



GENDER DIMENSIONS OF FORCED DISPLACEMENT

Understanding Inequality Through Data & Analysis

THE GENDER DIMENSIONS OF FORCED DISPLACEMENT

A SYNTHESIS OF NEW RESEARCH

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acronyms	1
Executive summary	2
Introduction	6
Profile and drivers of deprivations and disparities	10
Poverty	12
Livelihoods and economic opportunities	16
Intimate Partner Violence	19
Adverse gender norms	21
Implications for policy	24
The feasibility and importance of country-specific analysis	24
Need to promote economic opportunities—with attention to earnings	25
Social protection programs	28
Addressing heightened risk of IPV	32
Importance of data and measurement, and listening to displaced people	37
Emerging conclusions	39
Endnotes	40
Works cited	42

ACRONYMS

ACLED	Armed Conflict Data & Event Data Project	ODI	Overseas Development Institute
AGD	Age, gender and diversity	SGBV	Sexual and gender-based violence
BH	Boko Haram	UCDP	Uppsala Conflict Data Program
DHS	Demographic Health Surveys	UN	United Nations
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo	UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
FTS	Financial Tracking System	UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
GBV	Gender-based violence	UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
GDFD	Gender Dimensions of Forced Displacement	UN OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
HRP	Humanitarian Response Plan	USAID	United States Agency for International Development
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross	VAW	Violence against women
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre	WGSS	Women and girls' safe spaces
IDP	Internally displaced person	WPS	Women, peace and security
IOM	International Organization for Migration		
IPV	Intimate partner violence		
MENA	Middle East and North Africa		
MPI	Multidimensional Poverty Index		

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

While there have been welcome advances in global evidence on and understanding of forced displacement, research and analysis of the gendered dimensions of displacement have been limited. The [Gender Dimensions of Forced Displacement \(GDFD\) research program](#) has sought to fill this important gap. A series of papers were commissioned from leading experts to address several key questions, namely:

- How does gender inequality affect the extent and patterns of different dimensions of poverty in forcibly displaced populations?
- How do conflict and displacement affect gender norms and the prevalence of IPV and child marriage for women and girls?
- What are the implications of these findings for the design and implementation of policies and programs?

The GDFD research program produced nine detailed country investigations and three multi-country papers covering 17 countries using a portfolio of research approaches with analysis at individual and household levels to uncover gender-poverty links. The overall findings of multi-country studies of multidimensional poverty covering Ethiopia, Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan, and Sudan, and monetary poverty analysis in Somalia and Jordan, is that displaced households are generally poorer than non-displaced households.

A tailored Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) reveals that displacement status is associated with deprivation status at the household level, and gender has important impacts on individual deprivations within households. In fact, within households, gender emerges as an important predictive factor in indicators of chronic deprivation, such as school completion. Among the multidimensionally poor, girls are less likely than boys to complete school—reflecting accumulated disadvantage over time. We also find that the gender of the household head is an indicator of deprivation in most, but not all, countries.

For monetary poverty, many of the differences in income poverty risk between internally displaced persons (IDPs) and non-IDPs are associated with differences in household demographic characteristics and the gender and number of earners in the household. These, in turn, are often associated with displacement-related changes in household composition and gender roles.

One important implication of both the multidimensional and monetary poverty analysis is the need to go beyond the gender of the household head to

comprehensively assess deprivation and poverty. For example, male-headed households are income poorer than female-headed households in both Somalia and Jordan. But gender influences poverty risk. For example, in Somalia, single female caregivers, and IDP widows living outside IDP settlements are all high poverty risk categories. Having more income earners of either sex reduces poverty risk for IDP and non-IDP households alike. Interestingly, for IDP households, the largest decrease in poverty risk is associated with having more female earners, while having more male earners is associated with the lowest poverty risk for non-IDPs.

The research findings on livelihoods relate to a diversity of forced displacement settings: refugees in Ethiopia and protracted displacement of IDPs in Darfur, Sudan. Evidence from all the countries investigated demonstrates that substantial barriers constrain the economic opportunities of displaced women, most notably in the form of limited education and care responsibilities. For example, among Ethiopian refugees, the livelihoods of men and women are impacted differently by displacement, in part because adverse gender norms result in women having fewer opportunities for economic advancement and bearing more care responsibilities at home.

The drivers of these constraints vary across settings. Endowments, specifically lack of access to land, emerge as important in Ethiopia while lack of education is critical in both Ethiopia and Darfur. Gender norms as well as factors like access to land shape participation in paid work and self-employment versus agricultural work in Darfur, with



women working predominantly in family farms and businesses. Some barriers are similar for displaced and non-displaced women. For example, female household headship increases the likelihood of women's employment for refugees and hosts in Ethiopia. Nonetheless, some differences emerge across different contexts. Interestingly, in Darfur, displaced women are more likely to work than women in the host community. Women's participation in paid work can reduce their poverty risk (as found in Somalia), but there is also evidence that displaced women in paid work have low earnings relative to men.

The findings of the program's research on intimate partner violence (IPV) in Colombia, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Nigeria, Liberia, and Mali, underline that IPV rates are significantly higher for women living in households in proximity to conflict, measured by conflict-related deaths, compared to those living in peaceful areas of the country. In Mali, wartime conflict increases the risk of all forms of IPV—physical, emotional, and sexual.

Women also have less decision-making autonomy over their earnings in conflict-affected districts.

The risks faced by displaced women along their displacement journey and impacts of gender-based violence (GBV) are often lifelong. The Program's findings buttress existing literature – that is, experiencing sexual violence increases risk of future violence, as does witnessing violence, alcohol abuse and tolerance of violence against women (VAW). In various conflict-affected settings, women have been found to be more likely to experience abuse at the hands of acquaintances, intimate partners, family members and people in their community than at the hand of armed actors.

Two studies in the series focus on gender norms—Colombia and Jordan. Gender norms can be defined as the acceptable and appropriate actions for men and women that are reproduced through social and economic interactions. Norms are typically embedded within both formal and informal institutions. Gender attitudes can be defined

as expressed views about appropriate roles, responsibilities and behaviors. The two studies suggest that gender attitudes and gender norms do not always shift together, and do not always progress toward gender equality during forced displacement. Moreover, attitudes and norms can shift without corresponding changes in behavior, at least within the time frames of the studies. For example, among women in Colombia, displacement corresponded with less rigid patriarchal norms around gender roles and GBV, but reduced the ability of women to make decisions about contraception and earnings.

A broad implication of the research is that tracking gender attitudes and behaviors among all members of a community is important, but existing data often miss opportunities to collect information on gender norms held by men and boys. Accounting for and changing community and familial gender norms, not just those of girls themselves, is important. Additionally, adolescent refugee girls are a distinct group who face unique challenges. Among the implications for policy and programming are the importance of contraception in basic health packages and the engagement of men to promote more gender-equitable relationships.

Humanitarian and development policies and programs should seek to understand and address intersectionality of gender and displacement, to close gender gaps in education and paid work, development outcomes such as income and other dimensions of poverty, as well as the risk of GBV.

It is critical that host governments take concrete steps to review and, where necessary, revise national laws and policies to achieve gender equality and

enhance economic inclusion for displaced populations, including measures to increase displaced people's free movement and access to labor markets and financial services, expand inclusive social protection to people affected by crisis and displacement, and provide safe, affordable, and accessible care services, notably quality childcare.

Public and private donors and multilateral stakeholders need to work with governments to ensure greater policy coherence across humanitarian and development programs, and direct more multi-year, flexible funding to frontline responders in fragile and conflict-affected contexts including via local, national, and international NGOs and women's rights organisations.

A series of recommendations emerge for agencies collecting survey data, including the World Bank, UN agencies and Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS), starting with including displaced populations in population-wide and household-based data collection, especially in countries where there are significant numbers of displaced people. Within households, sex-disaggregated individual-level data is needed to enable a better understanding of the situation of different household members, dependency ratios and more. Our studies underline the important role of gender norms in shaping constraints and opportunities for women, men, girls, and boys. Data on gender norms should be collected, including from men and boys. Learning from qualitative information from displaced groups, and including the voices of displaced women is key, especially those facing multiple disadvantages.

INTRODUCTION

The gender dimensions of forced displacement are critical to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), not least because the numbers of forcibly displaced persons have reached unprecedented levels. Most recent estimates indicate there are 26.4 million refugees and 48 million internally displaced persons (displaced within their countries, IDPs) globally.¹

The Gender Dimensions of Forced Displacement (GDFD) research program has sought to deepen the understanding of key gender disparities among forcibly displaced people, by examining gaps and the drivers, with a focus on GBV, and the discriminatory norms that prevent women from owning property, engaging in paid work and making decisions about their own lives. The program generated nine country studies—Colombia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Jordan, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Somalia, and Sudan—as well as multi-country studies on child marriage, multi-dimensional poverty, IPV covering 17 countries (see Annex 1). These analyses cast new light on the interaction of gender inequality and forced displacement, and fill two important gaps in the literature by providing first, evidence on poverty and violence experienced by displaced women; and second, a focus on internal displacement. Earlier studies based on microdata, with the exception of Colombia, are almost entirely focused on refugees.

The vast majority of forcibly displaced people are located in low- and middle-income countries, with Turkey, Colombia, Pakistan, and Uganda hosting the largest numbers of refugees globally.² While it is difficult to quantify the average duration of refugee displacement, displacement is often a long-term challenge.³ Global evidence suggests that displaced women have less access to employment opportunities than displaced men⁴ and face a lack of access to crucial services including sexual and reproductive health services, mental health support, continued education and skills training, and services needed after experiencing GBV.⁵

The interaction of gendered power relations and inequality with displacement raises challenging questions that our research program was designed to address, namely:

- How does gender inequality affect the extent and patterns of different dimensions of poverty in forcibly displaced populations?
- How does conflict affect the prevalence and nature of IPV and child marriage for women and girls?
- What are the implications of these findings for the design and implementation of policies and programs, and for institutional arrangements?

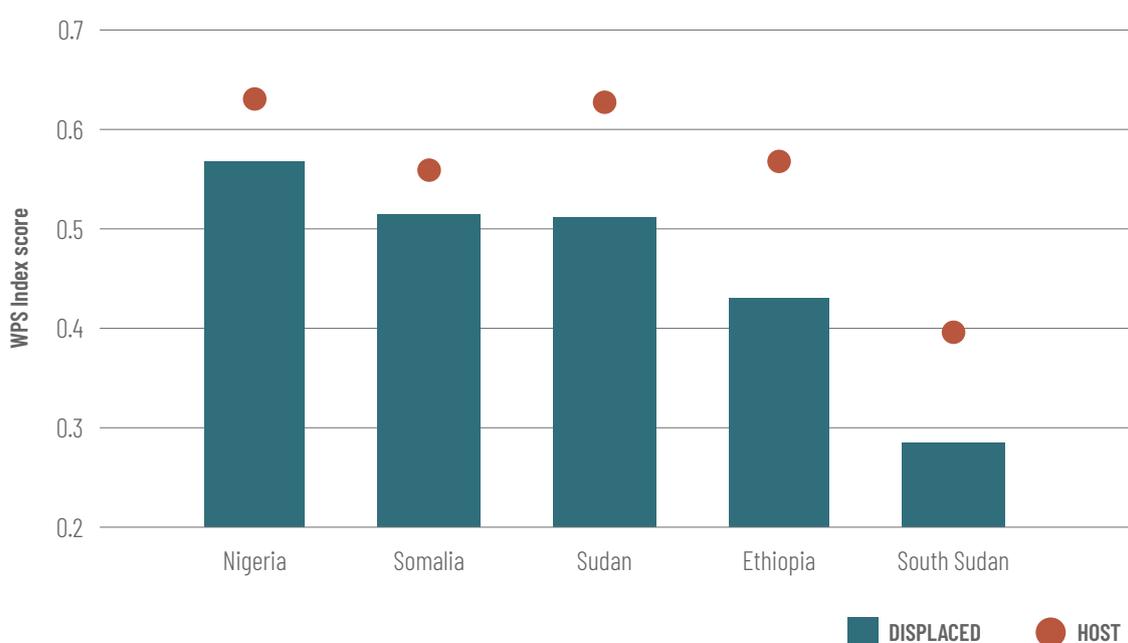
To set the stage, it is useful to highlight some key findings from recent analysis, captured via a comprehensive multidimensional measure, the Women, Peace

and Security (WPS) Index. This Index captures women’s status in the domains of inclusion (e.g., education and paid work), justice (formal legal protection and discriminatory norms), and security (IPV and safety in the community), on a scale of 0-1, with higher values representing higher levels of achievement. The Index was applied in five Sub-Saharan African countries –Ethiopia, Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan, and Sudan—that are also investigated as part of the GDFD program.

