dangerous work; and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, which enshrines the right to work, equal hours of work, and the right to maternity leave, as well as equal pay for equal work.

can only access work from a restricted list of professions. With many Syrian refugees missing both identification documents and residence permits, they have restricted access to the formal labour market and are vulnerable to being arrested (particularly men).

Following a recent decree in July 2019, and contrary to the 2010 decree, non-Lebanese labourers were again required to obtain a work permit. The Ministry of Labour ordered the closure of a number of ‘informal’ shops and fined all employers who were hiring foreign workers without work permits. Working mainly in the informal sector, Palestinians and Syrians were the most affected by the decree, and many of them lost their jobs, while those who were looking for a job were denied work because employers feared they would have trouble with the Lebanese authorities. As a result, one could find advertisements seeking “Lebanese workers” on many storefronts.

After some protests over these measures, the decree was frozen, but it still had severe impacts on both Palestinians and Syrians, making them more vulnerable to harassment, punishment, poverty, and uncertainty.

## Employment Rates and Sectors in Lebanon

According to most recent data, more than 55 per cent of the Lebanese population live in poverty (ILO 2017, ESCWA, 2020). Furthermore, according to the World Bank (2012), only 29 per cent of Lebanese workers are in formal wage employment with some access to labour regulations and social security. More than 50 per cent are employed in the informal sector (World Bank, 2012). Palestinian and Syrian workers, on the other hand, who make up a large percentage of the total labour force (around 20 per cent), work almost exclusively in informal sectors (Ajluni and Kawar, 2015). There is also a gender gap in income: Women receive 75 per cent of the same salary paid to a man performing the same job and under similar working conditions (Harb, 2016). Overall, the Lebanese labour market is male-dominated, given that 67.8 per cent of all participants are male, while female activity rates stand at merely 25.6 per cent, and is hence “one of the lowest activity rates in the world” (Abou Jaoude and European Training Association, 2015). Generally, there is low gender equality in Lebanon, which ranked 145 out of 153 countries in the 2020 Global Gender Gap Report (World Economic Forum, 2019).

One of the major problems of rentier economies, such as Lebanon, is the neglect of productive sectors and lack of available jobs. Unemployment rates among university graduates were significantly higher than among secondary graduates and youth with only a primary education (ILO, 2016). The school-to-work transition of tertiary-educated youth (15-29), however, was shorter (5.9 months) than those with general secondary education (9.2 months) or youth with only primary education (20 months) (ILO, 2016). Additionally, more than half of the youth population (52.5 per cent) were mismatched for their jobs in 2014 (ILO, 2016).



The majority of youth (80.7 per cent of male youth and 91.5 per cent of female youth) are employed in the service sector, even though over one third of youth (38.4 per cent) preferred to work in the public sector. Furthermore, an estimated 37 per cent of Lebanese youth sought to emigrate in search of better employment (ILO, 2016). In addition, youth's access to jobs is substantively impacted by long-standing corruption and clientelistic practices, commonly referred to as *wasta* (Makhoul and Harrison, 2004).

Adding to the understanding of the labour market and economy in Lebanon is that a large share of the employment in Lebanon is in the informal sector. In some sectors, such as agriculture, informality is up to 90 per cent, with construction and transport up to 80 and 70 per cent respectively (GIZ, 2019).

As a final note, it is most imperative to mention the extent to which the Lebanese economy relies on low-skilled foreign workers. Foreign workers, especially migrant domestic workers (there are more than 250,000 migrant domestic workers in Lebanon) work under conditions that are all too frequently denounced by human rights organisations (Majzoub, 2020). The *kafala* (sponsorship) system has been specifically denounced as inhumane (Mazjoub, 2020).

## SURVEY FINDINGS: FACTORS AFFECTING EMPLOYABILITY AND EMPLOYMENT OUTCOMES

In order to understand employment opportunities of youth, an index for employment outcome and a variable for employability was developed. The index allows for understanding the factors affecting employment outcome and employability and unpack the employment challenges faced by youth in both Jordan and Lebanon as host countries for locals and refugees.