In all five countries, WPS Index scores for displaced women are worse than host scores, with an average disadvantage of about 24 percent in favor of host country women (figure 1). The disadvantage was greatest in South Sudan, where the score for displaced women (0.284) stands about 42 percent below host women.

Gender gaps are greatest for employment, with rates for displaced men at least 90 percent higher than for displaced women, peaking at 150 percent in Nigeria where approximately 36 percent of displaced men are employed compared to about 15 percent of displaced women. This reflects broader labor market segregation by gender around the world, compounded by language barriers, lower literacy rates, unpaid care responsibilities, and gender norms that limit refugee women’s prospects.⁶ There are also important nuances: for example, the paper on Syrian refugees highlights challenges faced by older women. Overall, gender emerges as a major factor that interacts with context specific challenges and also intersectional vulnerabilities.

FIGURE 1: WOMEN PEACE AND SECURITY INDEX SCORES FOR DISPLACED AND HOST WOMEN



Source: GIWPS and PRIO 2021.

Note: Potential Index scores range between 0 and 1, where higher scores represent higher levels of achievement

Comparisons between displaced women and host country men expose even starker gaps, highlighting the cumulative effects of displacement and gender inequality (figure 2). In Ethiopia, for example, almost three times the share of host country men is employed relative to refugee women. There are also some unexpected findings – for example, host men are more likely to feel unsafe in their community than displaced women (8 versus 5 percent).

Analysis reveals the compounding risks of displacement on women’s safety. In each of the countries, levels of current IPV were higher among displaced women compared to women in the host population. In Somalia, host women experienced IPV at a rate nearly 30 percent lower than displaced women (26 versus 36 percent), and in South Sudan, nearly half (47 percent) of displaced women have experienced IPV in the past year – a number nearly double the national estimate of 27 percent and quadruple the global average of about 12 percent.⁷

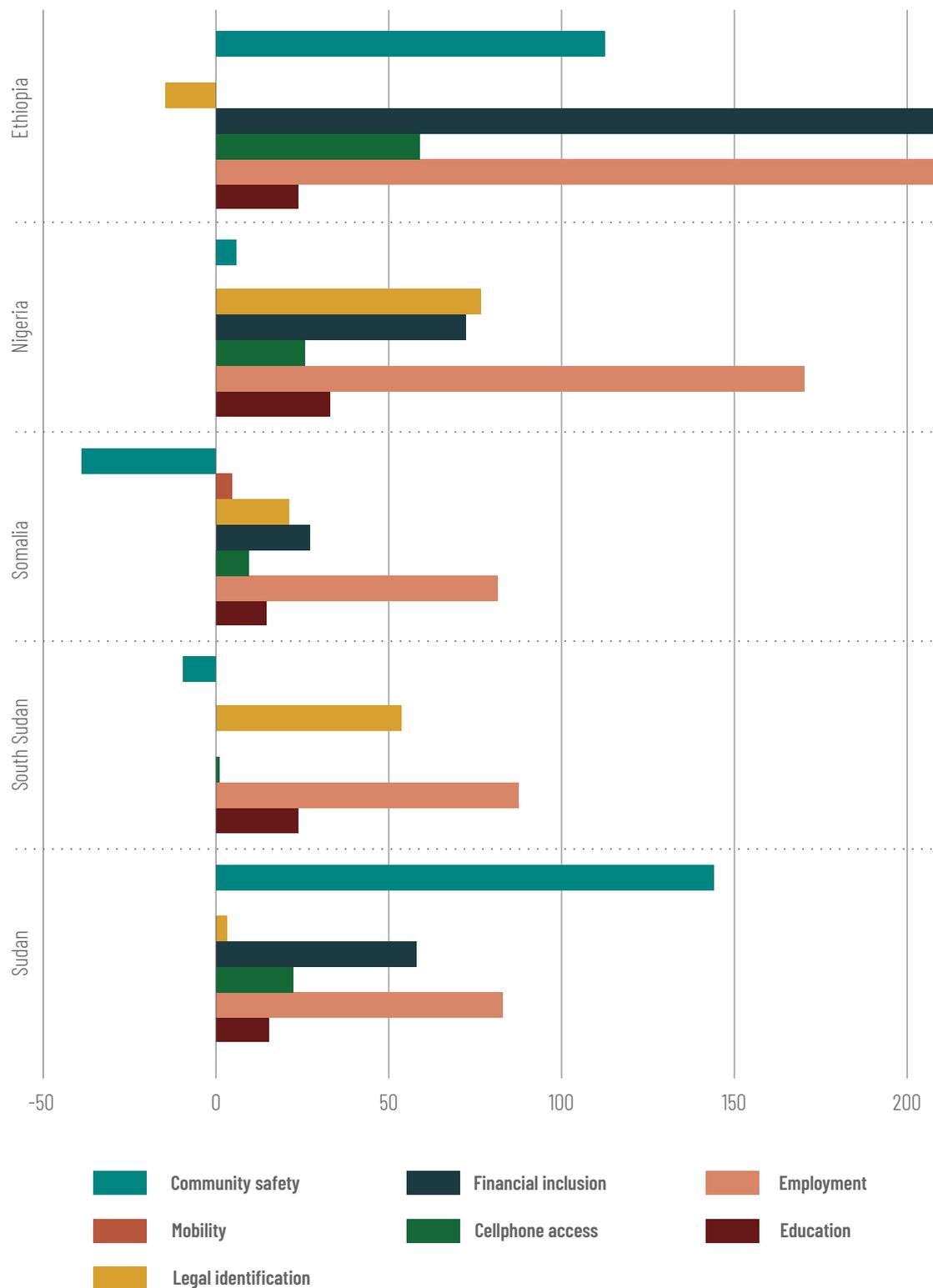
The GDFD program builds on recent research, especially writings adopting a feminist lens, which has found that forced displacement is associated with shifts in multiple domains. Shifts can occur when gendered dimensions of everyday life change in terms of livelihoods, support networks and access to services. Forcibly displaced people typically face several shifts simultaneously, which may not all be in the same direction. For example, in female-headed forcibly displaced households, women’s

paid work becomes more critical for family incomes during displacement. However, women are also often limited in their ability to access labor markets in the host community – not least due to care responsibilities, and often also due to lack of formal documentation for work and security concerns, unfamiliarity with language and limited networks, which are especially important where the informal sector is the main source of jobs. There are reports that displaced women face high risks of GBV at work or while commuting.⁸ Even when they are working outside the home, their economic activities are often low status and poorly remunerated.

Each of the papers in this research program drew on high-quality, representative microdata. In the past, the absence of such data has limited research on gendered dimensions of displacement (Brück and Stojetz, 2020). In cases where such data do exist, it may not be released. However, this barrier is being overcome by deliberate efforts to include forcibly displaced persons in survey samples (EGRIS, 2018a; EGRIS, 2018b; Pape and Sharma, 2019), in adjusting questionnaires to account for experiences of forced displacement (Brück et al, 2016), as well as ensuring that the data is released in a timely way.

We turn now to outline findings across multiple domains of forced displacement and, in the subsequent section, the implications for programs and policies.

FIGURE 2 GENDER GAPS BETWEEN DISPLACED WOMEN AND HOST COMMUNITY MEN



Source: GIWPS and PRIO 2021

Note: Gaps show the percentage gap in favor of host country men. For Ethiopia, the employment gap is 266 percent and the financial inclusion gap is 1063 percent.

PROFILE AND DRIVERS OF DEPRIVATIONS AND DISPARITIES

New empirical analysis was undertaken for nine countries, six in Sub Saharan Africa, alongside several multi-country studies (table 1). The focus is on IDPs, who currently account for about twice as many displaced as refugees globally. The studies cover a diversity of displacement settings including refugees in Ethiopia, protracted displacement of IDPs in Darfur, Sudan,

and more recent displacement in Northeast Nigeria. Figure 3 shows the number and share of IDPs for each of the countries we examine.

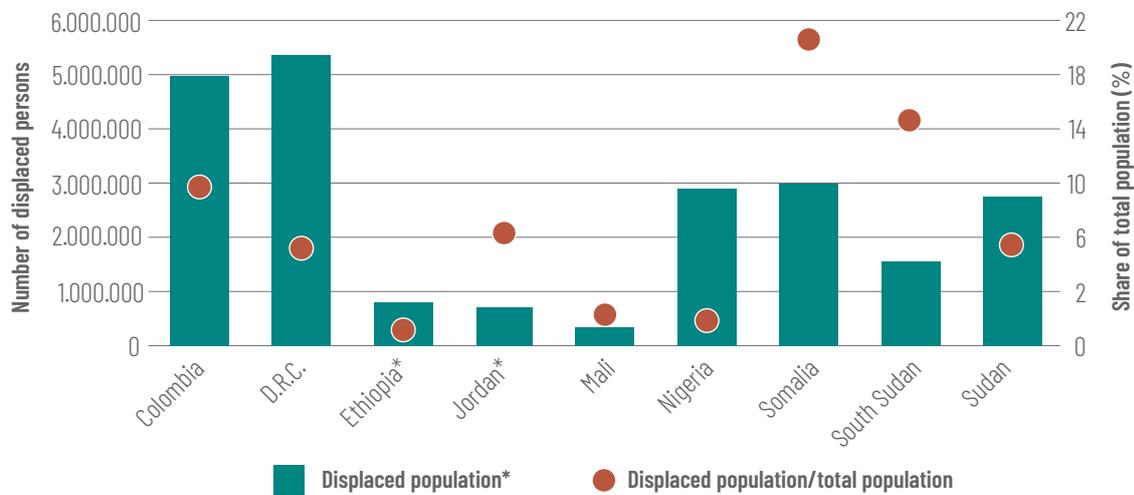
The results reveal systematic disadvantage in the risks that women face of income and multidimensional poverty, limited access to livelihoods, heightened prevalence of GBV and persistent discriminatory norms.



TABLE 1 SUMMARY OF GDFD STUDIES, DATA SOURCES AND FEATURES

Country	Year	Data source	Population	Displacement setting	Identification
Colombia	2005, 2010, 2015	Demographic Health Survey, UCDP database	Refugees and IDPs	Non-camp	Individual survey responses
DR Congo	2018	USAID Baseline Survey	IDPs	Non-camp	Individual survey responses
Darfur, Sudan	2018	IOM, World Bank, and ACLED	IDPs	Camp	Camp location and household survey
Ethiopia	2017	World Bank Ethiopia Skills Profile Survey	Refugees	Camp and non-camp	Household survey
Jordan	2011-2014, 2016	UNHCR Profile Global Registration System, the Jordanian Home-Visits dataset, 2016 Jordan Labor Market Panel Survey	Refugees	Camp and non-camp	Household survey, as reported by the principal applicant
Liberia	2007	Demographic Health Survey, ACLED	Self-identified as displaced	Non-camp	Individual survey responses
Mali	2006, 2018	Demographic Health Survey, ACLED	Coded for conflict affected and non-conflict affected women	NA	Individual survey responses
Nigeria	2008, 2013	Demographic Health Survey, ACLED	Coded for conflict affected and non-conflict affected women	NA	Individual survey responses
Multicounty	Various	Multiple	Refugees and IDPs	Camp and non-camp	Varies

FIGURE 3: DISPLACED PEOPLE, TOTAL NUMBERS AND AS A SHARE OF TOTAL POPULATION, SELECTED COUNTRIES, 2020



*Data show the population of IDPs for all countries except Ethiopia and Jordan, which count the number of refugees.

Sources: Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre. Global Internal Displacement Database. Accessed 13 Sept. 2021. <https://www.internal-displacement.org/database/displacement-data>

Total Population: The World Bank. Data. Accessed 6 Sept. 2021. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL?locations=CO-CD-ET-LR-ML-NG-SO-SS-SD-JO>

Refugees: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. 2021. Global Trends Forced Displacement in 2020. Annex Table 1, Column B. <https://www.unhcr.org/60b638e37/unhcr-global-trends-2020>

POVERTY

It is well known that forcible displacement is often characterized by loss of livelihoods and assets and the accumulation of debt. The vast majority move into resource-poor settings in developing countries.⁹ Our studies show that IDPs are poorer than non-displaced people on both multi-dimensional and income poverty metrics. The investigations also underline the need for a portfolio of approaches to uncover gender-poverty links, which need to be understood at the individual as well as household levels.

The analysis of the intersection of gender, forced displacement, and multidimensional poverty in Ethiopia, Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan, and Sudan focuses on deprivations in

school attendance, primary school completion, unemployment, and legal identification. Displacement is found to significantly increase the likelihood of a household being multidimensionally poor, whereas gender has important impacts on individual deprivations within households.

Within households, gender emerges as an important predictor of chronic deprivation, such as failure to complete school, reflecting accumulated disadvantage over time. Among the multidimensionally poor, children in displaced households, especially girls, face greater barriers to educational equity with boys than host community peers. The higher levels of intrahousehold gender inequality in school attendance and legal identification in displaced households, relative to non-displaced households, underlines the importance

of going beyond household-level outcomes. Our findings suggest these inequalities typically weigh against women, although sometimes boys and men are disadvantaged.

More detailed investigations in Somalia focused on links between income poverty and female headship and other explanatory variables. While national poverty rates are very high overall (70 percent), the highest rates are among IDPs (77 percent), and male-headed households are poorer than female-headed households, regardless of displacement status (81 versus 70 percent for IDPs, and 68 versus 65 percent for non-IDPs). Controlling for individual, household and displacement characteristics enables a more nuanced assessment of the links between poverty risk and gender. Male-headed households are associated with higher poverty risk for IDPs, but not for non-IDPs, among whom widows are 40 percentage points more likely to be poor. All types of IDP households with children¹⁰ are 17 to 20 percentage points more likely to be poor than IDP households without children. By way of contrast, in the host community, household demographic composition is not strongly associated with poverty risk, with the exception of multi-generational households with children. These results are consistent with the view that disruptions to family structure during displacement increase households' risk of poverty and, in the case of non-IDPs in Somalia, it is important to be aware of the heightened poverty risk of widows.

The results from Somalia also point to the importance of paid work, especially for women and for IDP households.

Compared to households with no earners, having two or more earners is associated with the largest reduction in poverty risk for both IDPs and non-IDPs. Interestingly, for IDP households, the largest reduction in poverty risk is associated with having mostly women earners rather than mostly men earners (40 versus 36 percent reduction in risk).¹¹

Darfur, Sudan is well known for massive forced displacement. GDFD investigations in El Fasher highlights the protracted nature of displacement: the average household arrived over a decade ago and 29 percent of IDPs have been born in El Fasher.¹² Overall poverty rates are very high – exceeding 80 percent – but IDPs are 22 percent more likely to be poor than non-IDPs, even though IDPs were more likely to work in any form of employment and engage in more activities than non-IDPs. Likewise, IDP women worked more on average than non-IDP women, but were also more likely to be poor. This was not the case for men and points to the importance of the quality of economic opportunities, explored further below.

A 2018 survey in North East Nigeria covering IDPs (in camps and host communities) and non-IDPs is another case with overall very high poverty rates: an estimated 84 percent of households fell below the 1.90 USD/day poverty line, around half had not eaten bread in the week prior and 70 percent had not eaten meat or dairy products. While the monetary poverty rate is highest for female-headed households, whether or not they are displaced (around 91 percent), displaced female-headed households are worst off in terms of multi-dimensional poverty.¹³ This is consistent with the finding from the

multidimensional poverty analysis that while displaced women are often more deprived than non-displaced women, as in Nigeria, in some countries being female can be a stronger driver of multidimensional poverty than displacement, highlighting the variability and complexity of the displacement experience.

Looking at other dimensions of poverty, both displacement status and gender affect access to schooling, with displaced girls often most disadvantaged, and displaced women having fewer years of schooling than displaced men. There are nuances, however. Our program's findings on Syrian refugees in Jordan suggest that displacement could open opportunities for younger women, but for older women was much more challenging. Similar findings emerged in Darfur.

A GDFD multi-country study of multidimensional poverty examined relative deprivations in years of schooling—defined as no household member of the appropriate age having completed at least six years of schooling—between displaced and non-displaced people.¹⁴ The starkest differences in education deprivation rates appear to emerge where access to schooling is also far from universal for host communities, as in Ethiopia and Somalia. In Ethiopia, 66 and 68 percent of male and female refugees, respectively, were deprived of years of schooling, compared to 37 and 33 percent of male and female hosts. In Somalia, 97 percent of both male and female IDPs were deprived, compared to 60 and 63 percent of male and female non-IDPs. In Sudan, the rates of education deprivation were again much higher among displaced versus non-displaced women: 29 versus 19 percent. Similar results emerged for individual

deprivations in school attendance, defined as any child of primary school age not attending school up to class 6. In Nigeria, for example, 34 and 31 percent of IDP girls and boys were deprived in this dimension, compared to 21 and 20 percent of non-IDP girls and boys.

Table 2 showcases these relative rates of education deprivation across the countries investigated, and table 3 shows the same for children. Interestingly, Darfur, Sudan emerges as the only place among these five settings where girls are not worse off than boys in schooling, whether or not they are displaced. This unexpected result again underlines the importance of country-specific analysis.

Among displaced communities, female-headed households are more likely to be deprived in years of schooling – the gap is 23 percentage points among people displaced in Ethiopia, 27 percentage points among displaced South Sudanese, and 14 percentage points among Sudanese.¹⁵ Children in female-headed households are also more likely to be deprived in school attendance than those living in male-headed households. This deprivation is 3 percentage points higher among female-headed households in Ethiopia and 8 percentage points higher among female-headed households in South Sudan (table 3). While we are unable to identify the causal drivers, it may be partly driven by daughters picking up care and other work at home, or possibly working outside the home, as well as the overall higher rates of deprivation in these households. Results from Sudan showed local violence had a strong negative impact on school attendance for IDPs and non-IDPs, and girls and boys alike.

TABLE 2 ADULTS DEPRIVED IN EDUCATION BY DISPLACEMENT STATUS AND BY GENDER, PERCENT.

	Refugees		Hosts	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Ethiopia	66	68	37	33
	IDPs		Non-IDPs	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Nigeria	54	56	39	45
Somalia	97	97	60	63
South Sudan	43	48	40	52
Sudan	28	29	26	19

TABLE 3 CHILDREN DEPRIVED IN SCHOOL ATTENDANCE BY DISPLACEMENT STATUS AND GENDER, PERCENT.

	Refugees		Hosts	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Ethiopia	16	19	11	11
	IDPs		Non-IDPs	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Nigeria	31	34	20	21
Somalia	64	68	59	63
South Sudan	20	25	25	29
Sudan	22	21	15	12

Source: Admasu, et al. 2021. Multidimensional Poverty, Gender, and Forced Displacement: A+ Multi-Country, Intra-household Analysis in Sub-Saharan Africa. Tables 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11.

Notes: Deprived in years of schooling means that no household member of school age has completed at least 6 years schooling; deprived in school attendance is a child of primary school age in household not attending school

Our investigation of income poverty in a large sample of Syrian refugees in Jordan over the period 2013-2018 using UNHCR data found no significant difference in per capita expenditure between male- and female-headed refugee households, without any economies of scale (table 4).¹⁶ Adjusting for economies of scale reversed poverty rankings between male- and female-headed

households in both time periods. By 2018, female-headed households and single caregivers (the vast majority of whom are women) were worse off than male-headed households by about 15 percentage points. These findings demonstrate that examining per capita income without accounting for household economies of scale can conceal gendered differences in poverty.

TABLE 4 PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS BELOW 40TH PERCENTILE OF EXPENDITURE DISTRIBUTION, SYRIAN REFUGEES IN JORDAN, PERCENT.

	Baseline Poverty Headcount		Poverty adjusted by Economies of Scale	
	2013-14	2017-18	2013-14	2017-18
Male-headed household	41	40	36	33
Female-headed household	38	40	38	49
Couples with children	54	48	40	35
Single caregivers	40	42	38	48

Source: Hanmer, et al. 2022, forthcoming, Table 3. The economies of scale adjustment divides household consumption by the square root of household size.

LIVELIHOODS AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES

While the constraints and results are context specific, displaced women often face disadvantages in accessing economic opportunities relative to displaced men, host women, and host men, highlighting the compounding effects of displacement on gender inequality. This is despite the fact that IDPs, by law, should have the same

economic rights as hosts. The gaps in access to economic opportunities is likely shaped by norms around unpaid work and care responsibilities as well as discrimination. Refugees often face larger barriers if there are formal constraints to paid work.

In Ethiopia, Nigeria, South Sudan and Sudan, but not Somalia, displaced women were consistently less likely to be employed than displaced men (table 5). In Ethiopia, just 2 percent of displaced women had access to their own bank account, compared to 27 percent of host women.

TABLE 5 DISADVANTAGES ACROSS GENDER AND DISPLACEMENT STATUS IN EMPLOYMENT AND FINANCIAL INCLUSION, PERCENT.

Country	Employment				Financial inclusion			
	Displaced women	Displaced men	Host women	Host men	Displaced women	Displaced men	Host women	Host men
Ethiopia	6.5	14.6	8.2	23.9	2.3	2.8	27.4	26.6
Nigeria	14.5	36.2	14.8	39.2	23.9	24.2	40.1	41.2
Somalia	5.3	6.9	5.8	6.1	57.8	59.1	72.9	73.6
South Sudan	6.8	7.5	6.8	8.5	-	-	-	-
Sudan	7.0	7.5	7.9	8.1	7.2	7.0	11.2	11.4

Source: Estimates underlying WPS Index, 2021 based on DHS/ HFS data

Our findings indicate that displaced women face greater barriers to labor market participation than displaced men, although the identified constraints vary across settings. For example, lack of access to land emerges as important in Ethiopia, while lack of education is significant in both Ethiopia and Darfur. As noted above, in Darfur, displaced women were more likely to work than women who had not been displaced, although they were still more likely to be poor. This reveals the low returns to the types of jobs undertaken by displaced women in the region.

There are significant gender gaps among the displaced in Darfur. Women are much less likely to be employed and about half as likely to be paid by someone else, or in self-employment either on or off farm. While the extent to which gender norms could be directly linked to economic opportunities was not well captured by the data, the Darfur study linked major gender gaps in access to jobs, especially paid work and off-farm employment, to gender norms. While there were no significant gender differences in access to markets and services, perceptions of safety and legal documentation, there were differences in educational achievements. Compared to displaced men of the same age and background, displaced women were less likely to be in school when they left and have lower levels of schooling and literacy today. The authors argue that gender norms at the place of origin shaped observed gender gaps in IDP employment.¹⁷ Compared to IDP women, IDP men engage in more activities, work more hours per week and months per year in their main income-generating activity, and are less likely to have their main activity in agriculture (32 versus 38 percent).