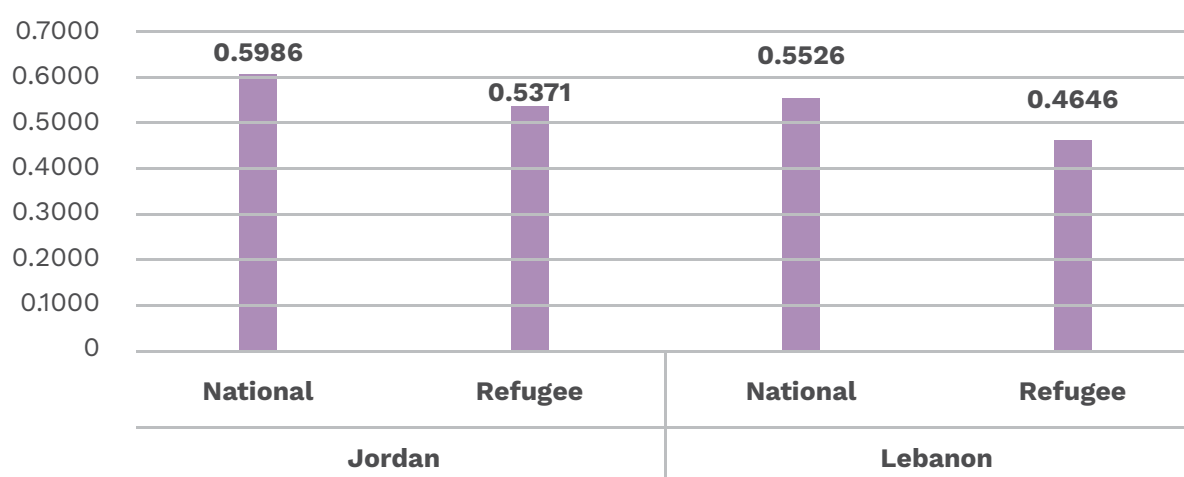
### Factors Affecting Employability

To examine the factors that affect employability using youth characteristics, education characteristics, household characteristics, and residence area, the model was run to compare results in Lebanon and Jordan (Appendix 4).

### Effect of Youth Characteristics on Employability

The results reveal that legal status is an important determinant of employability in Lebanon only. Nationals are 13 per cent less likely to be employed compared to refugees at a one per cent statistical significance level, based on column 4b in Table 4. The effect of legal status on employability is found to be insignificant in Jordan (Appendix 4, Table A4, column 4c). This finding does not indicate information about the type of employment and might have to do with the access to informal work which is a way of bypassing the need for work permits.

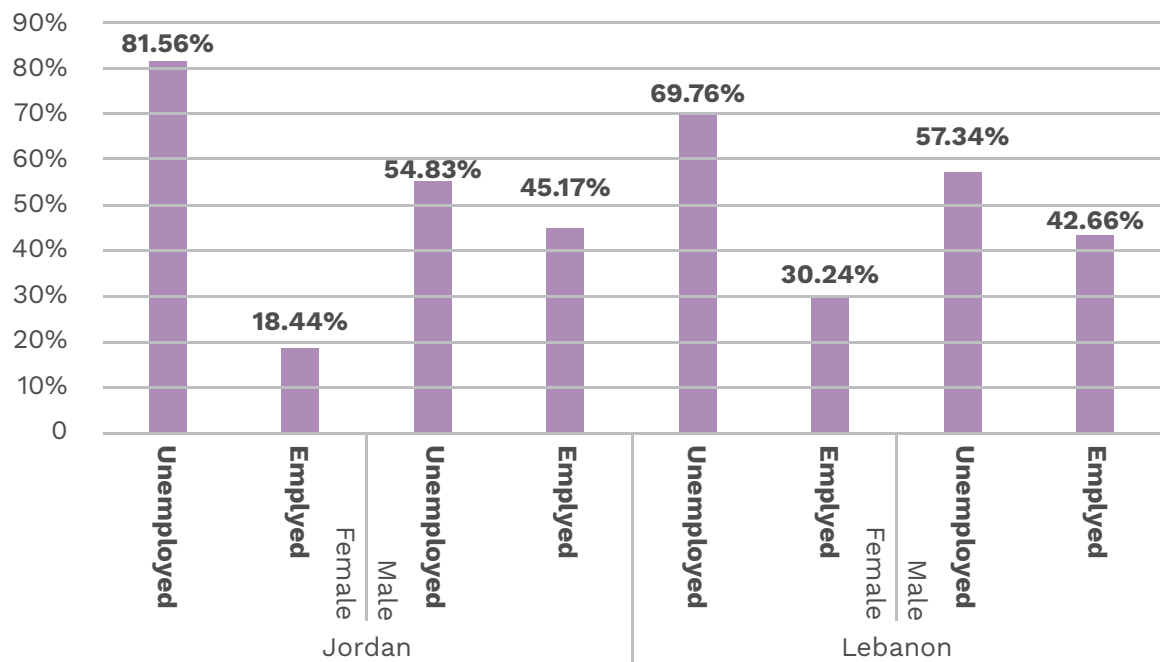
**Figure 10. Average Employment Outcome Index by Legal Status**



Gender is a significant determinant of employability in both countries. However, the effect of gender on employability is much greater in Jordan compared to Lebanon. In Jordan, males are 27 per cent more likely to be employed, while in Lebanon males are only 9 per cent more likely to be employed compared to females at a one per cent statistical significance level. This corresponds to the aforementioned discussion that indicates a greater gender gap in employment in Jordan compared to Lebanon.



Figure 11. Employment rates by Gender in Jordan and Lebanon



## Effect of Education on Employability

Education is found to be a weak determinant of employability. The results indicate that the completion of post-secondary or vocational training levels in both countries has no significant effect on the probability of being employed compared to completing primary level/no education. The probability of being employed in Lebanon and Jordan is found to be significantly lower for individuals who completed their secondary level education compared to individuals who completed their primary level education/no education (Appendix 4, column 4a). For instance, individuals in Lebanon who completed secondary level are almost 17 per cent less likely to be employed at a one per cent statistical significance level compared to individuals who completed primary level/no education (Appendix 4 based on column 5a). This is in line with previous studies that point to a disconnect between education and the job market in the Arab world in general (Kabbani 2019).