The Darfur study thus suggests that gendered constraints faced by IDP women begin in the norms and institutions at their place of origin. Both IDP men and women face additional barriers in their destination places. IDP women thus face a “double burden” of disadvantage in access to economic opportunities. For younger women, displacement offers some opportunities to advance their education and overcome gendered disadvantages. But for older displaced women who have had less chance to catch up with their education upon arrival in camp, the double burden is strongest. These findings point to the need for policy responses to concurrently address the needs of the long-term displaced and gender inequality. Among IDPs, the design of programs and policies should be informed by the profile of disadvantage. In the case of Darfur and livelihoods, this seems to point to older women needing the greatest support.

In Colombia, displaced status is associated with more traditional gender norms as measured by attitudes towards women’s role in the domestic sphere. For example, controlling for a range of observable factors, like place of origin and education, displacement reduces the probability of disagreeing with the statement ‘a woman’s main role is family caregiving and cooking’ by 6-8 percentage points.¹⁸ Simultaneously, IDP women are 7-9 percentage points less likely to be able to decide what to do with the money they earn than their non-IDP counterparts.¹⁹

The 2017 Skills Profile Survey covered different refugee-hosting regions of Ethiopia: Tigray-Afar (Eritrean), Gambella (South Sudanese), Benishangul-Gumuz (Sudanese and

South Sudanese), and Somali (Somalis) and their host communities. Significant gender gaps are revealed in employment, both among refugees and hosts (9 and 15 percentage points respectively). In multivariate analysis, the number of young children, lack of access to agricultural land, and lack of physical safety were found to *reduce* female employment. Living in a female-headed household, having more years of education, and experiencing longer displacement duration *increases* the probability of female employment. More generally, displaced people had fewer economic opportunities. Refugees in Benishangul-Gumuz region (Sudanese and South-Sudanese refugees) are 65 percentage points less likely to be in employment compared to their hosts. Somali refugees have better employment opportunities than other refugee groups in Ethiopia, which might be traced to their lower language and cultural barriers to integration in Somali, Ethiopia.²⁰

Gendered divisions of childcare responsibilities often limit women's labor force participation. Using panel data from 97 countries, Bloom, et al. (2009) estimate that a birth reduces a woman's labor supply for paid work by almost two years during her reproductive life.²¹ Cross-national surveys in the OECD have found that in households where women are expected to do most of the child rearing (and home labor activities), the number of children is higher and the probability that the woman participates in the labor market is lower.²² In Germany, the share of married women working full-time drops drastically if they have school age children—from 76 to 11 percent.²³

Displaced women often maintain their roles as primary caregivers. For

example, Syrian refugee women in Jordan may become breadwinners for their households without any diminution of their responsibility as the caretakers for their families.²⁴ Similar dynamics have been reported for IDP widows in Nepal,²⁵ Chechen refugees in the Czech Republic,²⁶ and IDP women in Darfur.²⁷

In Ethiopia, the number of young children in a household was found to significantly reduce female - but not male - employment among refugees, while the number of children in a household increased male employment among hosts.²⁸ This confirms the global pattern whereby gendered divisions of unpaid labor adversely affect women's employment opportunities. As explored further in Section 3 below, these results also imply an unmet need for childcare services, which could be an area for support to facilitate the expansion of economic opportunities, particularly for women. The results from Ethiopia also underline the importance of education to women's paid employment prospects, while female heads of households were also more likely to be in paid work. Interestingly, access to the internet, physical safety and remittances did not have significant effects in a multivariate probit analysis.

The factors associated with work outside the home for displaced women are similar to those facing non-displaced women, for example, the need to juggle care responsibilities. Female headship also increases the likelihood of women's employment for both refugees and hosts in Ethiopia. However, there are also differences. The GDFD results show that displaced women are more likely to be in paid work than women in host communities in Darfur,²⁹ and both non-settlement IDPs and non-IDPs in Somalia.³⁰ However, in Darfur, displaced

women’s lower levels of education and other constraints mean that their earnings are lower, and were more likely to be classed as “unpaid labor.”

Our investigation of livelihoods in North East Nigeria reveals that, regardless of displacement status, women are less likely to be employed than men.³¹ Rates of employment among displaced women are around 15 percent, compared to 39 percent for host men. However, local conflict substantially reduces the likelihood of any economic activity with no gender differences. The adverse impacts of conflict are most pronounced when levels of violence are high, as measured by conflict exposure at the district level, including exposure to any form of collective violence, exposure to violence against civilians, and exposure to fatalities.

In sum, the GDFD poverty and livelihoods analysis consistently points to the importance of displaced women’s paid work to families, but also to constraints which limit the nature and quality of their employment.³² Many of the constraints echo those documented for women more generally.³³ A number of barriers appear to be amenable to policy and program interventions, including education, childcare and perceptions of safety, as well as the importance of changing norms around paid and unpaid work.

INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

In the diverse settings explored in the GDFD research – Colombia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Mali, and Liberia – women who have been forcibly displaced consistently experienced more

violence in the home. In both Colombia and Liberia, controlling for wealth quintile, displaced women reported 40 to 55 percent greater odds of experiencing past-year IPV compared to their non-displaced counterparts.³⁴ In DRC, women also reported experiencing higher levels of sexual violence by non-partners. The evidence underlines the fact that in conflict-affected settings, women are more likely to experience abuse at the hands of acquaintances, intimate partners, family members and people in their community than at the hand of armed actors.

Fatal conflict events in the vicinity of where women live also consistently increase women’s experiences of IPV. In both Colombia and Liberia, living in a district with at least one conflict fatality increased the odds of past-year IPV, suggesting both conflict and displacement independently and significantly increase women’s risk of violence.

In the DRC, both displacement and experiencing war-related abuses affected women’s risk of multiple forms of GBV.³⁵ Both types of experiences were significantly associated with higher levels of IPV, specifically:

- Ever-displaced women face 11 percent higher risk of IPV and currently displaced women face 20 percent higher risk of IPV.
- Women who experienced at least one incident of war-related abuse had a 12 percent higher risk of lifetime IPV and 14 percent higher risk of past-year IPV.
- Having been displaced at any point in her life increases a woman’s risk of lifetime and past-year IPV by 6 percent and experiencing war abuses increased risk of lifetime IPV by 9 percent.

Analysis of data in Mali from 2006 and 2018, spatially linked with ACLED conflict data, compares outcomes before and during conflict across conflict- and non-conflict-affected districts.³⁶ Conflict is found to increase the risk of combined IPV, a measure that includes physical, emotional and sexual forms of IPV. Living in a conflict-affected area increases the probability of a woman experiencing physical IPV by about 14 percent, and of combined IPV by 18 percent after controlling for a range of factors, including her attitudes towards the acceptability of wife beating, witnessing IPV in childhood, religion and regional fixed effects. However, the results do not show any effect of conflict on sexual IPV alone.

A study using the same methodology in Nigeria finds that the presence of Boko Haram (BH) increases the probability that women experience physical or sexual IPV by about 4 percentage points after controlling for known correlates of IPV: partner's alcohol use, previous exposure to IPV and condoning IPV as a social norm. Controlling behaviors from husbands/partners—another form of IPV—are heightened in locations that are impacted by the BH insurgency. In these places, women's risk of experiencing controlling behavior increases by 14 percentage points, indicating that the BH insurgency exacerbates behaviors that are often pre-cursors to physical and sexual IPV.³⁷

While the data does not allow us to disentangle pathways, IPV risk factors affecting the displaced appear to be income insecurity, stress leading to marital discord, lack of institutions able to respond to violence, and breakdown in social fabric.³⁸

In the DRC, the research finds links between conflict-related violence and IPV: women experiencing physical or economic abuses inflicted by armed actors also experienced a significant increase in IPV.³⁹ Specifically, women who experienced at least one incident of war-related abuse⁴⁰ had a 12 percent higher risk of lifetime IPV and 14 percent higher risk of past-year IPV. Being employed, having an abusive father, and having a partner that uses drugs or alcohol were also associated risk factors for the conflict affected women.

Forced displacement can amplify the risk of child marriage.⁴¹ This has been traced to families marrying off daughters for the protection of a male spouse or for greater financial security.⁴² Our new multi-country analysis suggests more mixed results, which vary across country contexts.

Our findings provide solid evidence for the need for policy makers and programs to seriously consider the significant risks of GBV that displaced women and girls face, to ensure actions are taken to prevent such violence, and to enable support for survivors, as outlined in Section 3 below.

ADVERSE GENDER NORMS

Gendered social norms, the shared behavioral 'rules' that define what members of a society do or believe should be done, operating at both the individual (personal) and social (community) levels. Measuring complex constructs like gender norms is challenging and constrained by data availability. However, the importance of measuring norms and assessing how they change is increasingly recognized as

an important area for policy responses to displacement.⁴³ As noted in a recent systematic review, “qualitative findings show that gender and social norms acted as significant barriers to program uptake across multiple intervention types, including cash transfers and safe spaces. Policy makers must ensure they recognize embedded power dynamics and specifically address patriarchal norms, as without these components, interventions are unlikely to succeed in their stated aims.”⁴⁴

Unequal gender norms are often restrictive for women and girls, relative to men and boys, and may persist, or be disrupted by displacement. Displacement can expose women and men, girls and boys, to new host community norms that are more expansive, or restrictive, as well as to new economic and social realities that challenge traditional gender roles. Women may be able to access new opportunities and services that were previously unavailable. Afghan refugee women in Pakistan that had fled the previous Taliban regime, for example, had access to reproductive health services, often for the first time. Their daughters could attend primary and secondary education from which they were excluded at home.⁴⁵ Individuals may be presented with new reference groups in new settings that can allow for changes in individual behaviors among displaced women, although behavior may change without shifting the gender norm.

Displaced people often move to urban areas, which may open up economic opportunities for women and broaden their exposure to new gender norms.⁴⁶ For example, a study of Syrian refugees in Lebanon found that displaced women undertook responsibilities outside of their traditional roles, including

searching for work and providing for the family. In some cases, this lowered the self-esteem of male spouses, leading to increased violence in the home.⁴⁷ Another study of Syrian refugees in camps in Jordan found that refugee women were frequently taking on breadwinner roles for the first time, which increased their decision-making power in the community.⁴⁸ In the absence of men, displaced Nuer women in South Sudan generated income for the household and assumed roles traditionally perceived as male, including negotiating dowries.⁴⁹

Whether the spheres of activities deemed unsuitable for women change post-displacement appears to vary across settings. A 2011 study in Darfur found that IDP women were involved in health-related activities at the community level but were excluded from decisions related to camp infrastructure or management, which were perceived as male fields.⁵⁰ In contrast, in the aftermath of Nepal’s conflict, a 2016 study found that widows worked outside the home and some of them even crossed over into male-dominated fields, such as construction labor or transport.⁵¹

The GDFD program includes several studies which cast important new light on gender norms in displacement settings. Two new empirical investigations directly interrogated gender norms in displacement in Jordan and Colombia, while others provide new insights. The research on gendered social norms in Jordan focused on adolescence, which is the stage when boys’ and girls’ lives become strongly gender-differentiated, particularly in socially conservative settings.⁵² Earlier work in Jordan found that adolescent boys steadily gain mobility, whether leaving the house or

leaving the community, as they aged, whereas girls' mobility diminished.⁵³

The new examination of norms around adolescent Syrian refugees in Jordan used the nationally representative 2016 Jordan Labor Market Panel Survey which includes questions on gender role attitudes and justification of domestic VAW, as well as involvement in decision-making and mobility. The focus is on two key aspects of adolescent life: domestic work (subsistence and unpaid care) and current enrolment in school. The investigation reveals that while gender role attitudes are similar across generations and nationalities, Syrian adolescent girls are particularly restricted in their mobility compared to their Jordanian counterparts. This could reflect the higher (real or perceived) risks they face in the public space. Syrian refugee girls in Lebanon and Jordan, for example, have cited risks of GBV on the way to school as a barrier to education.⁵⁴ At the same time, Syrian refugee adolescent girls and boys have similar educational outcomes as do Syrian refugee girls and Jordanian girls after accounting for socioeconomic status.⁵⁵

The findings underline the association between girls' and mothers' decision-making and domestic workloads. The results also highlight importance of considering adolescent refugee girls as a distinct group that may have divergent outcomes and face unique challenges. For example, while Syrian adult women had higher mobility relative to Jordanian adult women, Syrian adolescent girls were much more restricted than adult women or Jordanian adolescent girls. Girls' limited mobility may constrain their access to safe spaces, to connect to friends and social

networks, to access sexual and reproductive health services, and more. It has been noted that in displacement contexts, adolescent girls were traditionally overlooked in humanitarian programming, lumped in with children or adults, although the recognition of the needs of adolescents and especially adolescent girls has grown over time.⁵⁶

Whether gender norms change with displacement is also examined in the case of IDPs in Colombia.⁵⁷ Colombia is a national setting characterized by widespread internal displacement as well as deeply rooted gender unequal norms. Women are expected to take on the bulk of domestic responsibilities, whereas men are seen as the household head and main breadwinners for their families. Affordable, good-quality childcare services are lacking, no legal provision exists for paid parental leave to be shared between mothers and fathers,⁵⁸ and women do nearly four times as much as much unpaid domestic and care work as men. The GDFD research uses three rounds of Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) data for the 2005-2015 period to examine changes in gender attitudes, norms and behavior that limit women's access to reproductive health, economic opportunities, and mobility, and norms that tolerate VAW and endorse patriarchy.

The GDFD research finds mixed trends and patterns in gender attitudes and norms over the decade, not always moving in expected directions:

- Displacement is associated with more traditional attitudes around women in the domestic sphere, reducing the probability of disagreeing with the statement "a woman's main role is family caregiving and cooking" by 6 to 8

percentage points, and reducing women's ability to decide how to use the money they earn. On the other hand, displacement is associated with less traditional patriarchal attitudes such as "families with men have less problems" or "a good wife obeys her husband."⁵⁹

- There are contrasting trends around IPV: IDP women are more likely than their non-IDP counterparts in Colombia to state that they would call out a friend who abuses a woman. However, evidence on behaviors show more IDP women are experiencing IPV, even though they are less likely to tolerate it.⁶⁰
- Displacement does not alter attitudes towards the use of contraception. Most women in the Colombia study agree with the use of contraception. However, displacement reduces women's ability to use and decide on contraceptive

use, which might be explained by the lack of access to sexual and reproductive health information and services, as well as different attitudes around the ideal family size.⁶¹

The results thus reveal a misalignment between attitudes, norms and behaviors with respect to IPV, contraception and control over own earnings. On each of these fronts, displaced women have less rigid patriarchal attitudes, but their risk of violence worsens, and the ability to decide about contraception and their own earnings decreases following displacement. These findings shed light on the complexity of gender norm change and suggest that improvements in one area do not necessarily shift unequal gender norms and behaviors. The deep-seated nature of the challenges suggests that programming specifically designed to challenge and replace unequal norms is needed for displaced and host communities.

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY

This program of research interrogated existing data sets and did not involve program or policy evaluations. The results nonetheless reveal important insights about directions for policies and programs, given the robust evidence about the profile of deprivations and drivers of disparities, alongside the increased risk of GBV and difficulty in shifting gender norms.

The gender dimensions of displacement have implications for both humanitarian and development programming. The protracted nature of displacement means that long-term perspectives need to be adopted, even amidst emergencies. The average length of humanitarian crises and responses has increased over time, from 5.2 years to 9.3 years between 2014 and 2018.⁶² While funding for humanitarian responses has gradually increased over the past decade, estimated needs have outpaced funding. In 2020, UN OCHA estimated a \$22 billion gap between the amount available for humanitarian response and the \$39 billion required—the largest deficit ever.⁶³

The overarching general implication for policy makers is that both humanitarian and development policies and programs need to understand and address the intersectionality of gender

and displacement and respond appropriately to close gaps in status and opportunities in specific contexts. It is also important to understand the needs of affected groups through direct consultations about their constraints and priorities and meaningful participation in program and policy design.⁶⁴

The more direct implications for policy fall into several categories, beginning with the value of better understanding country circumstances. We cover these in turn below.

THE FEASIBILITY AND IMPORTANCE OF COUNTRY-SPECIFIC ANALYSIS

The research program reveals that much more can be done to inform policy and program design even with existing data. The analyses demonstrate how diverse data sources—ranging from well-known datasets such as the DHS to more recently fielded labor market and household income and expenditure surveys designed to address questions around displacement—can cast light

on the situation of forcibly displaced people.⁶⁵ In investigating these data sources, it is important that gender and displacement status be examined alongside such key variables as age and family structure and the duration of displacement.

Innovative methodological approaches, combining different sources of data to test hypotheses on the gender dimensions of forced displacement, include the research on GBV which spatially links data from Domestic Violence module of the DHS to the Armed Conflict Location and Events Database (ACLED) to allow conflict-affected communities to be identified and contrasted to communities that are not exposed to conflict.⁶⁶

The findings from the analyses lend support to a number of expected outcomes, like the disadvantages faced by displaced women in economic opportunities, but also highlight some counter-intuitive results in particular settings. These findings underscore the importance of country-specific analysis. For example, in Darfur, IDP women work more than non-IDP women (but are poorer, on average). We find that in Somalia—a context of very high poverty rates—male-headed households are worse off than female-headed households overall, but some types of female-headed households, such as widows in non-IDP communities and IDP female single caregivers, experience the highest poverty rates. This points to the importance of going beyond household headship, a theme to which we return below.

NEED TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES—WITH ATTENTION TO EARNINGS

Evidence from all the countries investigated demonstrates that substantial barriers constrain the economic opportunities of displaced women – most notably lack of education and considerable care responsibilities. For example, among Ethiopian refugees, the livelihoods of men and women are impacted differently by displacement. Adverse gender norms result in women having fewer opportunities for economic advancement and bearing more care responsibilities at home. In Germany, Kenya, and Niger, the IRC interviewed women refugees to better understand their barriers and needs for improved livelihoods. The most cited needs included skills building and business support, expanded social networks for information sharing, safe spaces, access to childcare, and support from influential local authorities.⁶⁷ A broader review of the literature of what works to promote jobs for displaced people underlines the importance of understanding context-specific obstacles. Interventions to help the forcibly displaced access labor markets must address these multiple constraints simultaneously.⁶⁸

The Women’s Refugee Commission has warned that improperly designed livelihood programs, for example, those without a solid understanding of specific obstacles and the needs and aspirations of displaced people, can reinforce women’s traditional gender

roles, increase their workloads, and heighten their risk of experiencing violence.⁶⁹ While this is not a call to abandon such efforts, the potential downsides point to the need for program designers and implementers to recognize and understand the barriers and challenges women face. One solution is to include analytical work to identify barriers faced by women in accessing markets and jobs in project preparation. For example, in Azerbaijan, a project preparation study for a living standards and livelihoods project for IDPs took stock of divergent experiences among male and female IDPs, and gaps in the distribution of assets and risks between them. As a result, the project included more micro projects and support to small businesses to foster female entrepreneurship.⁷⁰

Another solution is to conduct social assessments to identify where risks for GBV lie within projects across sectors, including livelihoods. Actions to mitigate and reduce these risks can be incorporated into project design as, for example, in the Development Response to Displacement Impact Project in Kenya.⁷¹ Projects can also ensure that governance mechanisms represent women and include their voices in decisions made about community-level investments. Even when economic opportunities are limited, there is often potential to enable women better access to the economic opportunities that do exist. For example, in Jordan, regulatory reforms to formalize home-based enterprises has helped both refugee and Jordanian women circumvent barriers such as inadequate transportation or lack of childcare by enabling women to work more easily from home. Reforms of regulations governing

childcare can incentivize more private sector provision of care--both home-based and by childcare centers.⁷²

While enabling women to engage in paid work can reduce household poverty risks (as found in Somalia), there is also evidence that displaced women in paid work have low earnings. The specific policy and programming implications will vary by context, although several directions of change emerge as critical across all the settings characterized by displacement. First, it is important to expand access to education across all age groups, as well as access to public technical and vocational training, which could include new skills to enable displaced women to run their own business or move into non-traditional occupations. Second, there is a need for a full range of sexual and reproductive health services to help enable women to determine whether and when to have children. Third, the expansion of childcare services in camps and host community neighborhoods is crucial. Finally, but not least, efforts to expand economic opportunities should be considered alongside ways to enhance women's decision-making roles and political participation, as well as their access to and control over resources.

Evidence about what works to advance economic opportunities of displaced women in developing country settings is very limited. We know from other developing country settings-- including Chile,⁷³ Kenya,⁷⁴ and Nicaragua⁷⁵--that the provision of childcare services can enable women's economic opportunities, although direct evidence for displaced women is lacking. In some cases, access to safe and affordable

transport may be a barrier, as well as perceptions about safety at work. A recent review (not focused on gender differences) concluded that healthcare and psychosocial support can help refugees and IDPs overcome trauma, improve their outlook and integrate into labor markets, while interventions to build social networks and overcome spatial mismatches seem promising and require further testing and evaluation.⁷⁶

Research findings about the relative educational disadvantage of displaced women appear to suggest a role for programs to build relevant skills. An assessment of the “Women and Girls Oasis,” operated by UN Women and INTERSOS to facilitate vocational training for Syrian refugee women in Jordan in computer skills, English, and hair-dressing, found that most participants reported increases in income and socio-economic status.⁷⁷ However, a broader review found that the track record of “skills only” interventions for refugees is not promising,⁷⁸ pointing to the importance of understanding labor demand in host communities and gender-specific barriers to participation.

Programs designed to empower girls may need to engage their families and communities who act as gatekeepers. In Kenya and Iraq, for example, UNHCR has facilitated men’s groups in refugee camps aimed at changing norms around GBV and gender roles. Qualitative evidence suggests that this led to men more actively working to prevent SGBV in camps, more equitable decision-making in the home, and more conversations about consent.⁷⁹ A number of studies in the MENA region have found that while the views of older men may be a key constraint to progress on

gender equality, there is a substantial fraction of men with gender-equitable views who may be engaged in progressive change.⁸⁰ Schools appear to be an important site for programs working to change gender norms across generations.⁸¹

Addressing discriminatory norms more broadly is critical for women’s economic inclusion, including for displaced women. Indeed, an ongoing study of refugee financial integration in Jordan, Kenya, Mexico, and Uganda found that the provision of financial services alone did not produce significant improvements in economic outcomes for displaced women.⁸² Success depended on the ability to navigate pathways to economic inclusion which, for women, requires the transformation of harmful gender norms. Similarly, the Norwegian Refugee Council finds that in Africa, major barriers to displaced women’s land ownership include harmful gender norms and lack of awareness of property rights, highlighting the need for investments in efforts that help inform women of their rights and how to navigate the process of independently owning property.⁸³

Colombia’s 2011 Victim’s Law highlights an effort to promote gender justice in land restitution. The policy, following years of civil conflict and mass forced displacement, prioritizes returnee women in land restitution processes and guarantees special protection of their land rights. Although comprehensive evaluations of the law’s impacts have not yet been conducted, some analysis suggests the policy could help erode structural discrimination against women and provide greater agency and economic opportunities for displaced women.⁸⁴

An ODI study in Cox's Bazar among Rohingya refugees and host communities highlights the importance of context and understanding the views and preferences of displaced people.⁸⁵ For some Rohingya women, the dignity of staying in their home (*pardah*) was a priority, and may have represented a self-protection mechanism if, for example, their male household members would not have accepted their leaving the house. For others, a preference for self-reliance meant they would be willing to break *pardah* to work outside the home to support their families. In this case, different modalities of assistance would be necessary to meet the preferences of the affected population and avoid exacerbating GBV risks for women.