## Effect of Household Characteristics and Area of Residence on Employability

For household characteristics, results suggest that parents' education is a poor determinant of the probability of being employed among youth. Fathers' and mothers' education are found to be insignificant in both countries. While parents' education positively affected students' attainment, the mismatch between education and employment seems to be the key determinant of employment status.

As for the effect of the socio-economic factors on youth employment, the survey revealed that the type of dwelling, as an indicator for socio-economic status, is found to be significant only in Lebanon (Appendix 3, column 4a). For instance, an individual living in a private apartment/private house in Lebanon is 17 per cent more likely to be employed at a one per cent statistical significance level compared to an individual living in a shared apartment/student housing (Appendix 4, column 4b).

Finally, results indicate that individuals residing in urban areas are more likely to be employed in Lebanon and Jordan at one per cent and five per cent statistical significance level respectively (Appendix 3, columns 4a and 4c, respectively). For instance, an individual living in an urban area is almost 18 per cent more likely to be employed in Lebanon and 13 per cent more likely to be employed in Jordan compared to an individual residing in a semi-urban area (Appendix 4 based on columns 4b and 4d respectively).

## Factors Affecting Employment Outcomes

In this section, we seek to understand how youth's educational attainment shape and affect their employment trajectories. As mentioned earlier, the employment outcomes index included three factors: 1) *the net monthly earning*, 2) *the mismatch between the individual's education and job* and 3) *the person's job satisfaction level*. The factors in the model that explain the effect on youth employment outcomes include education, household characteristics, and area of residence. The model was run by country to compare results in Lebanon and Jordan (Appendix 5).

## Effect of Youth Characteristics on Employment Outcomes

The results reveal that legal status is an important determinant of employment outcomes in Lebanon and Jordan, where nationals are 11 per cent and 13 per cent respectively, more likely to have a high employment outcome (Categories 4 and 5) compared to refugees at 10 per cent and five per cent statistical significance (See Tables A5 and A6; columns 5e, 5f and 6e, 6f in Appendix 5.).

While legal status impacts employment outcomes, age is not a significant determinant of employment outcome in Lebanon. Furthermore, results indicate that gender and marital status are not significant determinants of employment outcome in Lebanon and Jordan.





## Effect of Education on Employment Outcomes

Education is found to be a weak determinant of employment outcome in Lebanon and Jordan. Our results indicate that the completion of a post-secondary or vocational training certificate has no significant effect on employment outcome compared to completing primary level/no education (our reference group) (See Tables A5 and A6, columns 5a and 6a, Appendix 5). On the other hand, the probability of having a high employment outcome is found to be significantly lower for individuals who completed secondary level in Lebanon compared to individuals who completed primary level/no education at a one per cent statistical significance level based on column 5a. However, our results reveal that secondary education is not a significant determinant of employment outcome in Jordan (See Table A6, on column 6a, Appendix 5.).

The findings are related to the general mismatch between education and employment and indicate that youth with higher educational attainment may be less satisfied with their employment either in terms of salary or job satisfaction.

## Effect of Household Characteristics and Area of Residence on Employment Outcomes

Moving to household characteristics, results suggest that parents' education is a weak determinant of employment outcome among youth. Parents with secondary education do not have any significant effect on youth employment outcome compared to parents with primary education/no education. This finding is true for both countries (Appendix 4, Tables A5 and A6, columns 5a and 6a). On the other hand, individuals with fathers having post-secondary education degrees in Lebanon and Jordan are more likely to have a high employment outcome compared to fathers with primary education/no education at 10 per cent statistical significance. Unlike fathers' post-secondary education, which is found to positively affect youth employment outcome, meaning that fathers with higher education might have more influence over the employment outcome of young people. Mothers' post-secondary education in Jordan is found to lower the likelihood of youth having a high employment outcome compared to mothers with primary education/no education at five per cent statistical significance level, based on column 6a Table 5 and 6.

Furthermore, results indicate that socio-economic status related to type of dwelling is found to be significant in Lebanon only at one per cent statistical significance level. Individuals living in a private apartment/private house are more likely to have a high employment outcome compared to individuals living in a shared apartment/student housing.

In this chapter we have seen that legal status has implications for young people's employability in both Jordan and Lebanon, but it is not making a significant difference to employment outcomes. Gender also plays a role on employability, most significantly in Jordan, but is not important for employment

outcomes. The findings show that the socio-economic status of youth plays a considerable role in determining their employment outcomes compared to education. Fathers' social capital, as well as general living conditions, appear to play an important role in improving employment outcomes, regardless of legal status. In other words, social status is an influential factor in young people's employment outcomes. From these findings we can reflect on the limited possibility of social mobility for youth with a lower social capital even if they have higher education attainment. As there are limited connections between education and employment overall, socio-economic inequalities are likely to persist despite educational attainment.