SOCIAL PROTECTION PROGRAMS

Social protection includes the range of policies and programs adopted by national and local governments to alleviate and/or prevent poverty and vulnerability when individuals or households face shocks or risks along the lifecycle.⁸⁶ Many social protection programs provide direct income support to address need and can be designed as an entry point to help facilitate the expansion of future opportunities through access to counselling, training, and job search support, for example.

Social protection programs with design features that respond to women's care responsibilities and address barriers to women's economic opportunities are especially important for IDPs. 'Cash

plus' approaches, for example, complement direct transfers with training, key information, and access to services, aiming to address multiple constraints at once and ensure that women can maximize the potential of cash transfers.⁸⁷ Cash transfers can be especially beneficial to women by increasing their agency and ability to participate in household decision-making.⁸⁸

One type of social protection often used in humanitarian settings is cash and voucher assistance. Displaced people and communities who have fled conflict often depend heavily on this assistance for survival. Traditionally, most humanitarian assistance was provided in kind, but there has been a trend over the past two decades toward cash-based modalities. While cash is not a substitute for all the services that displaced women and men need, it can play a key role.

The 2016 Grand Bargain included commitments to increase cash transfer programming in humanitarian aid to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of humanitarian action. Accumulating evidence, including a 2016 systematic review, suggests that cash-based humanitarian assistance approaches can increase food security and are more cost effective than in-kind food transfers.⁸⁹

Moreover, consistent with the vision of the 2018 Global Compact for Refugees, greater coherence and collaboration between humanitarian assistance and government social protection programs, where possible, can strengthen the wider humanitarian-development-peace nexus. Aligning international humanitarian assistance with government social protection programs can help pave the way for inclusion of refugees

and IDPs into government systems as part of sustainable solutions.

In practice however, protection gaps can arise for individuals and families between humanitarian assistance and the national social protection system. Preliminary research findings in Greece suggest that refugees are either unaware of social protection programs, or face significant entry barriers to access. Many lack a social security number, a tax registration number or a bank account— prerequisites for registration for state benefits programs. Very few of the refugees interviewed were receiving any form of state benefit.⁹⁰ For refugees, barriers to accessing the formal labor market leads to exclusion from contributory social insurance programs.⁹¹

Indeed, a recent global review concluded that “forcibly displaced populations are typically excluded from state social protection and are more often served by internationally financed humanitarian programs that are often short-term and unsustainable. There are also concerns as to the impacts of serving different populations with different cash programs, including variations in transfer value and frequency.”⁹²

The same review found that rights on paper may not hold in practice, and that “IDPs and refugees also tend to be excluded from state social registries, creating challenges where state systems rely on social registries for the identification of program recipients.” At the same time there was some evidence of these barriers being addressed by governments in Mauritania, Djibouti, and Congo.⁹³

Examples of collaboration between government and international humanitarian

actors to improve program inclusion have emerged during the COVID pandemic in Jordan, where the government used UNICEF’s RapidPro communication technology, a tool that allows for feedback between donors and beneficiaries, to expand cash transfers to both host communities and refugees. The World Food Programme used the Colombian government’s SISBEN database on family living conditions to better target displaced Venezuelan households in COVID-19 relief efforts.⁹⁴ More generally, however, it is important to ensure alignment and avoid parallel systems, and that social registries include displaced people.

Social assistance programs typically use income or means testing, or categorical criteria associated with being poor. Displacement appears to be a robust correlate of household poverty status. However, within households, our analysis also found that the patterns of deprivations of multidimensional poverty systematically differ by gender.

The GDFD results suggest that poverty-targeting criteria need to go beyond gender of household head. For example, male-headed households are income poorer than female-headed households in both Somalia among IDPs and among Syrian refugees in Jordan. However, gender does emerge as a factor influencing poverty risk. Female single caregivers, household with few working age men, widows living outside IDP settlements and in host communities all emerge as high poverty risk categories in the same settings. The results of our poverty analysis suggest that poverty reduction policies and programs in settings with high levels of poverty like Somalia should seek to cover all households, especially those with

children, and avoid narrow targeting criteria. Another important targeting consideration in displacement settings is the need to include host communities to avoid creating or exacerbating tensions. Programs can be designed so that displaced people participate together with host communities in cash plus activities as a way of building trust.

There is evidence that cash transfers can be especially beneficial to displaced women by increasing their agency and ability to participate in household decision-making.⁹⁵ Social protection programs with design features that respond to women's care responsibilities, address barriers to women's economic opportunities and offset risks of IPV are especially important.

Transfers can help to reduce financial stress and boost psychosocial well-being. For example:

- In Gaza, transfers were found to reduce anxiety and boost morale, especially among widows and divorcees who felt they would not survive without the transfer.⁹⁶ A more recent UNFPA program during the COVID-19 pandemic provided vouchers to economically vulnerable families and women at risk of GBV in Gaza and East Jerusalem. In Gaza, 97 percent of beneficiaries reported that the program had a positive impact on their psychological well-being.⁹⁷
- Cash transfers to Syrian refugees have been found to help empower women when they were able to provide for their families, quelled fears of having to return to Syria,⁹⁸ increased feelings of confidence and respect,⁹⁹ and bolstered confidence

to report GBV and enroll girls in school.¹⁰⁰

- A randomized trial of social assistance in the form of vouchers for essential items in North Kivu, DRC had significant positive effects on the participants' mental health.¹⁰¹

The design of social protection needs to account for possible restrictions in mobility and safety concerns of women having to mobilize to receive cash or vouchers. Digital cash transfers can be beneficial by depositing money directly into women's accounts, increasing women's control over assets and strengthening women's decision-making power.¹⁰² Electronic transfers may be safer for women if available in the displaced setting,¹⁰³ although there are also reports of conflict-affected women in Chad preferring physical cash due technological barriers and inability to register.¹⁰⁴

There is accumulating evidence that cash transfers can help to reduce risks of IPV in developing country settings through reduced economic stress on the household, and possibly through changing intra-household power dynamics in favor of women.¹⁰⁵ For example, a UNHCR cash assistance program in Lebanon was found to be highly appropriate for GBV survivors due to its discreet nature, enabling survivors to move away from their abuser(s) and to rent for themselves and their children, to undergo surgery or cope during the recovery of a family member, and to search for another job or house to escape abuses by their employer or house owner.

A recent World Bank operational guide provides tips on design and implementation of social protection including addressing the risk of backlash within households and communities or

opportunistic harassment and assault while participating in program activities; suggestions on how to increase the potential for social protection to empower women and prevent GBV; and opportunities to shift norms and address the fundamental drivers of GBV. Displaced women are among the at-risk groups identified that might require special initiatives to reduce GBV risks.¹⁰⁶

Cash plus assistance can include financial literacy and other forms of training, as well as gender discussion groups. Evidence that complementary programming can promote gender equality includes the International Rescue Committee cash transfer programming in Jordan aiming to build women's resilience to GBV through meeting their basic needs and targeted protection services.¹⁰⁷ Drawing on limited literature on cash and GBV in urban refugee settings, focus group discussions among men and women beneficiaries, and key informant interviews, receiving cash *and* attending gender discussion groups for women and men was found to help reduce IPV risks. Gender Discussion Groups and psychosocial services offer a sustained protection impact beyond the duration of the transfer. In the context of financial inclusion, for example, such groups create an opportunity to bring community members—women and their partners—together to reflect on their financial decisions and goals, the value of women in the household, and alternatives to violence. The study underlined the importance of flexibility in the amounts and duration of the cash transfers, and the value of different cash delivery mechanisms to give beneficiaries a range of options depending on their specific needs. A similar

project, operated by the Women's Refugee Council and CARE, found that cash transfers to female Venezuelan migrants in Ecuador reduced the incidence of IPV and increased access to essential services such as healthcare. The findings also suggest that a longer duration of cash transfer assistance could further reduce the incidence of GBV.¹⁰⁸ Other programs have introduced free hotlines where participants can raise questions or grievances, offering a pathway for additional support and helping to direct survivors to relevant services.¹⁰⁹

There may also be risks that male partners resent transfers being directed to women, although these risks can be mitigated through program design and implementation. Clear communication with family members on the transfers and how women are selected can mitigate the risks. Some relevant evidence from displacement settings includes the following:

- Two studies on Syrian refugees in Jordan reported that gender conventions were “turned upside down among beneficiaries.”¹¹⁰ Women beneficiaries felt more independent, self-reliant, and able to express their needs. However, men reported feeling depressed and emasculated. In some cases, focus group discussions indicated that, rather than improving joint decision-making, cash transfers led to some men exerting sole control of the transfer to regain their socially ascribed role as provider in the household.
- In Somalia, 50 percent of women said their husband's opinion of them changed positively as they recognized their ability to manage money.

Sixty percent felt cash transfers improved their partner and family relationships and that these changes were lasting.¹¹¹ The benefits were much larger in Mogadishu, which was attributed to more female heads of households in the urban IDP camps, where changes in gender dynamics and perceptions of women's ability to manage money were more easily changed.

- Also in Somalia, women beneficiaries reported feeling scared or worried to travel to collect cash from distribution points.¹¹²

These potential risks are clearly context specific but do point to the need for careful consideration when designing transfer programs. The beneficiaries' exposure to such risks can be mitigated by basing program design on solid knowledge about gender relations in the setting and embedding strong monitoring and feedback mechanisms.

Graduation and economic inclusion approaches bundle cash, asset transfers, training and coaching and are increasingly used by UNHCR and other humanitarian actors. For example, UNHCR started working with the non-profit Trickle Up in several displacement settings to design and implement the Graduation Approach as a time-bound and multipronged intervention to help people create sustainable livelihoods and overcome extreme poverty. Among the lessons drawn from a 2019 evaluation were the need to include both refugees and the host community in programming to avoid friction. Given the greater heterogeneity among refugees and between refugees and host populations, there was a need to identify and address protection risks

for refugees, such as discrimination and harassment, and provide psychosocial support, including regular coaching and strengthening social networks, to address social isolation.¹¹³

As recently underlined by ODI, there are significant gaps in knowledge about the design, implementation, and effectiveness of social protection and humanitarian interventions targeting and covering refugees. For example, more evidence is needed on the combinations of support and services that best complement cash transfers to expand economic opportunities and reduce GBV risks. Limited evaluation evidence is available on the impact of aligning humanitarian cash transfer programs with national programs on outcomes for refugees, IDPs and host communities.¹¹⁴

ADDRESSING HEIGHTENED RISK OF IPV

Most countries have laws in place prohibiting IPV, although prevalence remains high and, as outlined above, even worse among displaced women. In some cases, the national laws against violence do not protect displaced women. For example, Lebanon's law does not protect refugees, despite claiming to protect all women living in the country. Refugee women exposed to violence are not able to access government help if they lack legal residence status or live in a refugee camp.¹¹⁵

Research findings underline that IPV rates are significantly higher for women living in households in proximity to conflict, measured by conflict-related deaths, compared to those

living in peaceful areas of the country, and displaced women's higher IPV risk continues in their new destination. Moreover, the risks of IPV are much higher than most of the rates of wartime rape and sexual violence perpetrated by individuals outside of the home.¹¹⁶

Many standards and guidelines have been developed by various UN agencies to prevent and respond to GBV. The 2015 IASC guidelines on GBV, signed onto by heads of 12 UN agencies and NGOs, mandate that humanitarian actors across all sectors work to integrate GBV response and prevention across humanitarian interventions. The ICRC's Professional Standards for humanitarian actors emphasize the importance of GBV prevention measures during armed conflict and disaster. UNHCR's 2020 Policy on the Prevention of, Risk Mitigation, and Response to GBV recommends an intersectional approach to programming through recognizing systemic discrimination and VAW, and that gender equality programming is essential to efforts to reduce GBV in the long run. This policy complements UNHCR's 2018 Policy on Age, Gender, and Diversity (AGD) that emphasizes taking an intersectional approach to addressing GBV and promoting gender equality more broadly. The UN OCHA's Policy Instruction on Gender Equality (2021-2025) echoes similar principles and underlines the importance of consistent gender mainstreaming and ensuring local women's participation in decision-making around humanitarian interventions.

However, these have largely focused on wartime rape and sexual violence perpetrated by individuals outside of the

home and the behavior of humanitarian staff and actors. This is understandable given the appropriate outrage following the tragedies in Rwanda and Bosnia, and the revelations of sexual exploitation and abuse by aid workers in Haiti and DRC, and most recently similar acts carried out by World Health Organization staff responding to an Ebola outbreak in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2018-2020.¹¹⁷

The types of interventions that have been introduced to combat IPV in displacement settings, alone or in combination, include safe spaces, livelihood programming and training, psychosocial support, batterer interventions, home visitations, community mobilization, and/or cash and voucher transfers.

Little research has been conducted on what works to prevent and address GBV in emergency programming.¹¹⁸ This is in part attributed to the practical difficulty of tracking GBV during times of crisis due to issues of safety and privacy. The "What Works" research program recently concluded that there is not sufficient evidence to classify any intervention as "effective" in preventing VAWG in conflict and humanitarian settings. However, community-based programming targeting attitudes, behaviors and social norms change were found to show promise, although there are few completed evaluations.¹¹⁹ A recent policy brief, based on a review of programming in a high-violence setting in DRC, recommends recognizing, engaging with and supporting the inclusion of faith actors in responses to VAW. Work with faith-based agencies can seek to better equip local faith leaders to respond- including challenging where faith leaders are currently upholding harmful gender norms.¹²⁰

Evidence has accumulated on the importance of engaging men in efforts to reduce violence, although this may not translate into actual reductions in IPV.¹²¹ Moreover, the evidence base for effective interventions to engage men to reduce violence in displacement settings is limited. New findings from a cluster randomized controlled trial in eastern DRC report on the impacts of a male-only discussion group, which aims to critically reflect and challenge gender attitudes and reduce IPV.¹²² The study reported significant improvements in men's intention to commit violence and gender equitable attitudes and behaviors, as well as improvement in relationship quality as reported by women. However, there were no reported reductions in their female partner's report of past-year IPV.

The Population Council has reported promising results from a community-based SGBV prevention model implemented in a refugee settlement in western Uganda, using a pre- and post-intervention design.¹²³ The approach – implemented over a period of six months and involving stakeholder mapping, training, village pledges, and induction into an 'alliance' of zero-tolerance villages—was found to be effective in moderating negative gender attitudes and beliefs around SGBV and positively changing perceptions of community SGBV norms. Rates of some types of violence were reduced—specifically, physical IPV (for men and women), sexual IPV for men only, non-partner physical violence (for men and women), and non-partner sexual violence for women. However, the intervention was less effective in changing men's negative attitudes toward women's sexual autonomy in intimate

partnerships, and in reducing the occurrence of sexual IPV for women. Among the challenges were low literacy levels and the need to develop targeted approaches for reaching women with relevant information, and support for women post-rape.

Community-based interventions like *Community Cares: Transforming Lives and Preventing Violence* led by UNICEF in South Sudan and Somalia have shown promising results. Facilitated dialogues with community members aim to catalyze prevention activities, while training is designed to improve response services to VAWG. In Somalia, the intervention was associated with improved social norms around sexual violence in treatment relative to comparator communities.¹²⁴

Women and Girls' Safe Spaces (WGSS) are now among the most widely implemented GBV prevention and response interventions, seeking to provide physical safety, access to various GBV response services, opportunity for women and girls to re-build social networks and targeted skill building. The World Bank is now supporting safe spaces as part of a program to enhance safety and responses in Cox's Bazaar, Bangladesh. Programs in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda that provided safe spaces for girls and offered skills trainings have been found to boost financial literacy, self-esteem, and decision-making power, though some results were mixed.¹²⁵ CARE USA recently examined the effectiveness of safe spaces in Northwest Syria and South Sudan, settings in which women and girls face a significant risk of experiencing GBV and both home to a large number of IDPs.¹²⁶ Service knowledge

(e.g., where to go for help) and utilization was significantly higher among participants relative to non-participants. A significant association was observed between participation in WGSS programs and more gender-equitable attitudes in Northwest Syria (gender-equitable attitudes were not examined in South Sudan). IRC has also reported positive results from safe spaces in Ethiopia, DRC, and Pakistan.¹²⁷ Overall, however, more evidence is needed to inform programming practices to ensure safe spaces yield positive results.

Safety audits in Somalia, conducted by UNICEF, have been found to increase the understanding of GBV-related concerns in the camp.¹²⁸ Safety audits have been used by the Global Camp Management and Camp Coordination, the IRC, UNFPA, and other organizations to assess potential GBV-related safety risks through observation and consultation with affected communities.¹²⁹ Safety audits were conducted with a multisectoral approach, which resulted in a shared ownership of GBV risk mitigation in the different sectors, deeper data analysis, and more targeted recommendations.

One promising innovation has been the use of mobile services. In Lebanon, where many Syrian refugees live in urban settings, the delivery of WGSS was shifted to a roving team delivering services to vulnerable women where they were living (i.e., non-formal camps, shelters, or homes). The services provided a range of age-appropriate psychosocial support, awareness sessions, parenting skills, information dissemination, economic empowerment through vocational training, and referrals to specialized services including legal and birth registration and life

skills. A 2018 evaluation found that this improved access to essential services and a higher level of engagement of women because children simultaneously participate in the mobile child-friendly spaces.¹³⁰ The shared experience was also found to create a stronger sense of community among women living in the same area, and the delivery costs were cheaper due to savings on rent.

COVID-19 has led to some innovative approaches for preventing and responding to GBV in displacement. In Jordan, for example, designated phone booths have been transformed into safe spaces where survivors of abuse can call GBV case workers, offering a discreet and convenient pathway to support.¹³¹

More generally, however, governments have rarely introduced policies and interventions designed to reduce the risk of violence against displaced women and girls. One major gap has been that GBV responses in humanitarian settings tend to build a parallel structure for addressing GBV among forcibly displaced people in camps. A better approach would be for local actors to work through and strengthen local institutions, so local agencies can handle caseloads and provide quality services for both host and displaced communities. In Bangladesh, a new World Bank supported program is providing GBV services for both host and refugee women.¹³²

Where policies are in place, resources may be inadequate. For example, the Government of Bangladesh deployed only 20 female police officers to respond to VAWG in the Rohingya refugee camps, which have a population of more than 880,000 in South Bangladesh.¹³³

As outlined above, there is emerging evidence that social assistance can help to mitigate and address risks of IPV. Factors enabling the success of cash assistance in GBV programming include functioning complementary services, thoughtful case management plans, counselling on safety and empowerment issues, including gender, and monitoring.

Social protection programs can be complemented with access to GBV survivor and support services. These could include case management, referral systems, gender discussion groups, livelihoods support, and financial literacy training. Options include:

- Integrating cash or voucher assistance into comprehensive GBV programming including case management, referrals, awareness raising and psychosocial support at WGSS.
- GBV awareness sessions for voucher recipients.
- Grassroots-level partnerships and coordination to best respond to the needs of local women.

However, more evidence is needed about the combinations of support and services that best complement cash transfer programming to address GBV outcomes.

Several problems appear to have hampered the responses of the international community in preventing and responding to violence, including limited funding. In 2019, the latest year with available data, less than 0.3 percent of assistance went to combat violence, which amounts to roughly USD 0.86 per woman.¹³⁴ Only thirteen countries were spending more than one dollar per woman. The amount of humanitarian aid allocated to combat VAWG is even

lower, estimated at just 27 cents per woman in 2021, totaling 175 million.¹³⁵

A 2015 review concluded that responders did not prioritize GBV as a lifesaving intervention in emergencies.¹³⁶ Relatedly, IRC has documented that GBV interventions are often underfunded, especially at the beginning of an emergency.¹³⁷ Furthermore, even in interventions that have a vital GBV component, funding remains very limited. In 2019, less than 1 percent of global humanitarian funding was spent GBV prevention and response activities.¹³⁸ The Financial Tracking System (FTS)¹³⁹ and the Humanitarian Response Plan (HRP)¹⁴⁰ are the most accurate sources for GBV prevention and response funding. However, due to the humanitarian appeals lifecycles, FTS and HRP do not give a complete picture of available financing. The inconsistent planning and reporting of GBV prevention and response funds in the humanitarian sector makes it very difficult to understand funding trends and make year-to-year fund comparisons.¹⁴¹

Progress toward the inclusion and funding of local organizations working on GBV and displacement has been limited. In July 2015, the Charter for Change on the Localization of Humanitarian Aid, signed by nearly 40 NGOs, reiterated the importance of working with local partners.¹⁴² In practice, however, lack of funding limits local organizations' abilities to strengthen or scale up their programs and secure additional funding.¹⁴³

Across the spectrum of groups, agencies, and organizations that respond to GBV in humanitarian emergencies, local women's groups are often not properly prioritized nor integrated within the greater international humanitarian

response.¹⁴⁴ Without local agency in GBV prevention and response, local women's expertise is lost, and contextual best practices may be overlooked. Local organizations sometimes lack the capacity to meet the data and technical standards demanded by international actors, which can exclude them from funding opportunities.

IMPORTANCE OF DATA AND MEASUREMENT, AND LISTENING TO DISPLACED PEOPLE

There are basic deficits in the availability of data to understand the gender dimensions of forced displacement, especially since microdata on IDPs are very scarce and UNHCR does not register IDPs. Microdata on refugees are much more widely available and UNHCR registration allows access to important information.

The most basic gap is the lack of sex-disaggregated information in reported internal displacement data.¹⁴⁵ According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), the main agency collecting data on internal displacement, DRC, Ethiopia, Mozambique, and Peru are the only countries that fully disaggregate IDP data by sex for disaster and conflict-driven displacement (table 6). An additional 17 countries partially sex-disaggregate IDP data in cases of disaster or conflict.

The empirical study of the gender dimensions of forced displacement faces further major challenges. These fall under several broad headings:

- Sampling: there is limited data on displaced populations, a lack of data at the household level, and a lack of data over time.
- Identification is a related challenge. On the one hand, some people may not identify as internally displaced, so counting may be limited to people in humanitarian need. On the other hand, children born in the destination location who were not themselves displaced may be identified as such if living in households with a displaced head.
- Information gaps on displacement include it is difficult to find geo-coded data, camp versus non-camp settlement status; displacement status, reason for displacement, duration (in each location); and labor market participation, employment, earnings, income, transfers, remittances.
- Comparability issues: it is hard to find datasets that allow for comparison between displaced and host populations, men and women, boys and girls, communities of different origin, and camp versus non-camp settlements.
- Specific ethical considerations when measuring IPV or any form of GBV may limit data collection, and there is limited data on gender norms, especially among men and boys.

Capturing key intersectionalities—like disability, sexual orientation and gender identity—is another major gap which detracts from the knowledge needed for inclusive programming.