سفر حريقا  
2014  
2015

عائلي

الحلم

الحقبة  
الحات  
المسيرة  
النهضة

مرحلة البحث  
عن العقل وتحققي  
الذات

2014

مرحلة التعليم  
دور الجامعة





# 05

## Conclusion



Despite the different schools of thoughts on the aims and objectives of education, there is an overall agreement that it is a critical means of self-actualization and facilitates social and economic mobility. In the case of refugees, education offers a safe haven for children and a form of normalcy in a context that is precarious at best. During the Syrian refugee crisis, we have seen considerable efforts invested in the education of refugee children. Yet, despite these huge efforts, the vast majority of refugees continue to leave school before obtaining a certificate that qualifies them to pursue a profession. Employment restrictions imposed by governments in Lebanon and Jordan can deter Syrian refugees from investing in their education. However, this is just one of the factors that might play a role. Other factors related to the local context including the economic, social, legal, and political circumstances in both countries, and their impact on the education to employment nexus ought to be examined. This study examines how legal status shapes education to employment trajectories. To do so, it is critical to understand how nationals are also affected by the context and the different statuses youth have. The ultimate objective of this study is to understand the implications of education on employment, but most importantly are the policy implications, i.e., how education for refugees can yield positive outcomes given the context of the host country.

## SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

As part of the project, a face to face quantitative survey was administered to 1,442 young persons (aged 15 to 29 years old) with different nationalities, legal statuses, and socio-economic backgrounds in Lebanon and Jordan between August 2019 and October 2019. The study covered three areas in Lebanon – Beirut, the South, and the Bekaa – and nine districts in the governorate of Amman, Jordan. The groups are referred to as “Lebanon” and “Jordan” in the study.

The overall conclusion from the data is that legal status does have an impact on youth’s education and employment. In both countries, legal status has an impact on educational attainment and educational qualifications, but it is more significant in Lebanon than in Jordan. This shows that refugees struggle in accessing and progressing in their education in Lebanon compared to Jordan. These findings show that the current emphasis on mere access to schooling in Lebanon is not yielding better educational outcomes for refugees. As for the reasons behind this, our qualitative component of the study will further shed light on this, however the limited access to employment as well as the quality of schooling could be some of the factors impeding Syrian refugees from progressing in their schooling. Simultaneously, we find that gender and socio-economic status play a more significant role in educational outcomes in Lebanon than in Jordan. Male refugees are more likely to drop out than women potentially due to a bigger pressure on them to join the job market to provide financial support for their families.



Concerning employment, in both countries there is a clear discrepancy between education and employability as well as in the relationship between education and employment outcomes. This indicates that across all groups studied, education is not relevant to employment. In other words, there is a mismatch between the education youth receive or pursue and the type of employment they can access.

Legal status is an important determinant of employability among youth in Lebanon, but not in Jordan. Here, a significant finding is that in Lebanon, more young refugees than nationals are employed, reflecting the specific demands that young refugees might meet. Refugees in Lebanon who are out of school without completing a certificate end up providing cheap employment in different sectors. Thus, it was unsurprising that legal status is an important determinant of employment outcomes in both countries, where nationals are more likely to achieve higher employment outcomes than refugees. Another significant difference between countries is the role of gender, with a more significant role in employability in Jordan than in Lebanon. Men are much more likely to be employed than women in Jordan, which reflects the stark gender differences in the labour market in Jordan as discussed above.

Parents' education is a poor determinant of employability and employment outcome in both countries. However, a father's post-secondary education affects youth's employment outcome positively, indicating that social capital and class play a larger role in employment outcome than education in a patriarchal-dominated society. However, in the data, socio-economic status is only significant for employability and employment outcomes in Lebanon.

## .....IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

The study findings have a number of implications, which are addressed in this final section.

### **Designing Education for Refugees in an Inequitable Society:**

Provisions for providing education to refugees need to address the inherent inequalities in the educational system. By simply offering access to education for refugees in a system that already puts them in a subordinate position and reduces both their education and employment outcomes at the least, renders all this investment in education redundant. Lebanon, in particular, suffers from a huge gap between the public and private schools. This is evident in the 70 per cent of children who attend private schools despite the current economic crisis. The low confidence in the quality of schooling in the public sector and the negative outcomes it will have on children's future prospects pushes parents to endure a high price for education. Refugees experience twice the challenges that face nationals in public schools: They have to overcome the poor quality of schooling and then the discrimination they encounter in the

job market, thus minimizing their chances of harvesting positive returns from their investment in education. Adding to the challenges is the poor educational experience Syrian refugees face in the second (afternoon) shift where they are segregated and suffer a discriminatory and a subordinate status on a daily basis. It is unsurprising that many families and male students choose to join the job market at an early stage. Our data shows that they are likely to have quicker financial returns yet lower employment outcomes in the short and long run. If youth acquire a higher level of education, they are likely to suffer from worse employment opportunities and employment outcomes and are likely to be more frustrated. As for nationals, a similar fate awaits them if their fathers' networks and social capital does not support them in finding a job; hence, there are clear restrictions to social mobility in all the groups we studied.