A series of recommendations emerge for agencies collecting survey data, including the World Bank, UN agencies and major population surveys like the

DHS. First, it is important to include displaced populations in population-wide and household-based data collection, especially in countries where there are significant numbers of displaced people. A joint World Bank-UNHCR research program has spearheaded the inclusion of displaced populations in regular national surveys and the WB-UNHCR Joint Data Centre was established to address this issue.¹⁴⁶

Much more could be done with standard surveys—provided relevant questions are asked—in countries where displacement is an issue. In such settings, basic information on displacement should be collected, such as displacement status, the reason for displacement, the number of displacements experienced and their duration in each location. Large samples with adequate representation of key subgroups is needed to underpin research on social and economic characteristics across the life course.

Within households, sex-disaggregated individual-level data is needed to enable a better understanding of household composition and dependency ratios. Female headship can be a useful proxy but is insufficient to understand gendered disadvantages in displacement settings. For individuals in the household, questions about labor market participation, hours of paid work

(and ideally unpaid work), earnings and transfers are needed.

A growing body of scholarship shows that female headship does not provide sufficient insights into gendered dimensions of wellbeing and disadvantage. The intrahousehold investigations across our series seek to highlight the multiple dimensions of disadvantage, from education to gender norms to economic opportunities for women.

More nuanced measurements include:

- Sex and marital status of the household head, *de jure* and *de facto* household head
- Measures of women's voice, agency and social inclusion (e.g., intra-household decision-making and civic participation)
- Dependency ratios and household composition, including elderly and disabled household members
- Relevant norms and attitudes of women and men, girls and boys, e.g., on women and girl's mobility outside the home, women's employment, girl's access to higher education, child marriage, and GBV;
- Male and female earnings, hours worked and conditions of employment
- Sex-disaggregated data on access to assets and capital (e.g., land and finance).

EMERGING CONCLUSIONS

To date, research and analysis of the gender dimensions of forced displacement have been limited. These findings from a new, major World Bank Research Program contribute important knowledge on this front. The results over four main areas of research—poverty, livelihoods, IPV, and gender norms—lend support to a number of expected patterns, like the disadvantages faced by displaced women in economic opportunities. The findings also highlight some counter-intuitive results in particular settings, underscoring the importance of country-specific analysis.

The results highlight the policy importance of comprehensive, intersectional approaches to women's empowerment, particularly in humanitarian and crisis contexts, that recognize how forced displacement, geographic location, race, ethnicity, and other characteristics interact to affect women's safety, experiences, and opportunities. Such approaches are essential to an inclusive recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic. However, both quantitative

and qualitative data on the gendered impacts of forced displacement are too often lacking. This is manifest in the new UNHCR Indicator report on the Global Compact for Refugees, which provides very limited gender-disaggregated data and none on economic inclusion indicators.¹⁴⁷

The gendered displacement gaps point to the need for targeted support specifically for displaced women's safety and economic opportunities, in line with the ambition of the Global Compact on Refugees (GCR). Progress has been made on the GCR agenda since 2018, including increased development assistance funding to refugee hosting countries, enhanced legal protections, and strengthened access to education. It is nonetheless clear that future efforts should more explicitly prioritise the gender dimensions of forced displacement, to support a transformation of gender discriminatory social norms and collect disaggregated data to track progress for women and other marginalized groups.

- 1 UNHCR 2021a.
- 2 UNHCR 2021a.
- 3 Sova 2017.
- 4 Kabir and Klugman 2019.
- 5 Grossman and Post 2019; Priebe, Giacco and El-Nagib 2016; UNHCR 2021b.
- 6 Kabir and Klugman 2019.
- 7 GIWPS and PRIO. 2021.
- 8 Buscher 2013.
- 9 World Bank 2017.
- 10 Types of households consist of female single caregivers, couples with children, and multiple generation households.
- 11 For non IDPs the equivalent risk reductions are 24 percent for households with mostly female earners and 31 percent for households with mostly male earners.
- 12 This raises an interesting issue about the definition of IDPs – which are here self-identified by the household head. Thus, children born in the destination location are classified as displaced. More research is needed to understand the trajectories of “second and third generation”, who may have significantly different opportunities to their parents and grandparents.
- 13 Admasu et al. 2021a.
- 14 Admasu et al. 2021b.
- 15 Admasu et al. 2021b.
- 16 Hanmer et al. 2022 forthcoming. The economies of scale adjustment divides household consumption by the square root of household size – i.e. the needs of a household of four persons are deemed to be twice as great as those of a single-person household. See the OECD (2013) Framework for Statistics on the Distribution of Household Income, Consumption and Wealth.
- 17 Stojetz and Brück 2021.
- 18 The analysis is done in two stages. First, IDP women are matched with non-IDP women with similar observable characteristics – one of which is rural/urban. Second, multilevel models are run using the matched sample to estimate the effect of displacement. So, the difference that we see in gender norms is the effect of displacement. See Rubiano-Matulevich 2021.
- 19 Rubiano-Matulevich 2021.
- 20 Admasu 2021.
- 21 Bloom et al. 2009.
- 22 De Laat and Sevilla-Sanz 2011.
- 23 Albrecht, Edin and Vroman 2003.
- 24 Culcasi 2019.
- 25 Ramnarain 2015.
- 26 Szczepanikova 2005.
- 27 De La Puente 2011.
- 28 Admasu 2021.
- 29 Stojetz and Brück 2021.
- 30 Hanmer, Rubiano-Matulevich and Santamaria 2021.
- 31 Stojetz and Brück 2022 forthcoming.
- 32 See also Buscher 2015.
- 33 Barrigozi, Cremer and Roeder 2017; Kabir, 2018.
- 34 Ekhatior-Mobayode et al. 2021.
- 35 Kelly et al. 2021a.
- 36 Ekhatior-Mobayode et al. 2021.
- 37 Ekhatior-Mobayode et al. 2020.
- 38 Ekhatior-Mobayode et al. 2021.
- 39 Kelly et al. 2021a.
- 40 War-related abuses are defined to include a range of war experiences by armed groups, namely house destruction, looting, theft, extortion, abduction, physical harm, forced labor, and forced physical harm to others.
- 41 Lu, Siddiqui and Bharadwaj 2021.
- 42 Wringe et al. 2019.
- 43 Presler-Marshall et al. 2021; Levine et al. 2019.
- 44 Lwamba et al. 2021.
- 45 Buscher 2015.
- 46 Cislighi and Heise 2020; Harper et al. 2020. ; Muñoz Boudet et al. 2013.
- 47 El-Masri, Harvey and Garwood. 2013.
- 48 Jabbar and Zaza 2015.
- 49 Grabska 2013.
- 50 De La Puente 2011.
- 51 Ramnarain 2015.
- 52 Krafft, Assad and Pastoor 2021.
- 53 Jones et al. 2019
- 54 Garbern et al. 2020; IRC 2015a.
- 55 Krafft, Assad and Pastoor 2021.
- 56 World Bank 2020.
- 57 Rubiano-Matulevich 2021.
- 58 World Bank, 2019, 2020.
- 59 Rubiano-Matulevich 2021.
- 60 Kelly et al. 2021b.
- 61 Harper et al. 2020.
- 62 UN OCHA 2019.
- 63 UN OCHA 2021a.
- 64 IRC 2020.
- 65 Brück and Stojetz 2020
- 66 Kelly et al. 2021.
- 67 IRC 2021.
- 68 Schuettler 2020.
- 69 WRC 2014.
- 70 Hanmer et al. 2019.
- 71 See World Bank 2021.
- 72 Slimane et al. 2020.
- 73 Offering afterschool care for children aged between 6 and 13 in Chile increased employment by 5 percent and labor force participation by 7 percent. See Martínez and Peticarà 2017.
- 74 A randomized control trial study in an informal settlement in Nairobi, Kenya found that poor urban women who were offered vouchers for subsidized early childcare were, on average, 8.5 percentage points more likely to be employed than those who were not given vouchers. See Clark et al. 2018.

- 75 In poor urban areas in Nicaragua, a public program that introduced access to part-time childcare centers for children younger than four years of age increased mother's work participation by 14 percentage points. See Hojman and Boo 2019.
- 76 Schuettler 2020.
- 77 Jabbar and Zaza 2016.
- 78 Ayoubi and Saavedra 2018.
- 79 UNHCR 2020.
- 80 El Feki, Heilman, & Barker, 2017.
- 81 Dhar, Jain and Jayachandran 2018; Levy et al. 2020.
- 82 Finance in Displacement 2021.
- 83 NRC 2021.
- 84 Von Au 2013.
- 85 Holloway and Fan 2018.
- 86 These programs may include public works, or have a work requirement, but those aspects are not covered here.
- 87 Heinenmann and Beegle 2021.
- 88 UNHCR 2018.
- 89 Doocy and Tappis 2016.
- 90 Tramountanis 2021.
- 91 Kabir and Klugman 2019.
- 92 Meral and Both 2021.
- 93 Hagen-Zanker and Both 2021.
- 94 Hagen-Zanker and Both 2021.
- 95 UNHCR 2018.
- 96 Abu Hamad and Pavanello 2012.
- 97 UNFPA 2021a.
- 98 Cross, Manell and Megevand 2018.
- 99 Yoshikawa 2015.
- 100 WRC 2018.
- 101 As measured through the Hopkins Symptom Checklist (evaluating anxiety and depression), the WHO wellbeing Index (measuring recent feelings and emotions), and responses to life satisfaction questions. See Quattrochi et al. 2019.
- 102 Heinenmann and Beegle 2021.
- 103 Doocy and Tappis 2016.
- 104 Casswell et al. 2019.
- 105 Buller et al. 2018. A more recent meta-analysis of 14 experimental and quasi-experimental cash transfer studies found average decreases in physical/sexual IPV (4 percentage points (pp)), emotional IPV (2 pp) and controlling behaviors; see Baranov et al. 2021.
- 106 Botea et al. 2021.
- 107 Yoshiwaka 2015.
- 108 Manell and Radice 2019.
- 109 CARE 2019.
- 110 Abu Hamad et al. 2017; Pertek 2016.
- 111 Hedlund et al. 2013.
- 112 Wasilkowska 2012.
- 113 Arévalo and Simanowitz 2019.
- 114 Meral and Both 2021.
- 115 Moussawi and Yassin 2017.
- 116 Stark and Ager 2011.
- 117 WHO 2021.
- 118 Holmes and Bhuvanendra 2014.
- 119 Three studies were deemed promising, although these did not specifically focus on displaced groups - viz., a study of school peace education and community-based program in Afghanistan (Corboz 2018 et al. 2019); a longitudinal qualitative panel study and a household survey examining the effect of a faith-based program in the DRC (Palm et al. 2019); and a randomized controlled trial on social norms change in Somalia (Glass et al. 2019).
- 120 WhatWorks 2017.
- 121 Peacock and Barker 2014.
- 122 Vaillant et al. 2020.
- 123 Undie et al. 2016.
- 124 Glass et al. 2018.
- 125 Nobel et al. 2019._
- 126 Landis 2021.
- 127 IRC 2017.
- 128 UNICEF 2017.
- 129 Pillay 2019.
- 130 Lilleston et al. 2018.
- 131 UNFPA 2020.
- 132 UNFPA 2021b.
- 133 UN OCHA 2017.
- 134 Calculated based on estimates from the OECD Creditor Reporting System (CRS) last updated October 2021. See OECD 2021.
- 135 Calculated based on estimates from UN OCHA. See UNOCHA 2021b.
- 136 IASC 2015.
- 137 IRC 2015b.
- 138 IASC 2015.
- 139 UN OCHA 2021b.
- 140 UN OCHA n.d.
- 141 IRC 2015b.
- 142 Charter4change n.d.
- 143 IRC 2015b.
- 144 Barclay, Higelin and Bungcaras 2016.
- 145 Cazabat et al. 2020.
- 146 <https://www.jointdatacenter.org>
- 147 UNHCR 2021c.

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GENDER DIMENSIONS OF FORCED DISPLACEMENT

Understanding Inequality Through Data & Analysis