The results from our study show that equity and social justice need to be at the core of the humanitarian education discourse: Humanitarian agencies and their apolitical stand have indirectly contributed to maintaining, if not strengthening, pre-existing inequalities in the host countries. Refugees often end up assuming a subordinate role within this unequal system and society which is evident in the segregated second shift specifically developed to accommodate Syrian children. Humanitarian agencies have the duty to protect refugees from being offered and stuck in these subordinate positions and statuses.

## **The Unequivocal Effect of Legal Status on Education to Employment Trajectories**

Lebanon and Jordan are globally among the countries with the highest proportion of refugees relative to their populations. In both countries, with a significantly higher impact in Lebanon, legal status influences education and employment trajectories and outcomes. Accommodating refugees' right to education and access to employment in order to provide them with a positive future prospect is going to be more challenging in overstretched education systems and in the current challenging economic environment. Therefore, it is important to be realistic about both the education and employment trajectories of refugees. The situation requires an international political solution whereby larger numbers of refugees are resettled in a third country or a resolving of the conflict whereby a safe return for refugees is guaranteed.



## **Gender Inequalities Have a Stark Effect on Education to Employment Trajectories**

Investment in education policies and provisions need to address the gender gap that is likely to result in negative outcomes for education in relation to employment. Societal norms in Jordan as well as in Syria continue to worsen women's employment outcomes even if they have managed to obtain high education credentials. Interestingly, this applies to both refugees and nationals which manifests the strong effect of these cultural norms on education and employment outcomes.

## **Legal Status as a Social Category in Protracted Displacement**

The insight that legal status has an impact on refugees' education and employment in both countries indicates that, in the context of protracted displacement, legal status becomes a social position in itself (see also Brun et al., 2017). The displacement/refugee category represents an abject status within the nation states that operates alongside and in interaction with gender, socio-economic positions, family background/social capital, and physical capital (condition of dwelling in this case). Legal status in interaction with other social positions contributes to the experience of refugees being stuck in a difficult situation where social mobility and development of lives through education and employment are almost impossible to achieve.

## **Equity and Inequality in Education and Employment Outcomes Need to be Placed at the Core of any Policy Reforms**

Youth education and employment trajectories are negatively affected by the free market and neo-liberal economic policies. Youth begin to reap the effect of neoliberalism in their unequal access to quality of education. The severe impact of neoliberalism is then realized in the lack of skilled jobs and job security, as well as social protection, which cumulatively yield poor employment outcomes and unequal access to the limited existing opportunities. Education and employment policies for both nationals and refugees continue to overlook these existing inequalities where the private sector and free market manipulate and exploit the future prospects of youth. These insights also have implications on the current discussions in moving from a humanitarian approach to development in assisting refugees. In the current system, as we have shown here, without profound changes to access to education and employment within a nation state context, very little is going to change for young refugees.

Finally, following a distributive concept of justice that is restricted to only providing access to education without linking it to 1) equality of outcomes and 2) recognition will only yield further marginalisation and will strengthen the exploitation of the most vulnerable youth. Education and employment policies and practices need to be perceived and planned in a manner that can help deconstruct unequal structures. Consequently, education and employment cannot remain apolitical while being occupied with the technicalities of implementing education and wishfully hoping things turn up for the best.



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# Appendix 1

## ..... INDICES METHODOLOGY

After ranking each outcome based on the favourability of the response, the rank of each response is used to calculate the indicator score for each individual based on the following equation:

$$S_{ix} = \left[ \frac{(R_{ix} - 1)}{(T_x - 1)} \right] \times W_x$$

Where  $S_{ix}$  is the score of individual  $i$  for indicator  $x$ ,  $R_{ix}$  is the response rank of individual  $i$  for indicator  $x$ ,  $T_x$  is the total number of ranks provided for indicator  $x$ , and  $W_x$  is the weight of each indicator.

The index weight is distributed equally among the chosen indicators (questions); therefore, each indicator contributes to up to  $1/n$  of the total index score such that:

$$\sum_{x=1}^n W_x = 1$$

After determining each indicator's score for each individual, we can sum the indicators' scores to derive the index score for individual  $i$  according to the following equation:

$$IS_i = \sum_{x=1}^n S_{ix}$$

Where  $IS_i$  is the index score for individual  $i$  and  $S_{ix}$  is the score of indicator  $x$  for individual  $i$ .

After determining the index score for each individual, the index is normalized to bring its entire probability distributions into alignment between 0 and 1 (Han et al., 2011) using the equation below:

$$X' = \frac{X - X_{min}}{X_{max} - X_{min}}$$

Following the normalization procedure, the index is turned into a categorical variable to fit our ordered probit model discussed in section 3.4. Therefore, after following the above steps we end up with two categorical variables (educational outcome and employment outcome) ranging from 1 to 5, where 1 indicates the lowest educational and employment outcome and 5 indicates the highest educational and employment outcome, accordingly.



## Appendix 2

**Table A1: Determinants of Educational Outcome (Ordered Probit Model, Marginal Effects)**

Lebanon						
	(1a)	(1b)	(1c)	(1d)	(1e)	(1f)
Legal Status	0.513*** (0.113)	-0.032*** (0.008)	-0.100*** (0.023)	-0.071*** (0.018)	0.102*** (0.024)	0.101*** (0.023)
Age: years	-0.072*** (0.013)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.014*** (0.002)	0.010*** (0.002)	-0.014*** (0.002)	-0.014*** (0.002)
Gender	-0.212** (0.092)	0.013** (0.006)	0.041** (0.018)	0.029** (0.013)	-0.042** (0.018)	-0.042** (0.018)
Marital status	0.788*** (0.128)	-0.049*** (0.011)	-0.154*** (0.028)	-0.109*** (0.023)	0.157*** (0.029)	0.156*** (0.027)
Household characteristics						
Father's Education: Secondary	0.233** (0.106)	-0.014** (0.007)	-0.045** (0.021)	-0.032** (0.015)	0.046** (0.021)	0.046** (0.021)
Father's Education: Post-secondary	0.503*** (0.156)	-0.031*** (0.010)	-0.098*** (0.031)	-0.069*** (0.023)	0.100*** (0.032)	0.099*** (0.031)
Mother's Education: Secondary	0.598*** (0.108)	-0.037*** (0.009)	-0.117*** (0.023)	-0.083*** (0.018)	0.119*** (0.024)	0.118*** (0.022)
Mother's Education: Post-secondary	1.023*** (0.196)	-0.063*** (0.016)	-0.201*** (0.041)	-0.142*** (0.033)	0.204*** (0.044)	0.203*** (0.040)
Number of People per Room	0.029 (0.045)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.005 (0.008)	-0.004 (0.006)	0.005 (0.009)	0.005 (0.008)
Dwelling Type: Private Apartment/House	0.525*** (0.110)	-0.032*** (0.008)	-0.103*** (0.023)	-0.073*** (0.018)	0.104*** (0.024)	0.104*** (0.022)
Residence area						
Urban	0.069 (0.106)	-0.004 (0.006)	-0.013 (0.020)	-0.009 (0.014)	0.013 (0.021)	0.013 (0.021)
Observations	583	583	583	583	583	583

Notes: Standard errors are reported in parentheses, with \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* denoting statistical significance at the 1%, 5%, and 10% level, respectively.

**Table A2: Determinants of Educational Outcome (Ordered Probit Model, Marginal Effects)**

<b>Jordan</b>						
	<b>(2a)</b>	<b>(2b)</b>	<b>(2c)</b>	<b>(2d)</b>	<b>(2e)</b>	<b>(2f)</b>
<b>Youth characteristics</b>						
Legal Status	0.135 (0.125)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.006 (0.006)	-0.039 (0.036)	0.003 (0.004)	0.044 (0.040)
Age: years	-0.300*** (0.026)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.014*** (0.003)	0.088*** (0.009)	-0.007 (0.006)	-0.098*** (0.008)
Gender	-0.143 (0.117)	0.001 (0.001)	0.006 (0.005)	0.042 (0.034)	-0.003 (0.004)	-0.046 (0.038)
Marital status	0.409 (0.262)	-0.004 (0.003)	-0.019 (0.013)	-0.120 (0.077)	0.010 (0.011)	0.134 (0.086)
<b>Household characteristics</b>						
Father's Education: Secondary	-0.016 (0.190)	0.0001 (0.002)	0.0007 (0.008)	0.004 (0.055)	-0.0003 (0.004)	-0.005 (0.062)
Father's Education: Post-secondary	0.142 (0.216)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.006 (0.010)	-0.041 (0.063)	0.003 (0.004)	0.046 (0.071)
Mother's Education: Secondary	0.530*** (0.166)	-0.005*** (0.003)	-0.025*** (0.009)	-0.156*** (0.050)	0.013 (0.012)	0.174*** (0.054)
Mother's Education: Post-secondary	0.714*** (0.202)	-0.008*** (0.004)	-0.033*** (0.012)	-0.210*** (0.061)	0.017 (0.017)	0.234*** (0.066)
Number of People per Room	-0.057 (0.047)	0.0006 (0.0006)	0.002 (0.002)	0.016 (0.013)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.018 (0.015)
Dwelling Type: Private Apartment/House	0.076 (0.295)	-0.0008 (0.003)	-0.003 (0.014)	-0.022 (0.086)	0.001 (0.007)	0.024 (0.096)
<b>Region</b>						
Urban	0.070 (0.137)	-0.0007 (0.001)	-0.003 (0.006)	-0.020 (0.040)	0.001 (0.003)	0.022 (0.044)
Observations	389	389	389	389	389	389

Notes: Standard errors are reported in parentheses, with \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* denoting statistical significance at the 1%, 5%, and 10% level, respectively.

# Appendix 3

**Table A3: Determinants of Dropout (Probit Model, Marginal Effects)**

	Lebanon		Jordan	
	(3a)	(3b)	(3c)	(3d)
<b>Youth characteristics</b>				
Legal Status	-0.676*** (0.155)	-0.263*** (0.060)	-0.237** (0.118)	-0.078** (0.038)
Age: years	-0.057*** (0.017)	-0.022*** (0.006)	0.012 (0.015)	0.004 (0.005)
Gender	0.224* (0.124)	0.087* (0.048)	0.041 (0.115)	0.013 (0.038)
Marital status	-0.923*** (0.174)	-0.360*** (0.068)	-0.236 (0.167)	-0.078 (0.055)
<b>Household characteristics</b>				
Father's Education: Secondary	-0.327** (0.135)	-0.127** (0.052)	-0.073 (0.169)	-0.024 (0.055)
Father's Education: Post-secondary	-0.711*** (0.219)	-0.277*** (0.085)	-0.734*** (0.200)	-0.242*** (0.065)
Mother's Education: Secondary	-0.577*** (0.133)	-0.225*** (0.051)	-0.447*** (0.144)	-0.147*** (0.047)
Mother's Education: Post-secondary	-1.014*** (0.296)	-0.395*** (0.114)	-0.963*** (0.184)	-0.317*** (0.060)
Number of People per Room	-0.070 (0.061)	-0.027 (0.023)	-0.020 (0.047)	-0.006 (0.015)
Dwelling Type: Private Apartment/House	-0.431*** (0.143)	-0.168*** (0.056)	-0.200 (0.254)	-0.066 (0.084)
<b>Region</b>				
Urban	-0.102 (0.141)	-0.039 (0.054)	0.061 (0.145)	0.020 (0.047)
Observations	581	581	659	659

Notes: Standard errors are reported in parentheses, with \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* denoting statistical significance at the 1%, 5%, and 10% level, respectively.

# Appendix 4

**Table A4: Determinants of Employment (Probit Model, Marginal Effects)**

	Lebanon		Jordan	
	(4a)	(4b)	(4c)	(4d)
<b>Youth characteristics</b>				
Legal Status	-0.366** (0.146)	-0.132** (0.052)	0.143 (0.129)	0.046 (0.041)
Age: years	0.125*** (0.019)	0.045*** (0.006)	0.152*** (0.020)	0.049*** (0.006)
Gender	0.249** (0.118)	0.090** (0.042)	0.840*** (0.127)	0.272*** (0.040)
Marital status	0.437*** (0.168)	0.158*** (0.060)	0.093 (0.173)	0.030 (0.056)
<b>Education characteristics</b>				
Education: secondary	-0.457*** (0.162)	-0.165*** (0.058)	-0.336 (0.301)	-0.119 (0.097)
Education: post-secondary	-0.183 (0.228)	-0.066 (0.082)	0.091 (0.327)	0.029 (0.106)
Vocational training	-0.146 (0.247)	-0.053 (0.089)	0.784 (0.640)	0.254 (0.207)
<b>Household characteristics</b>				
Father's Education: Secondary	-0.140 (0.137)	-0.050 (0.049)	0.053 (0.200)	0.017 (0.064)
Father's Education: Post-secondary	-0.181 (0.199)	-0.065 (0.072)	-0.011 (0.223)	0.003 (0.072)
Mother's Education: Secondary	0.135 (0.143)	0.048 (0.051)	-0.017 (0.167)	-0.005 (0.054)
Mother's Education: Post-secondary	-0.080 (0.251)	-0.029 (0.090)	-0.017 (0.195)	-0.0054 (0.063)
Number of People per Room	-0.016 (0.060)	-0.005 (0.0216)	0.030 (0.048)	0.009 (0.015)
Dwelling Type: Private Apartment/House	0.480*** (0.148)	0.174*** (0.053)	-0.162 (0.281)	-0.052 (0.091)
<b>Region</b>				
Urban	0.492*** (0.135)	0.178*** (0.048)	0.392** (0.172)	0.127** (0.055)
Observations	573	573	658	658

Notes: Standard errors are reported in parentheses, with \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* denoting statistical significance at the 1%, 5%, and 10% level, respectively.

# Appendix 5

**Table A5: Determinants of Employment Outcome (Ordered Probit Model, Marginal Effects)**

Lebanon						
	(5a)	(5b)	(5c)	(5d)	(5e)	(5f)
<b>Youth characteristics</b>						
Legal Status	0.298* (0.181)	-0.061* (0.037)	-0.054* (0.034)	0.005* (0.006)	0.064* (0.040)	0.046* (0.029)
Age: years	0.029 (0.024)	-0.005 (0.005)	-0.005 (0.004)	0.0004 (0.0006)	0.006 (0.005)	0.004 (0.003)
Gender	0.060 (0.149)	-0.012 (0.030)	-0.010 (0.027)	0.001 (0.002)	0.012 (0.032)	0.009 (0.023)
Marital status	-0.050 (0.212)	0.010 (0.043)	0.009 (0.038)	-0.0008 (0.003)	-0.010 (0.045)	-0.007 (0.033)
<b>Education characteristics</b>						
Education: secondary	-0.617*** (0.210)	0.1273*** (0.044)	0.113*** (0.043)	-0.010*** (0.011)	-0.133*** (0.048)	-0.097*** (0.035)
Education: post-secondary	-0.394 (0.287)	0.081 (0.059)	0.072 (0.053)	-0.006 (0.008)	-0.085 (0.062)	-0.061 (0.045)
Vocational training	-0.389 (0.286)	0.080 (0.059)	0.071 (0.053)	-0.006 (0.008)	-0.083 (0.062)	-0.061 (0.045)
<b>Household characteristics</b>						
Father's Education: Secondary	0.029 (0.176)	-0.006 (0.036)	-0.005 (0.032)	0.0004 (0.002)	0.006 (0.037)	0.004 (0.027)
Father's Education: Post-secondary	0.456* (0.241)	-0.093* (0.050)	-0.083* (0.046)	0.007* (0.009)	0.098* (0.053)	0.071* (0.039)
Mother's Education: Secondary	0.107 (0.178)	-0.021 (0.036)	-0.019 (0.032)	0.001 (0.003)	0.022 (0.038)	0.016 (0.028)
Mother's Education: Post-secondary	0.278 (0.298)	-0.057 (0.061)	-0.051 (0.055)	0.004 (0.006)	0.059 (0.064)	0.043 (0.047)
Number of People per Room	0.036 (0.072)	-0.007 (0.014)	-0.006 (0.013)	0.0006 (0.001)	0.007 (0.015)	0.005 (0.011)
Dwelling Type: Private Apartment/House	0.693*** (0.208)	-0.142*** (0.044)	-0.127*** (0.043)	0.011*** (0.013)	0.149*** (0.048)	0.108*** (0.035)
<b>Residence area</b>						
Urban	0.236 (0.162)	-0.048 (0.033)	-0.043 (0.030)	0.003 (0.005)	0.050 (0.035)	0.037 (0.025)
Observations	216	216	216	216	216	216

Notes: Standard errors are reported in parentheses, with \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* denoting statistical significance at the 1%, 5%, and 10% level, respectively.



**Table A6: Determinants of Employment Outcome (Ordered Probit Model, Marginal Effects)**

<b>Jordan</b>						
	<b>(6a)</b>	<b>(6b)</b>	<b>(6c)</b>	<b>(6d)</b>	<b>(6e)</b>	<b>(6f)</b>
<b>Youth characteristics</b>						
Legal Status	0.339** (0.157)	-0.060** (0.028)	-0.058** (0.028)	-0.014** (0.007)	0.033** (0.017)	0.099** (0.046)
Age: years	0.080*** (0.026)	-0.014*** (0.004)	-0.013*** (0.004)	-0.003*** (0.001)	0.008*** (0.003)	0.023*** (0.007)
Gender	-0.214 (0.166)	0.038 (0.030)	0.036 (0.029)	0.009 (0.007)	-0.021 (0.017)	-0.062 (0.049)
Marital status	-0.242 (0.196)	0.043 (0.035)	0.041 (0.034)	0.010 (0.008)	-0.024 (0.020)	-0.071 (0.057)
<b>Education</b>						
Education: secondary	-0.603 (0.396)	0.107 (0.071)	0.104 (0.070)	0.025 (0.018)	-0.060 (0.042)	-0.177 (0.116)
Education: post-secondary	-0.645 (0.429)	0.115 (0.077)	0.111 (0.076)	0.027 (0.020)	-0.064 (0.045)	-0.189 (0.126)
Vocational training	0.303 (0.683)	-0.054 (0.122)	-0.052 (0.118)	-0.012 (0.029)	0.030 (0.068)	0.089 (0.201)
<b>Household characteristics</b>						
Father's Education: Secondary	0.149 (0.231)	-0.026 (0.041)	-0.025 (0.040)	-0.006 (0.010)	0.014 (0.023)	0.043 (0.068)
Father's Education: Post-secondary	0.502* (0.260)	-0.089* (0.047)	-0.086* (0.046)	-0.021* (0.012)	0.050* (0.028)	0.147* (0.076)
Mother's Education: Secondary	-0.288 (0.193)	0.051 (0.034)	0.049 (0.034)	0.012 (0.009)	-0.028 (0.020)	-0.084 (0.056)
Mother's Education: Post-secondary	-0.521** (0.226)	0.093** (0.041)	0.090** (0.041)	0.022** (0.011)	-0.052** (0.026)	-0.153** (0.066)
Number of People per Room	-0.009 (0.053)	0.001 (0.009)	0.001 (0.009)	0.0003 (0.002)	-0.0008 (0.005)	-0.002 (0.015)
Dwelling Type: Private Apartment/House	0.102 (0.310)	-0.018 (0.055)	-0.017 (0.053)	-0.004 (0.013)	0.010 (0.031)	0.030 (0.091)
<b>Residence area</b>						
Urban	0.366* (0.215)	-0.065* (0.039)	-0.063* (0.038)	-0.015 (0.010)	0.036 (0.023)	0.107* (0.063)
Observations	251	251	251	251	251	251

Notes: Standard errors are reported in parentheses, with \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* denoting statistical significance at the 1%, 5%, and 10% level, respectively.



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عبد الله بن عبد الله

محرم بر اربع

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المسجد النبوي 20

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